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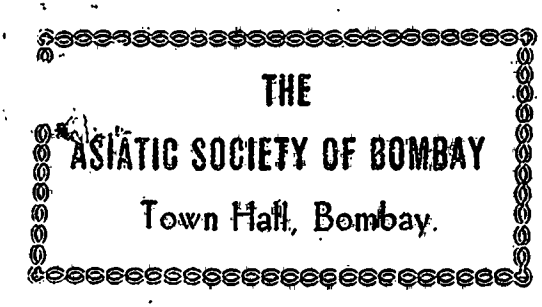

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SHAKSPEAREANA GENEALOGICA:

IN TWO PARTS.

COMPILED BY

GEORGE RUSSELL FRENCH,

ARCHITECT.

Cambridge:
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SHAKSPEAREANA GENEALOGICA.

PART I.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE DRAMATIS PERSONÆ IN SHAKSPEARE'S HISTORICAL PLAYS: FROM K. JOHN TO K. HENRY VIII.

NOTES ON CHARACTERS IN MACBETH AND HAMLET.

PERSONS AND PLACES, BELONGING TO WARWICKSHIRE, ALLUDED TO IN SEVERAL PLAYS.

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PART II.

THE SHAKSPEARE AND ARDEN FAMILIES, AND THEIR CONNECTIONS: WITH TABLES OF DESCENT.

COMPILED BY

GEORGE RUSSELL FRENCH,

AUTHOR OF THE ANCESTRY OF QUEEN VICTORIA AND PRINCE ALBERT, 1841: AND OF THE ROYAL DESCENT OF NELSON AND WELLINGTON, 1855.

London and Cambridge:
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1869.

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THIS MANUSCRIPT

IS PRESENTED TO

WILLIAM GEORGE CLARK, M.A.,

VICE-MASTER AND SENIOR FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

AND PUBLIC ORATOR,

AND

WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.,

LIBRARIAN OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

FOR THEIR EDITION OF

Shakespeare's Works,

AS A TOKEN OF RESPECT FOR THEIR LABOURS,

AND OF ESTEEM FOR THEIR COLLEGE,

BY

GEORGE RUSSELL FRENCH,

1868.

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INTRODUCTION.

In perusing this Attempt to identify the *dramatis personæ* of Shakspeare's Histories, it should be borne in mind by the Reader that the plan of placing a list of the characters at the head of each play is of much later date than the time of the Great Dramatist, who is therefore only responsible for such mistakes in identity as actually occur in the body of the text, and into which he was led by the earlier plays, or the chronicles to which he had access. According to Steevens, Rowe was the first Editor who formed an Index, as it were, of the characters scattered through the different scenes, and placed them at the beginning of the respective plays.

It is the object of the Compiler of these Notes to explain who were the persons thus mentioned, or one might say immortalized by the Greatest Writer that ever lived, and their genealogy will be found not only to possess much of interest in itself, but as frequently

affording a clue to the transactions in which the individuals bore a prominent part. And in truth a correct knowledge of the pedigree of illustrious persons is more especially useful in reading these historical dramas, which in almost every instance derive a great part of their story from the conflicting claims of the chief persons to the rank and honours held by their ancestors. It is also necessary to define the subordinates who supported the rival claims of the principal actors, and many of whom were nobles of lofty lineage, formidable from their great influence and vast possessions, and from whom some of our present nobility and gentry are descended, either in a direct male line, or through heiresses. Many of the earliest baronies have been transmitted to the present time through female heirs; hence it is important to record their marriages with more attention than is usually bestowed.

To belong to "the Most Noble Order of the Garter," the most renowned Brotherhood of Chivalry in Europe, was such a distinction, to which the greatest Princes aspired, that mention is made of any of the personages, introduced in these dramas, who held the rank of K.G. It was also thought desirable to give the "arms" of the characters, it being the custom, in the times whereof these plays bear record, to wear silken or linen sur-coats, emblazoned with the armorial bearings of the persons entitled to them, a privilege which was highly valued, and stoutly maintained against invasion, as in the case of the famous Scrope

and Grosvenor controversy. An instance of the advantage arising from a knowledge of heraldry is afforded by the fact, that after the battle of Cressy Edward the Third sent Ralph Lord Stafford, and Sir Reginald Cobham, attended by three heralds, to take an account of those who were slain among the French, being persons of rank, who could only be recognized by their coats of arms; and in battle by such means alone could the wearers be known to friend or foe.

In the name assigned to the "Abbot of Westminster," in *King Richard II.*, the Compiler has ventured to differ from every Shakspearean authority; but as his version is the only one that supports the mighty Master's text, he may be pardoned for what would otherwise be deemed presumption. And in all other instances where he has expressed an opposite opinion to that of esteemed critics, he has at all events stated a reason for so doing. The present is the first attempt to give a detailed description, in consecutive order, of each of the *dramatis personæ* in SHAKSPEARE'S immortal chronicle-histories, and some of the characters have been, it is believed, herein identified for the first time; whilst not more than two or three are not made out to the writer's satisfaction, though every effort has been used to render the list a complete illustration of the Poet in matters which have not in general received sufficient attention, it being too much the custom for annotators to repeat what others have said, without taking

any trouble to ascertain if the statements can be supported.

Many a reader of the Poet's chronicle-plays might confess, with the great Duke of Marlborough, that he derived his chief knowledge of certain parts of English history from SHAKSPEARE'S glorious pages; but it may be safely affirmed that the Dramatist will be most appreciated by those who have studied the archæology, literature, and manners of the periods to which the historical plays refer.

As more than three hundred characters had to be noticed, it was necessary to confine their memoirs within reasonable limits; sufficient it is hoped has been done for identification, and to furnish a clue, which, followed up with ordinary diligence, may enable any one, with a taste for the pursuit, to trace a distinguished Shakspearean worthy to his lineal representative in the present day.

Of the English worthies introduced in the poet's plays some families still exist in unbroken lineal male descent; and others are represented through female heirs. Of the former class may be named Nevill, Talbot, Stanley, Willoughby, Shirley, Howard, Hastings, Grey of Heton, Grey of Groby, Gough, Denny, Clifton, Waterton; and of the second class are the houses of Percy, De Ros, Vernon, Vaux, Clifford, Fitzwalter, Beaumont, Brandon, Say, Beaufort, Herbert, Stafford; whilst there are many families extant derived from both these divisions, through the intermarriage of their branches with other houses.

Many errors have crept into biographies, and kindred works, through neglect of a proper attention to dates; no apology therefore is needed for the care which has been bestowed upon these land-marks of history, which are so useful to identify individuals, and to fix the certainty of events. Some few topographical notes are given of places rendered memorable from their association with the Poet's plays.

The wood-cuts in this First Part are printed from blocks which form illustrations to the *Catalogue of Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall*, 1861, which is edited by the Compiler of this volume. The illustrations of a Pyx and a Pax are important, as proving the distinction between the two articles. The illustrations to Part II., with one exception, were engraved expressly for this work.

G. R. F.

7 Powis Place, W.C.
31 *March*, 1869.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 47, line 26, *for* 1339, *read* 1399.
,, 63, line 13, *for* 1724, *read* 1424.
,, 115, line 14, *for* BAMBURES, *read* RAMBURES.
,, 121, last line but four, *for* born, *read* worn.
,, 210, line 11, *for* vii. *read* viii.
,, 258, in Note, *for* 2 Hen. VIII., *read* 12 Hen. VIII.
,, 354, line 24, *read* descendant.
,, 361, last line, *read* descendant.
,, 394, line 11, George Quiney's *sisters* should be nieces.
,, 428, line 29, *for* Stebbing, *read* Symmons.
,, 463, line 7, *for* descendant, *read* nephew.

NOTES

ON

SHAKSPEARE'S HISTORICAL PLAYS.

NOTES

ON

SHAKSPEARE'S HISTORICAL PLAYS.

KING JOHN reigned from A.D. 1199 *to* A.D. 1216.

JOHN, surnamed *Sans-Terre*, or *Lack-land*, born A.D. 1166, was the youngest of the five sons of King Henry II. and his Queen Elinor. On the death, in 1199, of his heroic brother, Richard of the *Lion-heart*, John usurped the royal throne of England and the ducal crown of Normandy, to the prejudice of his nephew Arthur, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, the next brother in age to King Richard, who had publicly declared Arthur to be his heir to both realms; although it was said that on his death-bed he had named his brother John for his successor.—HOVEDEN. Thus in the play, Act II. Scene 1, Queen Elinor tells Constance, who had urged her son's claim,—

> "I can produce
> A will that bars the title of thy son."

The action of this play is mainly confined to the relationship between the usurping uncle and his hapless nephew. The first scene opens with a demand from the King of France that John should yield up his crown in favour of young Arthur. This scene, in which John is seated in his palace, surrounded by the chief nobles of his court, must have taken place in 1199, soon after his coronation, Ascension Day, May 27. The fourth Act closes with the death of the young Prince, but even in the fifth Act his right is made

use of by the Dauphin as a pretext for invading England. In the last scene, a melancholy contrast to the first, John dies in the orchard of Swineshead Abbey, by poison as supposed, a fugitive from his enemies, and having lost Normandy for ever to the English crown.

Not a vestige remains of the Abbey of Cistercian monks, founded in 1134, by Robert de Gresley, at SWINESHEAD, which is often confounded with Swinestead, another place in the same county, Lincolnshire, but in the south-western border, near Corby. Swineshead, on the eastern coast, is in the direct route from Lynn Regis to Sleaford, where John was taken ill, and Newark, where he died. Faulconbridge describes as happening to himself that which was really the fate of the king:—

> "I'll tell thee, Hubert, half my power this night,
> Passing these flats, are taken by the tide;
> These Lincoln Washes have devoured them;
> Myself, well-mounted, hardly have escaped."
>
> ACT V. SCENE 5.

King John, by his second wife, Isabella, daughter of Aymer *Taillefer*, Count of Angoulême, had two sons, HENRY his successor, and RICHARD, who became King of the Romans; and three daughters: 1, JOAN, who married Alexander II. King of Scots; 2, ELEANOR, the wife first of William Marshall the Younger, and secondly of Simon de Montfort; 3, ISABELLA, married to the Emperor Frederic II.

King John died in reality at Newark Castle, Oct. 18, 1216, and was buried in Worcester Cathedral,

> "For so he willed it."

According to Mr T. D. Hardy, King John was at the following places in October, 1216: viz. from the 9th to the 11th at Lynn; on the 12th at Wisbeach, reaching Swineshead the same day, and leaving it on the 13th, when he started for Sleaford, where he remained till the 15th; and from the 16th to the 18th he was at Newark.

ITINERARIUM published in the ARCHÆOLOGIA, Vol. XXII. Only two names are recorded of Abbots of Swineshead in the reign of King John, namely, Gilbert de Hoyland, A.D. 1200, and Robert Denton, in 1203.—MONASTICON.

Four years after John's death his widow married her first lover, Hugh de Lusignan.

Arms of King John.—Gules three lions passant guardant in pale *Or*. These are called hereafter *England.*

PRINCE HENRY, afterwards King Henry III.

This Prince was born Oct. 1, 1206, and immediately after his father's death was proclaimed king by the loyal earl of Pembroke, and crowned Oct. 26, 1216; he was therefore only ten years old, when he put on

"The lineal state and glory of the land."

By the wise management of Pembroke, who was chosen Protector to the young monarch, the barons who had deserted John returned to their allegiance, and England was freed from her invaders. In 1236 King Henry married Eleanor, second daughter of Raymond Beranger, Count of Provence, and by her had two surviving sons; the eldest, born in 1239, was afterwards King, as EDWARD the FIRST; the second, born in 1245, was EDMUND, surnamed *Crouchback*, from his taking the cross; and two surviving daughters, MARGARET, married to Alexander III. King of Scots, and BEATRICE, married to John de Dreux, Duke of Britany. Henry III., after a reign of fifty-six years, died Nov. 16, 1272, having been constantly engaged in dissension with his subjects.

Arms of Prince Henry, England.—One of the best authorities of the day on heraldic matters, Mr. J. W. Papworth, has informed the Compiler that he has not met with any seal of Henry III. before his accession; and that in his opinion "the earliest known difference" was the label of three or five points, used by Edward I. before his accession.

ARTHUR, Duke of Britany.

GEOFFREY PLANTAGENET, born in 1158, was the fourth son of King Henry II. and had Britany assigned to him by his indulgent father, against whom however he broke

out in rebellion. He was trampled to death at a tournament, Aug. 19, 1185, leaving a widow, CONSTANCE, by whom he had a daughter, ELEANOR, and a son, born after his father's decease, the unfortunate ARTHUR. The Princess Eleanor, having been taken prisoner by her uncle John, was confined by him for many years in Bristol Castle; she afterwards took the veil, and became Superior of the nunnery of Ambresbury, where she died in 1235.

PRINCE ARTHUR, around whom SHAKSPEARE has thrown such a halo of interest, was in his fourteenth year when the action of this play begins. The support afforded to him by Philip of France had for its object to embarrass King John, rather than to advance young Arthur's claim, for the politic monarch had the hope of recovering to the crown of France the great dukedoms which formerly belonged to it. The treaty between the kings was disgraceful to both, and ruinous to Arthur, who soon after fell into his uncle's hands, and was sent first to the castle of Falaise and thence to Rouen, where it is supposed that his death took place, April 3, 1203; the manner of it however is variously related. Some contemporary writers assert that he was murdered by his uncle, whilst SHAKSPEARE partly adopts the more lenient opinion of others, that Arthur, attempting to escape by leaping from the walls of his prison, not at Northampton, as in the play, but at Rouen, fell into the Seine and was drowned[1]. The poet, however, was justified in ascribing to John the wish to get rid of his nephew by foul means, as shewn in the masterly scene with Hubert; and, alluding to the sinister rumours on the subject, Holinshed says,—"Verily King John was had in great suspicion, whether worthily or not the Lord he knoweth." Mr Thomas Duffus Hardy, of the Record Office, has proved that John was at Rouen from the 3rd to the 7th of April in 1203[2]. Ralph, Abbot of Coggeshall, who died in 1228, relates the story of John sending orders to Hubert to

[1] D'Argentré, *History of Bretagne.*

[2] In the "Itinerarium Johannis Regis Angliæ," taken from the Tower Records, Mr Hardy gives the dates of the King's sojournings both at home and abroad, from his accession to his death, and ably explains the reason why John did not remain long in one locality:—"It may here be worthy of remark, that the Court stopped, with few exceptions, at some place in which the King had an interest, as either a castle, or royal manor, or at some religious house, in order that he might consume the provisions due to him in lieu of rent from those places."

put out Arthur's eyes, and that he pretended to have complied with the mandate, but saved the young prince from that fate, as described in one of the most pathetic scenes in dramatic poetry :—

> "I will not touch thine eyes
> For all the treasure that thine uncle owes."

Arms of Arthur, Duke of Britany.—Ermine.

EARL of PEMBROKE.

This excellent noble, WILLIAM MARSHALL, was the second son of John Marshall, the lord mareschal to Henry II., and he became earl marshal at the death of his elder brother in 1199, s. p. William Marshall obtained the title of Pembroke through his marriage with the great heiress Isabel de Clare, daughter of the potent earl Richard *Strong-bow;* and his five sons by her, William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselm, were in succession lords marshal and Earls of Pembroke. The noble in this play did not, fall away, as therein implied, to the French interest; on the contrary, he remained faithful to King John, and it was chiefly through his steady valour, aided by Hubert de Burgh, that England was cleared of her foreign foes. His eldest son, of the same name, one of the TWENTY-FIVE BARONS who obtained MAGNA CHARTA from John, was among the nobles who joined the Dauphin, and hence the mistake of the Poet. The earl, who died in 1219, had five daughters, of whom the eldest, Maud, married Hugh Bigot, the others became the wives of powerful barons.

Arms of Marshall.—Parted per pale *Or* and *Vert* a lion rampant *Gules* crowned and langued *Azure.* GLOVER.

EARL of ESSEX.

This personage is the elder of the same name, GEOFFREY FITZ-PIERS, created Earl of Essex, 1 King John, 1199, and died in 1212; and it will be observed that he does not figure in the latter scenes of the play. The title of Essex came

to him through his marriage with Beatrice, grand-daughter of William de Say, by Beatrice, only sister of Geoffrey de Mandeville, created Earl of Essex by King Stephen. Geoffrey Fitz-Piers was appointed by Richard I. to the high office of Justiciary of England, which gave the holder rank next to the King himself; "Justiciarius Angliæ secunda persona regni." *Liber Dunelmensis.* His power was very extensive, as he might exercise the offices of Constable, Marshal, Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Judge, and Sheriff. This baron's eldest son, Geoffrey, who assumed the name of Mandeville, was one of the TWENTY-FIVE BARONS; his only sister, eventually heir, Maud Fitz-Piers, married Henry de Bohun Earl of Hereford, and their son Humphrey became Earl of Essex, *jure matris.*

Arms of Fitz-Piers.—Quarterly *Or* and *Gules*, over all an escarbuncle of eight rays floretty *Sable.* GLOVER.

EARL of SALISBURY.

This distinguished noble, called WILLIAM LONG-SWORD, *Longo-spatha, Longue-espée*, was a natural son of Henry II., by the Fair Rosamund Clifford. His half-brother, Richard I., had bestowed upon him the hand of a great heiress, Ela, daughter of William de Evereux, Earl of Salisbury, to which title Long-sword succeeded at the death of his father-in-law. In the beginning of John's reign he was Sheriff of Wilts., and Warden of the Welch Marches, and he was one of the King's securities for the observance of Magna Charta. With other peers Salisbury joined the army of the Dauphin, but on the accession of Henry III. returned to his allegiance. He afterwards served with distinction in the Holy Land, and died on his return thence in 1226. Sir Walter Scott, in his delightful Tale of the Crusaders, *The Talisman*, introduces William Long-sword as one of the companions of Cœur-de-Lion in Palestine. He had two sons and five daughters, by his countess Ela, who retired to the Abbey of Lacock, and died there about A.D. 1263.

Arms of William Long-sword.—Azure six lioncels rampant *Or.* These are carved on his effigy in Salisbury Cathedral.

EARL of NORFOLK.

This baron has almost always been incorrectly called Robert Bigot, but history does not record any Earl of Norfolk, of the family, who bore that Christian name. The first of this family, Roger Bigot, came over with the Conqueror, and was rewarded with numerous lordships in Essex and Suffolk. His son, Hugh Bigot, was Steward to King Stephen, who gave him the earldom of Norfolk, which was confirmed to him by Henry II. He died in the Holy Land in 1177, leaving by his wife, Juliana, daughter of Alberic de Vere, his eldest son, ROGER BIGOT, second Earl of Norfolk, the personage in this play. He enjoyed the favour of Richard I., but was one of the TWENTY-FIVE BARONS against King John. This powerful noble died in 1220; his wife was Isabel, daughter of Hamelyn Plantagenet, Earl of Warren and Surrey, by whom he had three sons and three daughters; the eldest son, Hugh Bigot, also one of the TWENTY-FIVE BARONS, married Maud Marshall, as before stated, and their son, Roger Bigot, fourth earl, became Marshal of England.

Arms of Bigot.—Gules a lion passant *Or.* GLOVER.

HUBERT DE BURGH.

There is nothing in the play to denote the proper rank of this celebrated person, who was of lofty lineage, and a noble of distinguished ability and great power. He was descended from CHARLEMAGNE, through his fifth son, Charles, Duke of Ingelheim, and his more immediate ancestor was Robert, Earl of Mortaigne and Cornwall, who was rewarded by his half-brother, William the Conqueror, for his services at Hastings, with 793 manors. HUBERT DE BURGH was his great-grandson, and such was his influence that he was regarded as the greatest subject in Europe, during the reigns of John and Henry III. By the former he was made Lord Chamberlain, Warden of the Welch Marches, Sheriff of five counties, Seneschal of Poitou, and Governor of several castles. He sided with John in his contest with the Barons, and was one of his securities to the Great Charter, and on the day that it was

signed at Runny-mead, he was made Justiciary of England, afterwards loaded with many honours and important posts, among them having the custody of Dover Castle. This key to the kingdom was defended by Hubert de Burgh with only 140 soldiers for four months, against all the efforts of the French to take it, and when the Poet makes Faulconbridge say

> "All Kent hath yielded, nothing there holds out
> But Dover castle,"—

it should be borne in mind who was the castellan by whom it was so well guarded. After the death of King John Hubert served his successor with equal fidelity, and from the death of the Earl of Pembroke almost entirely ruled the kingdom. He was created Earl of Kent by Henry III. in 1226, and rewarded with large grants of lands, but his vast power roused the jealousy of the barons, and he fell under the displeasure of the King, who stripped him of his honours, employments, and possessions. He died in 1243, having been four times married; his last wife was Margaret or Marjory, daughter of William the *Lion*, King of Scots, by whom, according to Dugdale and the late Mr Richard Thomson, he had two sons and two daughters; the eldest son, John de Burgh, had livery of some of his father's lands, but did not bear his title. The male line of Hubert de Burgh, through his second son Hubert, ceased at the close of the 16th century.

It is most probable that Hubert de Burgh's two sons, John and Hubert, were the children by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert de Arsike, for it is certain that no descendant of Hubert was a competitor against Bruce and Baliol for the crown of Scotland, and their claims would have been inferior to that of a person descended from a legitimate daughter of William the Lion, which according to Betham and Dugdale was the fact as regards the fourth wife of Hubert. That she had one daughter by him is clear, from a writ 17 Henry III., granting a safe-conduct to Margaret, sister to the King of Scots (Alexander II.), wife of Hubert de Burgh, and Magota, her daughter, to pass to and fro on her husband's lands. Dated November 13, 1233. RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

Hubert de Burgh's daughter, Magota, married Anselm de

Guise, ancestor of the Guises of Elmore, and of Highnam, both in co. Gloucester, Baronets, who took the arms of Hubert de Burgh, with the addition of a canton *Or*, thereon a mullet pierced *Sable.* BROUN'S *Baronetage.*

Arms of Hubert de Burgh. Gules seven lozenges *Vairé*, three three and one.

ROBERT FAULCONBRIDGE.
PHILIP FAULCONBRIDGE.

The former of these two characters, who does not make much figure in the play, may be soon dismissed, not so his chivalrous brother, who is an historical personage of some importance. Holinshed says,—"Richard I. had a natural son, named Philip, who in the year following (his father's death) killed the Viscount of Lymoges, to avenge the death of his father." The continuator of Hardyng's *Chronicle* calls him "one Faulconbridge, th' erle of Kent, his bastarde, a stoute-harted man." Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas identifies him as a baron by tenure;—"I. John, FOULKE DE BREANTÉ, ob. circa 1228, s. p. m. Eve, his sole daughter and heir, married Llewellyn, Prince of N. Wales." This same Foulke de Breante is one of the "managers and disposers" in King John's will, dated at Newark; and he is also one of "the noble persons" named in the "First Great Charter" of Henry III. Matthew Paris speaks of him as "Falcasius de Brente," in his *General History*, and Rymer in his *Fœdera* gives several letters in Latin respecting "Foulke de Breante;" and in many writs of Henry III., "Falcasius de Breante" ranks among great barons, and especially his seal was affixed to the Treaty of peace with Prince Louis of France; and to that of the marriage of the Princess Joan of England to Alexander II. King of Scots. RYMER. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, under *Northamptonshire*, of which county "Falc. de Breante" was Sheriff for eight years, as well as of five other shires, says of him that King John gave to him in marriage, against her will, Margaret, daughter of Warine Fitz-Gerald, his chamberlain, late wife to Baldwin de Rivers[1]; "this Fulke was high in

[1] Matthew Paris relates that one wrote of this forced union:—

"Lex connectit eos, amor et concordia Lecti;

favour with King Henry the Third, who by the valour of this general obtained the great victory at Lincoln." In a later part of Henry's reign this baron committed great outrages, and was obliged to quit the kingdom, and as Fuller continues—"he went to Rome, none had more need to confess his fault, where he lived obscurely, died miserably, and was buried ignobly, anno 1226[1]." Thus much for his character in history. In the old play, called "The Troublesome Raigne of John King of England," which preceded SHAKSPEARE'S "King John," Faulconbridge is described as—

"A bastard of the king deceast,
A hardie wild-head, tough and venturous."

But in that drama several absurdities are introduced; thus Faulconbridge is made to aspire to the hand of the Lady Blanche, and when he demands combat from Austria, who in the Poet's belief had killed his heroic father, that Prince declines on the score of their unequal rank, whereupon King John is made to create his valiant kinsman "Duke of Normandy;" both these mistakes are avoided by SHAKSPEARE, who invests this character with as much wit as courage, altogether superior to the coarse and scurrilous personage in the older play, who furnished the hints for this noble soldier and chivalrous gentleman, who came, as he says,—

"One way of the Plantagenets."

Arms of Foulke de Breante. Gules a cinquefoil *Argent.* THOMSON.

JAMES GURNEY.

The name of Gournay, or Gurney, is of very ancient date; it is found on the Roll of Battle Abbey, and a Girurd de Gournay married Edith de Warren, granddaughter of the

Sed Lex qualis? Amor qualis? Concordia qualis?
Lex exlex; amor exosus; concordia discors."

[1] The date, circa 1228, ascribed by Sir N. H. Nicolas for the death of this personage, is more likely to be correct, because there is a writ dated in 1227 to Falcasius de Breant to give up Osbert Fitz-Nigel. RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

Conqueror. Hugh de Gournay, a powerful baron in France as well as in England, was the subject of treaty between Philip of France and King Richard in 1196, and his name occurs in a treaty between Philip and John in 1204. The Gurneys of Norfolk can trace their pedigree to the Conquest; their history is given in a work printed for private circulation, entitled, "The Record of the House of Gournay," by Daniel Gurney, Esq., F.S.A.

SHERIFF of NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

In the early editions of the Poet's plays the only direction, in the first Scene, relating to this person is, "*Enter a Sheriffe.*" In modern editions we find, "*Enter the Sheriff of Northamptonshire, who whispers Essex*[1]." There can be no difficulty in naming this official, as Sir Simon de Pateshull was Sheriff of N. Hants for the last four years of King Richard's reign, and during the first four years of King John. One of the witnesses to two Charters granted to the City of London by John in his first year, dated June 17, 1199, is "Simon de Pateshull," no doubt this Sheriff, who was also Justice of the King's Court from 7 Richard I. to 16 John; and is called by Matthew of Westminster "a noble faithful honest man." One of his descendants, John de Pateshull, was summoned to Parliament as a baron in 1342, and died in 1349.

In the "Troublesome Raigne" the "Shrive of Northamptonshire" calls himself "Thomas Nidigate;" there was a family of this name in the reign of King John, now represented by Charles Newdigate Newdegate, Esq., M.P.

Arms of Pateshull.—Argent a fesse *Sable* between three crescents *Gules.*

PETER of POMFRET, a Prophet.

The fate of this unhappy Seer, who foretold that John would resign his crown before Ascension Day in 1213, is

[1] Mr Capell judiciously altered "Essex" from "Salisbury" as in the "Old Quartos," because the former noble, as Chief Justiciary, had control over the sheriffs.

recorded by Holinshed. The king treated him as an impostor, notwithstanding he had yielded up his kingdom to the Pope, and Peter was hanged on a gibbet, with his innocent son, at Warham, having been dragged through the streets at the tails of horses.

PHILIP, KING of FRANCE.

This monarch, second of his name, and called also "Augustus," succeeded his father, Louis VII., in 1180, when only fifteen years of age. He joined King Richard and other great Princes in the Third Crusade, but his jealousy of Cœur-de-Lion's reputation for superior daring made him return to France, where he intrigued with John *Lack-land* to obtain possession of Normandy, in return for his support to that unscrupulous prince in his views to the English crown, during his brother's absence from his kingdom, first in Palestine, and afterwards during his imprisonment in Germany, to whose Emperor, Henry VI., Philip offered an immense sum of money if he would detain Richard in captivity. The war which Cœur-de-Lion waged on his perfidious rival, when released from a foreign prison, was cut short by his death from the arrow of Bertrand de Gourdon, at the siege of Castle Chaluz, in 1199.

After the death of Prince Arthur John lost one town after another in Normandy, which was finally recovered by Philip, after a separation of nearly three centuries from the French crown, and which had descended from Rollo the first Duke in 911, to his unworthy successor, John of England, twelfth and last Duke of Normandy, in 1204. King Philip died in 1223, and by his wife Isabel, daughter of Baldwin, earl of Hainault and Flanders, was father of the next character.

Arms of Philip, King of France.—Azure semée-de-lis *Or.* These are styled *France Ancient.*

LEWIS, the Dauphin.

This Prince was born in 1187, and it had been agreed, in one of the truces between his father and Richard of England,

that the Dauphin should marry the Princess Eleanor of Britany, but this arrangement was broken off. The treaty with King John was more successful, by which Louis married that monarch's niece, Blanche of Castile, in 1202. This union was one of great happiness; the French historians love to record that during the twenty-four years it lasted they were never known to differ, and were seldom asunder. When King John, to avenge himself upon his discontented barons, ravaged their castles from Dover to Berwick, his nobles, in an unhappy hour, offered to acknowledge the Dauphin as their sovereign, if he would protect them against John's violence, founding their application on the plea that Blanche, the wife of Louis, was descended from King Henry II. Thus in the play Pandulph tells the Dauphin, alluding to the probable fate of Prince Arthur, Act III. Scene 4,—

> "You in the right of lady Blanche your wife,
> May then make all the claim that Arthur did."

This offer was too tempting to be refused, and Louis landed in England with a large body of troops[1], and was joined by many English lords; but dissensions creeping in among the new allies, the English barons began to repent of their defection, and followed Salisbury's example in returning to their allegiance; and eventually the Dauphin, soon after the accession of Henry III., was compelled to abandon his enterprise, and conclude a peace. At the death of Philip Augustus, in 1223, the Dauphin succeeded as Louis VIII., but he only reigned three years, dying in 1226, leaving his young son, Louis IX., commonly called "Saint Louis," under the able guardianship of Queen Blanche.

Arms of the Dauphin of France.—Quarterly 1 and 4, *Azure* semée of fleurs-de-lis *Or;* 2 and 3, *Or* a dolphin haurient embowed *Argent*[2].

[1] Prince Lewis landed at Stonor, one mile from Sandwich, in Kent; the town, once of importance, was burnt by the French in 1385.

[2] Perhaps it is too early to assign the title of "Dauphin" to the eldest son of a French monarch at this date, as it is generally understood that it came in the next century on this wise: —Humbert III. the Count-Dauphin of the Viennois, about the year 1345, bequeathed or ceded his territory to Philip of Valois, on condition of his eldest son taking the title of Dauphin, and the arms of the province. The style had been first assumed circa 1140 by Guy IV., Count of the Viennois, who took the dolphin for his arms from the name

ARCH-DUKE of AUSTRIA.

Much confusion has been made with this personage, and SHAKSPEARE has followed some of the mistakes in "the Troublesome Raigne," where he is called "Lymoges the Austrich Duke." The fact is that the author of that play has united under one character the two individuals who were enemies to Cœur-de-Lion. By "Lymoges" we are to understand Vidomar, Viscount of Limoges, whose vassal having found, as was reported to King Richard, a treasure of golden statues, representing a Roman emperor, with his wife, sons, and daughters, seated at a golden table, was required to yield up the prize to Richard as Suzerain of the Limousin, and on Vidomar's refusal he was besieged in his castle at Chaluz-Chabrol, before which the heroic king received the wound of which he died twelve days after, viz. April 6, 1199. As before noticed, this Lymoges was slain by Faulconbridge in 1200.

The Arch-duke of Austria really had no part in the death of Cœur-de-Lion, as supposed in the two plays, and the individual prince who had basely imprisoned that noble Crusader, on his return from Palestine, was Leopold V., second Duke, and first Arch-duke of Austria, in revenge for the indignity inflicted by King Richard in tearing down his banner from the walls of Acre, an affront which Sir Walter Scott has so well described in *The Talisman*. Other reasons of a family nature had excited the ill-will of Austria, who, penetrating the disguise of Richard as "Hugh the Merchant," seized him in Vienna, threw him into prison, and then gave him up to the Emperor, who was compelled by the demand of the great vassals of the empire, and the dread of a papal interdict, to release the lion-hearted king in 1194, on the payment of a large ransom[1]. The pretty story, still so often repeated, of Richard being discovered in the castle of Tenebreuse by his faithful minstrel, Blondel, singing under the walls of his prison one verse of a chançon, to which the royal

of the province, Dauphiny. Philip, son of Philip of Valois, is believed to be the first prince who bore the style and arms of the Dolphin, as he was called, or Delphinus.

[1] M. Thierry states that the Emperor sent one-third of Richard's ransom to the Duke of Austria, as his share of prize-money. Cœur-de-Lion was confined by the Emperor in a fortress at Worms.

captive answered by another, is, alas! for the lovers of romance, only a pleasing fiction. Leopold V., who is said to have repented of his conduct towards King Richard, died in consequence of a fall from his horse in 1194, before the action of this play begins, and five years before the death of Richard; the assertion therefore that he—

"By this brave duke came early to his grave,"

does not agree with history. The Arch-duke of Austria, from 1194 to 1230, was Leopold VI., the son of the personage above noticed.

Arms of the Arch-duke of Austria.—Gules a fesse *Argent.*

CARDINAL PANDULPH, the Pope's Legate[1].

This eminent ecclesiastic is called, in Magna Charta, "Master Pandulph, the Pope's Sub-deacon and Familiar." PANDULPHUS DE MASCA, a native of Pisa, was made "Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles" in 1182. He was appointed one of the guardians of Henry III., who rewarded his services in obtaining peace with the French by the bishopric of Norwich, to which he was elected in 1218; he died in 1226, having amassed great wealth. It was not Pandulph, but Cardinal James Gualo, who opposed the intention of the Dauphin to invade England, Act V. Scene 2.

Arms of Cardinal Pandulph.—Sable a cross lozengy; in the first and second quarters an escallop shell *Or.*

MELUN, a French Lord.

The "Vicomte de Melun" is named in history as an adherent of the Dauphin, and who, falling sick in London, sent for his friends among the English barons who had joined the French, and gave them timely warning, as in the play, of the Dauphin's secret intentions against their lives and estates. The "Count de Melun" is mentioned in a treaty, dated A.D.

[1] The place where King John yielded up the circle of his glory to Cardinal Pandulph, Act V. Scene 1, is said to be the Preceptory of the Knights Templars, at Swingfield, five miles N. of Folkestone, in Kent; of which some remains exist, though now used as a farm-house.

1194, between the Kings of England and France, and is probably the person in this play.

It would be interesting to discover whether SHAKSPEARE, following the Old Play, had any authority for deriving Melun from an English ancestor; he states one of the reasons for warning the barons of their impending fate:—

"For that my grandsire was an Englishman."

Robert de Melun, Bishop of Hereford, A.D. 1163—1166, was one of the chief opponents of Thomas à Becket; he was called "Episcopus Anglorum sapientissimus."

Arms of Melun, Seigneur d'Espinay.—*Azure* seven bezants, three three and one, a chief *Or*. DUBUISSON.

CHATILLON, AMBASSADOR from FRANCE to KING JOHN.

As King Philip would without doubt send a person of exalted rank upon so important an embassy as that which opens this play, it may be inferred that this individual is HUGH de CHATILLON, who is named, with his brother Guy, Count de St Pol, among the Grand Peers of France, who were assembled in a Parliament at Paris in 1223. In the treaty between King Richard and Philip Augustus, dated July 23, 1194, the concluding article sets forth,—"Now Gervais de Chatillon, as representative of the King of France, has sworn to observe all the articles above recited, and maintain the truce." He therefore might be the person sent as ambassador to England, five years after the above date. The family has played an important part in history. Stephen, Count of Chatillon, opposed Philip of France, when he came to the crown in 1180. In 1187 Reginald de Chatillon, Regent of Antioch, having seized a fortress belonging to the Sultan Saladin, was taken prisoner, and refusing to abjure the Christian faith, was put to death by the Sultan's own hand. Jacques de Chatillon, Admiral of France, was slain at Agincourt. The family of Chatillon, Counts of St Pol, made several alliances with the royal houses of France and England.

Arms of Chatillon.—Gules three pallets *Vaire*, a chief *Or*. DUBUISSON.

QUEEN ELINOR.

This princess was the daughter and heir of William V., Duke of Aquitaine, and Count of Poitou, which provinces she had carried to the crown of France, when she married Louis VII., who on his divorce from her restored them; and when Elinor married secondly Henry Plantagenet, in 1152, she brought her rich dowry to her young husband; who on becoming King of England was possessed of Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, from his father, Geoffrey of Anjou; of Normandy from his mother, the Empress Maud; and of Guienne, Poitou, Xaintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limousin, by his wife; to which he added Britany by conquest. Henry's vast continental territories, stretching from the Seine to the Garonne, embracing nearly one half of France, made him a formidable vassal to his superior lord.

The children of Henry II. and Elinor were five sons and three daughters; 1. WILLIAM, who died young; 2. HENRY, called *Curt-mantel*, and "Rex Junior," born 1156; this young prince was actually twice crowned in his father's life-time; he died without issue in 1183; 3. RICHARD, Count of Poitou, afterwards King; 4. GEOFFREY, born 1158; and 5. JOHN *Lackland*. The daughters were, 1. MATILDA, who married HENRY the *Lion* of Saxony, ancestor of the House of Brunswick; 2. ELEANOR, who espoused Alphonso VIII., King of Castile; 3. JOANNA, who married William, King of Sicily.

King Henry died in 1189. When her son King Richard was detained in a foreign prison, his mother not only exerted herself to raise the sum required for his ransom, but carried it to Germany. It was also Queen Elinor who negociated the union between the Dauphin and her granddaughter Blanche, and she was present at Burgos, in Spain, when the marriage was celebrated by proxy. The Queen was jealous of Constance, her son Geoffrey's widow, fearing the influence she would obtain if her son Arthur should come to the throne of England; but historians relate to her credit that she pleaded warmly for the safety of the young prince, when he was taken prisoner by his uncle John. Queen Elinor died in 1204, at the Abbey of Fontevraux, where she had taken the veil in 1202. Hoveden states that she retired there

shortly after the marriage of Blanche, on account of her age, eighty years, and the fatigue of her journey from Spain; "Senio et longi itineris labore fatigata."

CONSTANCE, MOTHER to ARTHUR.

Her father was Conan *le Petit*, Duke of Britany, and Earl of Richmond in Yorkshire, whose wife was Margaret, daughter of Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, son of David I. King of Scots. SHAKSPEARE has made Constance sublime in her sorrow, and truly grand in her maternal affection for her "pretty Arthur," but she was not, as she describes herself,—

"A widow, husbandless,"—

for at the time she was married to her third husband, Guy, Viscount of Thouars, having been divorced from her second husband, Ralph de Blundevill, Earl of Chester. By her third husband Constance had two daughters, of whom the eldest, Alice, became the heiress of Britany, and married Peter de Dreux, grandson of Louis VI., who in her right became Earl of Richmond and Duke of Britany; their son, John de Dreux, enjoyed these titles, and by his wife, Blanche of Navarre, had a son, John, who married the Princess Beatrice, daughter of Henry III.; and their grandson, John de Dreux, K.G. married the Princess Mary, third daughter of Edward III.; and their descendant in the fourth generation, ANNE, the great heiress of Britany, who had been *promised* to the eldest son of Edward IV., *affianced* to Maximilian, King of the Romans, was *married* first to Charles VIII., and after his death to his successor, Louis XII., and thus Bretagne became once more part of the French empire. The Lady Constance died at Nantes in the year 1201, August 31, therefore long before the death of Queen Elinor, although in the play the events are described as taking place close together, by the "Messenger" who tells King John, in Act IV. Scene 2,—

"the first of April died
Your noble mother; and, as I hear, my lord,
The Lady Constance in a frenzy died
Three days before."

BLANCHE of SPAIN, NIECE to KING JOHN.

The words used by one of the citizens of Angers, Act II. Scene 2, and which in early editions are strangely allotted to "*Hub*" (Hubert);—

> "That daughter there of Spaine, the Lady Blanch,
> Is neere to England,"

have been considered by some critics to contain a misprint, and they maintain that SHAKSPEARE wrote *neece*, and not *neere*. This excellent Princess was daughter of Alphonso VIII. King of Castile and Leon, and the Princess Eleanor of England. After the death of her husband, Louis VIII., the Dauphin in this play, Blanche displayed great abilities as Regent of France, during the minority of her son, Louis IX., and afterwards during his first Crusade. Blanche, who was as remarkable for personal beauty as for talent, died in 1254, and from her union with the Dauphin have descended all the succeeding kings of France, including the Royal Houses of Valois, Bourbon, and Orleans; and her granddaughter, Isabel of France, was the mother of Edward the Third, King of England.

LADY FAULCONBRIDGE.

Some writers assert that the mother of Philip Faulconbridge was a lady of Poitou, of which province Cœur-de-Lion was made count or earl by his father, with half its revenues for his support; he was much engaged in his foreign *apanage*, before he came to the throne of England.

KING RICHARD II.

KING RICHARD the SECOND reigned from A.D. 1377, *to* A.D. 1399.

THE action of this play takes in the two last years of this unhappy monarch's reign, viz. 1398, when the combat was appointed between Bolingbroke and Mowbray; and 1399, when the deposition of Richard occurred. The chief events of this drama spring from the relationship between the cousins, Richard and Bolingbroke. Some mistakes have been made by commentators in fixing the identity of characters in this play, and there are several persons named in it, who though not taking part in its action deserve to be noticed, as they bore a share in the real events.

RICHARD was the fifth king of England after King John, from whom he was sixth in lineal descent, his father, the Black Prince, dying before Edward the Third. As much of the interest of this and succeeding plays arises from the contending claims of that great king's descendants, it will save repetition to give here an account of his offspring and their families.

EDWARD III., eldest son of Edward II. and Isabel of France, married in 1327, PHILIPPA, third daughter of William, Count of Hainault, by whom he had seven sons,—

"Seven fair branches springing from one root,"

and five daughters; the latter were, 1. ISABEL, who married Ingelram de Coucy, created Earl of Bedford; 2. JOAN, died young; 3. BLANCHE, also died young; 4. MARY, who married John the *Valiant*, Duke of Britany; 5. MARGARET, who became the wife of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, but died

without issue. The sons of King Edward were, 1. EDWARD, Prince of Wales, called "the Black Prince," born 1330, who in 1361 married his cousin Joan, called, from her exceeding beauty, "the Fair Maid of Kent;" she was the widow of the brave Sir Thomas Holland, one of the original Twenty-five Knights of the Garter, termed "First Founders," and only daughter and heir of Edmund of *Woodstock*, Earl of Kent, the youngest son of Edward I., by his second queen, Margaret of France; 2. WILLIAM of *Hatfield*, born 1336, who died at the age of eight years; 3. LIONEL of *Antwerp*, Duke of Clarence, and Earl of Ulster, born 1338 (died 1368), married in 1352 Elizabeth (who died in 1363), daughter and heir of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and by her had an only child, PHILIPPA PLANTAGENET, born 1355, who in 1368 married EDMUND MORTIMER, third Earl of March, and their eldest son, Roger Mortimer, was father of Edmund Mortimer, who was the rightful heir to the crown at the death of Richard the Second, and his sister, ANNE MORTIMER, becoming his heir, conveyed the right to the throne to the House of York, as will be shewn presently; 4. JOHN of *Gaunt*, or *Ghent*, where he was born in 1340, Duke of Lancaster, who married first, in 1359, Blanche, youngest daughter and co-heir of Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster, the grandson of Edmund *Crouchback*, next brother to Edward I.; the only surviving son of this marriage was Henry Bolingbroke; 5. EDMUND of *Langley*, Duke of York, and Earl of Cambridge, born 1341, who married first Isabel, youngest daughter of Peter the *Cruel*, King of Castile and Leon, by whom he had one daughter, Constance, married to Thomas le Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, who is the "Spencer" mentioned in Act IV. Scene 6, beheaded for his adherence to King Richard; the two sons of Edmund of Langley's first marriage were, Edward, who is the "Aumerle" of this play, and Richard of *Coningsburg*, who is the "Earl of Cambridge" in *King Henry V.*, and who married Anne Mortimer, of which hereafter; 6. WILLIAM of *Windsor*, died young; and 7. THOMAS of *Woodstock*, born 1355, who is the "Duke of Gloucester" spoken of in this play.

Edward the *Black Prince*, who is nobly alluded to in this drama, and in *King Henry V.*, died in the prime of life, as to age, but worn out by a wasting consumption, July 8, 1376,

having had by Joan, "Fair Maid of Kent," two sons, Edward, born in 1365, a promising youth, who died in Bordeaux, before his father, and RICHARD of *Bordeaux*, born there January 6, 1366, who succeeded his illustrious grandfather, Edward the Third, June 21, 1377, and was crowned July 16 following. He was therefore in the twenty-second year of his reign when this play opens, and the only two surviving sons of Edward III. were the Dukes of Lancaster and York, the murder of the Duke of Gloucester having taken place in 1397, a deed of crime which in a great measure led the way to the complications, and final catastrophe, recorded in the drama.

King Richard married first, January 14, 1382, ANNE of Bohemia, daughter of Charles IV., Emperor of Germany; this queen, to whom Richard was tenderly attached, died June 7, 1394; he married secondly ISABEL of France, who is therefore the "Queen to King Richard" in the play, but she was a mere child. Richard's death is generally considered to have occurred February 14, 1400, the old chroniclers being precise in stating that it was on St Valentine's day.

Arms of Richard II.—He adopted the arms ascribed to his patron, St Edward the Confessor, viz. *Azure* a cross patonce between five martlets *Or;* this coat he impaled with the arms of FRANCE *ancient* and ENGLAND quarterly. His favourite badge was a White Hart lodged, ducally gorged, and chained, which he derived through his mother Joan, Countess of Kent, and Lady of Wake. This badge is much introduced among the enrichments of Westminster Hall, which Richard had completed shortly before his forced abdication, which occurred September 29, 1399.

JOHN of GAUNT, Duke of Lancaster.

It is usual to place the Duke of York first in order, but as John of *Gaunt* was the elder brother he is entitled to precedence. By his first marriage, already given, he had besides Henry Bolingbroke two other sons, John and Edward, who died young, and two daughters, Philippa, who married John I., King of Portugal, and Elizabeth, who became the wife of John Holland, (son of Joan, "Fair Maid of Kent," by her

first husband), Earl of Huntingdon, and Duke of Exeter, under which titles he is alluded to in this play. John of *Gaunt's* second wife, 1372, was Constance, (who died 1394,) eldest daughter of Peter the *Cruel*, King of Castile and Leon, a style which John of *Gaunt* assumed for a time; by this union he had an only child, Katherine, married to the Prince of the Asturias, who afterwards became king of Castile and Leon as Henri III., and from this marriage descends the Imperial House of Austria.

John of *Gaunt* married thirdly, in 1396, Catherine Swynford, widow of Sir Otes Swynford, and eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Payn Roet, Knight, Guienne King at Arms; by this lady, who had been governess to his two eldest daughters, he had three sons and one daughter, all born before their mother's marriage, but made legitimate by Act of Parliament in 1397. These children had the name of BEAUFORT, from their father's castle in Anjou, where they were born. Their connection with royalty exercised great influence in subsequent reigns, and they will be noticed hereafter.

John of *Gaunt* died Feb. 2, 1399, at Ely House, as noticed in the play, his noble palace, the Savoy[1], having been sacked and set on fire by the rebels under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. He had also a splendid palace at Lincoln, which he is said to have built for Catherine Swynford, of which some interesting portions remain to attest its former beauty. It is greatly to the credit of "Time-honour'd Lancaster," that he was the personal protector, at much hazard to himself, of Wicliffe; and the steady friend of Geoffrey Chaucer, who married Isabella Roet, a younger sister of the duke's third wife.

Arms of John of Gaunt, K.G.—Gules three lions passant guardant *Or*, a label of five points charged with fleurs-de-lis *Gules*.

EDMUND of LANGLEY, Duke of York.

This prince was of more quiet habit than his brothers, and his natural indolence caused him to give way to the more impetuous Lancaster, and the turbulent Gloucester, during

[1] "Then accounted the fairest structure in England."—STOW.

the minority of the young king, who, however, on his going to Ireland appointed the Duke of York to be Regent during his absence. It was whilst Richard was away, that the banished Bolingbroke, now Duke of Lancaster by his father's death, landed at Ravenspur, July 4, 1399, and the Duke of York marched at the head of a large force against him; but his soldiers soon evinced more inclination to side with the popular Bolingbroke than to support the royal leader,—

"Where one on his side fights, thousands will fly."

SHAKSPEARE pourtrays him in what appears to be his true character, loyal and amiable, but weak and irresolute. The "aged York" at the accession of Henry IV. retired to his palace at King's Langley, co. Herts., and died there in 1402. His first wife, Isabel, died in 1394, before the play opens, therefore the "Duchess of York" must be his second wife, Joan Holland, third daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Kent, son of Joan, "Fair Maid," but the Duke of York had no issue by this marriage.

Arms of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, K. G.— Quarterly FRANCE *ancient* and ENGLAND, a label *Argent*, charged with nine torteauxes.

HENRY BOLINGBROKE, Duke of Hereford.

This personage, who is best known by the name of his father's castle, at Bolingbroke, co. Lincoln, where he was born in 1366, was of the same age as King Richard, and the cousins appear to have been rivals in childhood, as through life. Richard accused his cousin of having drawn sword upon him even in his queen's chamber, and Bolingbroke told the king that the people believed him to be the son of a priest, and not of the Black Prince. Mr Hallam, speaking of the controversy between Bolingbroke and Mowbray, observes,—"of all the political mysteries which this reign affords, none is more inexplicable than the quarrel of these peers." *Middle Ages.* Froissart states that it arose from Mowbray repeating to the king a conversation he had had with Bolingbroke, which the latter regarded as a breach of trust;—"Fair Cousin, what thinketh the King our Cousin to do; will he

drive out of England all the Noble-men? within a while there will be none left." Holinshed relates that Hereford accused Norfolk of certain words sounding highly to the king's dishonour. One part of his plea against that noble was certainly true,—

"That he did plot the Duke of Gloucester's death."

SHAKSPEARE frequently calls Bolingbroke by his title of Hereford, which came to him through his having married, in 1380, the great co-heiress, Mary de Bohun, second daughter of Humphrey, the last Earl of Hereford of the name, who died in 1372. Bolingbroke, hitherto Earl of Derby, was created Duke of Hereford by King Richard, Sept. 29, 1397. The poet has followed the old chroniclers in describing the quarrel which resulted in the banishment of the antagonists. During Bolingbroke's exile, his first wife, Mary de Bohun, having died in 1394, he wished to marry Mary, daughter of the Duke de Berri, an alliance which was broken off by Richard's influence, as alluded to in the play. The unjust seizure of

"The royalties and rights of banish'd Hereford,"

added fresh cause of ill-will between the cousins, and Bolingbroke, who had served with distinction abroad, and was very popular at home, seized the opportunity of Richard's ill-advised departure for Ireland to avenge the death of his heir-presumptive, Roger Mortimer, and embarking for England with a small train was soon joined on his landing at Ravenspur[1] by many powerful lords. The rest of his rapid progress towards the throne, with Richard's abdication, is well expressed by the poet, whose line, uttered by Bolingbroke,—

"In God's name I'll ascend the regal throne,"

refers to the bold assertion made by him that he was entitled

[1] The port of Ravenspur, so memorable for the landing, first of Bolingbroke in 1399, and secondly for that of Edward IV. in 1471, is no longer to be found in the map of Yorkshire, having been swept away by the ravages of the German Ocean. It was near the southernmost point of the coast, Spurn Head, at the entrance of the Humber, and not far from Kilnsea.

to the crown, "by the right line of the blood, coming from the good lord King Henry the Third," pretending that his maternal ancestor, Edmund *Cruche-back*, was that monarch's *eldest* son, who had been set aside for a younger brother, afterwards king, as Edward the First, who was really six years older. The truth is that Bolingbroke could have no title to the throne, the rightful heir, as descended from Lionel of Clarence, being EDMUND MORTIMER, Earl of March, who had been declared in Parliament heir to the crown after King Richard, but being only about seven years old at that king's deposition, "his friends consulted his safety, by keeping silence with regard to his claim." HUME.

Arms of Henry Bolingbroke, K. G.—As Earl of Derby he bore ENGLAND with a label of FRANCE; afterwards as Duke of Lancaster, Quarterly FRANCE *ancient* and ENGLAND, with a label of five points, the three dexter *Ermine* for BRITANY, and the two sinister charged with fleurs-de-lis.

DUKE of AUMERLE.

This prince, EDWARD PLANTAGENET, eldest son of the Duke of York, was raised, Sept. 29, 1397, from being Earl of Rutland to be Duke of Albemarle, or Aumerle. He was deeply implicated in the murder of his uncle Gloucester. He attended King Richard to Ireland, but deserted his cause, and joined Bolingbroke before Flint Castle. The whole of his early career is marked by deceit and treachery to both parties, and Richard told him to his face that "he was unworthy of the appellation of duke, earl, or knight." Bolingbroke, when king, degraded him to his former rank, thus his father tells his duchess, Act V. Scene 2,—

> "Aumerle that was,
> For that is lost for being Richard's friend,
> And, madam, you must call him Rutland now."

For his share in the plot against Henry IV. he was pardoned, a fact which is so admirably worked out in the play, and Aumerle lived to succeed his father as "Duke of York," under which style he will be found in *King Henry V.*

Arms of Aumerle, K. G.—Quarterly FRANCE *ancient*

and ENGLAND, a label of three points *Gules*, on each point three castles *Or*, for CASTILE.

MOWBRAY, Duke of Norfolk.

This peer was THOMAS MOWBRAY, sixth Baron Mowbray, created Earl of Nottingham in 1383, and in 1397 Duke of Norfolk, in virtue of his descent from Edward the First's younger son, Thomas of *Brotherton*, Earl of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England. The great family of Mowbray came in with the Conqueror, and Roger de Mowbray was one of the generals at the Battle of the Standard, fought at Northallerton in 1138. His grandson, William de Mowbray, was one of the Twenty-five Barons of Magna Charta (as was his brother Roger), and his descendant, John de Mowbray, married the lady Joan Plantagenet, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, and their son, John, fourth Lord Mowbray of Axholme, married Elizabeth Segrave, only daughter and heir of John Lord Segrave by his wife MARGARET PLANTAGENET, Duchess of Norfolk, eldest daughter and eventually sole heir of THOMAS of *Brotherton*. This fourth baron had two sons, John the eldest, at whose death, without issue, his brother, Thomas, the character in this play, became sixth Lord Mowbray, and Earl Marshal; he was loaded with favours by King Richard, and made a K. G. As the result of his quarrel with Bolingbroke the king pronounced against him the "heavy sentence" of perpetual exile; he died at Venice, A. D. 1400, of grief, or according to some writers from pestilence, as he was returning from Palestine. The Bishop of Carlisle, in Act IV. Scene 1, alludes to Mowbray's death, and that he

> "retir'd himself
> To Italy, and there at Venice gave
> His body to that pleasant country's earth."

The Duke of Norfolk had by his second wife, Elizabeth Fitz-alan, daughter of Richard, tenth Earl of Arundel, two sons, and two daughters; the eldest son, Thomas, on account of his father's attainder, simply bore the old ancestral title of "Lord Mowbray," under which name he is a character in the *Second Part of King Henry IV.*; the second son, John Mowbray, was restored to his father's dignity as Duke of

Norfolk, and his grandson will be found under that title in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.* Of the banished duke's daughters, the eldest, MARGARET MOWBRAY, by her marriage with Sir ROBERT HOWARD, eventually carried the honours of the Mowbrays into a new family; their son is the "Jockey of Norfolk" in the play of *King Richard III.* The second daughter, Isabel Mowbray, married James, sixth Lord Berkeley.

Arms of Thomas Mowbray, K. G.—Gules a lion rampant *Argent.*

DUKE of SURREY.

This personage was THOMAS HOLLAND, third Earl of Kent, son of Thomas, second Earl, by his wife Alice Fitz-alan, eldest daughter of Richard, ninth Earl of Arundel, and grandson of Sir Thomas Holland, K. G. and Joan, "Fair Maid of Kent." The Thomas Holland in this play succeeded his father in 1397, as Earl of Kent, and was created by King Richard, Sept. 29, 1397, Duke of Surrey; he is the only nobleman that has ever borne that title. He was also constituted Lieutenant of Ireland, and a K. G.: as one of the adherents of the deposed king he was degraded by Henry IV. at his accession, to his former title of Kent; and joining in the plot against that monarch, he escaped after its detection to Cirencester with the Earl of Salisbury, when they were routed by the townsfolk, and, being taken and executed, their heads were set upon London Bridge. This nobleman married Joan Stafford, third daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, but died without issue.

Arms of Thomas Holland, K. G.—Azure semée-de-lis, a lion rampant guardant *Or.*

EARL of SALISBURY.

This loyal noble is not connected with the Earl of Salisbury in *King John*, but was Sir JOHN de MONTACUTE, third Earl of Salisbury of that surname, son of Sir John de Montacute, one of the heroes of Cressy, who married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Monthermer, whose father, Ralph de Monthermer, married a daughter of Edward the First, the Princess Joan of Acres, widow of Gilbert de Clare. The

Earl in this play was one of the few who adhered faithfully to the fortunes of King Richard, and he joined the two Hollands, "Kent," and "Huntingdon[1]" (the latter being the person called by Bolingbroke in derision, "our trusty brother-in-law"), when they proposed to surprise the new king at Windsor under the guise of Christmas mummers, but on the discovery of the plot, Salisbury suffered with the Earl of Kent, as alluded to in the play, in the last scene, where Northumberland says,—

> "I have to London sent
> The heads of Salisbury, Spencer, Blunt, and Kent."

This last line, which is the reading in the folio of 1623, agrees with history better than the line in the quartos,—

> "The heads of Oxford, Salisbury, Blunt, and Kent;"

for Thomas Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, was beheaded in 1400 as a rebel to Henry IV.; whilst the then Earl of Oxford, Aubrey de Vere, though dying in the same year, was too infirm to take a part in plots, or even in his office of hereditary Lord High Chamberlain.

The Earl of Salisbury married Maud, daughter of Sir Adam Francis, Knight, Sheriff of Herts., 1392, by whom he had, with other children, his eldest son, Thomas, who was restored to his father's forfeited honours; he is the valiant "Earl of Salisbury" in *King Henry V.*, and also figures in the *First Part of King Henry VI.*

Arms of Montacute.—Argent three fusils in fesse *Gules.* These are borne by the ducal house of Manchester (Montagu), descended from Sir Simon de Montacute, younger brother of the Earl of Salisbury in this play.

LORD BERKELEY.

It has been usual to style this character "Earl Berkeley," but that rank was not granted to the family until the reign

[1] "Kent" was Thomas Holland, third Earl, degraded from his superior title, Duke of Surrey, as before noticed; he was nephew to King Richard, and also to "Huntingdon," who was John Holland, who had been degraded from the title of Duke of Exeter; he was half-brother, on the mother's side, to King Richard, and was brother-in-law to Bolingbroke, having married Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of John of *Gaunt* and Blanch of Lancaster.

of Charles the Second, when George, thirteenth Baron Berkeley, was advanced, in 1699, to be Earl Berkeley, Viscount Dursley. SHAKSPEARE only calls this character a baron,—

"It is my lord of Berkeley as I guess."

This person was THOMAS BERKELEY, fifth baron, descended from the feudal lords of Berkeley Castle, co. Gloucester, the mere tenure of which was, at one time, considered to confer a barony, as is truly the case of Arundel Castle. This baron, who died in 1416, married Margaret de L'Isle, only daughter and heir of Warine, last Lord de L'Isle, and their only child, Elizabeth Berkeley, married Richard Beauchamp, the "Earl of Warwick" in the *Second Part of King Henry IV.* and also in *King Henry V.*

The commission appointed by the Parliament to declare to Richard II., in the Tower, his sentence of deposition, consisted of "a bishop," St Asaph; "an abbot," Glastonbury; "an earl," Thomas Despencer, Earl of Gloucester; "a baron," the Lord Berkeley of this play; and "a knight," Sir Thomas Erpingham.—GRAFTON, who also adds Sir Thomas Grey, Knight, to the list.

In all modern editions the heading to Act III. Scene 2, is,

"*The Coast of Wales. A Castle in view.*"

"*K. Rich.* Barkloughly Castle, call they this at hand."

But Berkeley Castle, about a mile from the east bank of the Severn, would not be opposite to the Welch coast, but to a division of the same county of Gloucester.

Arms of Berkeley.—Gules a chevron between ten crosses patée, six in chief, and four in base *Argent.*

BUSHY
BAGOT } *Creatures to King Richard.*
GREEN

It is usual to bracket the names of these three persons together, with the above opprobrious epithet, but it is not SHAKSPEARE'S language; it is true that he calls them

"The caterpillars of the commonwealth,"

and chief among the evil councillors of King Richard, by whose profuse extravagance they largely profited. Fabyan

says, "In this 22 year of King Richard the common fame ran that the king had letten to farm the realm unto Sir William Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, and then Treasurer of England, to Sir John Bushy, Sir John Bagot, and Sir Henry Green, Knights." In the play only the first of these persons is named as enjoying this great and unconstitutional privilege,—

"The Earl of Wiltshire hath the realm in farm."

Sir JOHN BUSHY was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1394, and, with Sir Henry Green, was one of the six commoners appointed to act with twelve peers, as Commissioners in 1398, invested with the whole power of the Lords and Commons. Sir John Bushy, or Bussey as the name is found in later times, was Sheriff co. Lincoln, 2, 4, and 14 Richard II. Grafton attributes the death of the Earl of Arundel, and the exile of his brother, the archbishop, chiefly to the influence of Sir John Bushy. His *Arms* were *Argent* three bars *Sable*.

It would appear that the real Christian name of Bagot should be William, and he is so called in a writ, dated St Alban's, July 12, 1399, addressed to "William le Scrop, Earl of Wiltshire, John Bussy, Henry Grene, and William Bagot, chivalers," respecting the keeping of Wallingford Castle, in which Richard's queen, Isabel, then lay. RYMER'S *Fœdera*. Sir WILLIAM BAGOT, the person intended in this play, was Sheriff co. Leicester, 6 and 7 Richard II., and Knight of the Shire, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, and 20 Richard II. He escaped from Bristol Castle, and joined the king in Ireland, but on his return was committed by Henry IV. to the Tower, whence he was released November 12, 1400, and being received into favour served again in Parliament. He died in 1407, and was buried at Baginton, co. Warwick, leaving by his wife, Margaret, sister and heir of Robert de Whatton, an only daughter, Isabel, who married Thomas Stafford, of Pipe, co. Hereford. Bolingbroke, the night before his intended combat with Mowbray, lodged at Sir William Bagot's manor-house at Baginton, a short distance from Gosford-green, near Coventry, where the lists were formed, on "St Lambert's Day," September 17, 1398.

Arms of Sir William Bagot.—Ermine two chevronels *Azure*, which are borne by the present Lord Bagot, of Blith-

field, co. Stafford, where the family of Bagot has been seated since the Conquest.

Sir HENRY GREEN appears to be the second son of Sir Henry Green, Justice of the King's Bench, 23 Edward III., by Catharine his wife, daughter and heir of Sir John Drayton, of Drayton, co. Northampton, and the character in the play became Sir Henry Green of Drayton, his elder brother, Sir Thomas, inheriting Boughton and Green's-Norton. The second Sir Henry Green married Matilda, daughter of Thomas Mauduit of Warminster, and had issue.

Bolingbroke besieged Richard's obnoxious ministers in Bristol Castle, and with the exception of Bagot had them executed, without a trial;—

"*Aumerle.* Is Bushy, Green, and the Earl of Wiltshire dead?
Scroop. Yea, all of them at Bristol lost their heads."

Arms of Sir Henry Green.—Azure three bucks trippant *Or.*

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.
HENRY PERCY, his Son.

These nobles were the chief supporters of Bolingbroke in his views to the crown, although they were afterwards in arms against him, as will be seen in the next play. The great house of Percy descended from one of the Norman captains who fought at Hastings, William de Percy, who was rewarded with a barony of thirty knights' fees, and the hand of the Saxon heiress of the lands, Emma de Port. He accompanied Duke Robert *Courte-hose,* to the Holy Land, where he died in 1096, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Alan de Percy, whose son William, by his wife Alice de Clare, had two daughters, of whom the second, Agnes de Percy, became sole heiress; she married the brother of Adelais, second queen of Henry I., Jocelyn de Louvain, who thereupon adopted the surname of Percy; their descendant, Henry de Percy, ninth feudal lord, was summoned to Parliament by writ 27 Edward I., 1299; he obtained by purchase the barony and castle of Alnwick, co. Northumberland, still one of the proud possessions of the house of Percy. His grandson of the same name,

third Baron Percy of Alnwick, one of the heroes of Cressy, inherited the barony and castle of Warkworth, which had been given to his father by Edward III.; by his wife, the lady Mary Plantagenet, youngest daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund *Cruche-back*, Henry Percy had two sons, both important characters in SHAKSPEARE'S plays, and in history; the eldest being HENRY PERCY, the Earl of Northumberland in this play, and the second son, THOMAS PERCY, is the Earl of Worcester in the next drama. There was, it will be seen, a close affinity between the families of Lancaster and Percy; for Bolingbroke's mother, Blanche, was first or german-cousin to the Northumberland in this play. HENRY Percy had been raised to that dignity by Richard at his coronation in 1377, but he was the first to join Bolingbroke at his landing from exile, and for this defection he was proclaimed a traitor, as noticed in the play. By treachery and false oaths he obtained possession of Richard's person, and gave him up to his ambitious cousin, who lodged his royal prisoner in the Tower of London, where he obtained from the hapless captive a resignation of the crown in his own favour. It was Northumberland who suggested in Parliament that the deposed king should be removed to a secret place of confinement, and in consequence he was sent first to Leeds Castle, co. York, and thence to Pontefract. There are no remains of Leeds Castle, and but one small tower still exists of the once stately fortress at Pontefract, which is second only to the Tower of London for the number of royal and noble victims who have perished within its walls.

The history of the powerful "Percies of the North" belongs so much to the reign of Henry IV. that the further consideration of the family will be deferred till the next play, wherein "young Harry Percy" is a leading character; but in this play he takes small part in the action, and is introduced by his father as if a stranger to Bolingbroke, though in reality Hotspur commanded his forces before Flint castle, a place which had been a gift from King Richard to Northumberland, who inveigled his royal benefactor within its walls.

Arms of Percy.—Azure five fusils in fesse *Or*.

LORD ROS'S.

This is the ancestor of the present premier baron of England, Lord de Ros, who enjoys the oldest existing barony in the House of Peers, created 49 Henry III., 1264, in favour of Robert de Ros, whose ancestors had been feudal lords of Hamlake, co. York, for many generations. One of them, Robert de Ros, was one of the TWENTY-FIVE BARONS of Magna Charta, and married Isabel, natural daughter of William the *Lion*, King of Scots; he assumed the cross, and is buried in the Temple Church, London, where his cross-legged effigy remains. His grandson, Robert de Ros, was summoned by writ, as above stated; he married Isabel, daughter of William de Albini, with whom he acquired Belvoir Castle; he died in 1285, leaving as successor his eldest son William, second baron, who in virtue of his descent from William the *Lion*, was one of the thirteen competitors for the crown of Scotland with Bruce and Baliol. His grandson, William de Ros, fourth baron, was one of the leaders at Cressy, he died in the Holy Land, and was succeeded by his brother Thomas, who married Beatrice Stafford, eldest daughter of Ralph, Earl of Stafford, K.G., by whom he had, with many other children, John, sixth baron, and WILLIAM DE ROS, who succeeded his brother as seventh Lord Ros, of Hamlake, and is the character in this play. He was summoned to Parliament from 1394 to 1413. Henry IV. rewarded his services by appointing him Lord Treasurer of England, and a K.G. He stood very high in that monarch's favour, and died at Belvoir in 1414. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Arundell, and his male line ended in his grandson, Edmund de Ros, who died unmarried in 1508, when the barony fell into abeyance between his sisters, of whom the eldest, Eleanor de Ros, married Sir Robert Manners, and their son, Sir George Manners, became owner of Belvoir Castle, and Baron de Ros, and is ancestor of the dukes of Rutland. The barony again fell into abeyance in 1687, until it was determined in favour of Lady Charlotte Fitz-gerald, who took the name of de Ros, as descended through several heiresses from Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland, and her son is the present Lord de Ros.

Arms of Lord de Ros.—Gules three water-budgets *Argent.*

GLOVER. In Pine's copy of Magna Charta the buckets are described *Or.*

LORD WILLOUGHBY.

This peer was WILLIAM DE WILLOUGHBY, fifth Baron Willoughby de Eresby, summoned to Parliament from 20 Richard II. to 11 Henry IV., in which year, 1409, he died. He was made a K.G. by King Richard. His ancestor, a Norman knight, was rewarded by the Conqueror with the lordship of Willoughby, co. Lincoln; and Sir Robert Willoughby was summoned to Parliament 7 Edward II., 1313, and his great-great-grandson is the noble in this play, who by his first wife, Lucy, daughter of Roger, Lord Strange, of Knockyn, had two sons, of whom Sir Thomas Willoughby of Parham, co. Suffolk, second son, is ancestor of three extant noble houses, namely, the Barons Willoughby de Eresby, Willoughby de Broke, and Middleton (Willoughby), all of whom bear the same Arms and Crest.

Arms of Lord Willoughby, K.G.—Or fretty *Azure.* "Robert de Willoughby I saw bore gold fretty *Azure.*" Siege of Carlaverock. NICHOLAS.

LORD FITZWALTER.

This person was WALTER FITZ-WALTER, fifth Baron FITZ-WALTER, who was summoned to Parliament from 1390 to 1404. He was descended from Robert Fitz-walter, the famous "Banner-bearer of the City of London," general of the barons confederated against King John, and styled by them "Marshal of the Army of God and the Church." The baron in this play, who died in 1407, married Joan, daughter of Sir John Devereux, K.G., Baron Devereux, sister and heir of John, second Baron Devereux, by which alliance the baronies of Fitz-walter and Devereux were united in their descendants. The former of these baronies, after passing into the families of Ratcliffe and Mildmay, is now in abeyance between their descendants, of whom Sir William Brook Bridges, of Goodnestone, Baronet, M.P., is one of the claimants to the barony of

1295, 23 Edward I.[1] The Lord Fitz-walter in this play was the first to throw down his gage of defiance to Aumerle in Westminster Hall, according to Holinshed, and as shewn in Act IV. Scene 1, where he says,—

"There is my gage, Aumerle, in gage to thine."

Arms of Lord Fitz-walter.—Or a fesse between two chevronels *Gules.*

BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

This loyal prelate was THOMAS MERK, or MERKES, who had been a Benedictine monk of Westminster, and was appointed to the see of Carlisle in 1397. He was much employed in secular matters both at home and abroad. His was the only dissentient voice raised in Parliament against the deposed Richard being sentenced to secret and close imprisonment; and he was deprived of his bishopric, and sent to the Tower for his attachment to his ill-fated master. Subsequently Thomas Merk was sent to Westminster to remain in custody of its abbot, for which the writ is dated June 23, 1400. This circumstance is alluded to in the play as taking place before the bishop's removal to the Tower, in Act IV. Scene 1, where Westmoreland says,—

"My Lord of Westminster, be it your charge
To keep him safely till his day of trial."

Carlisle was afterwards released by Henry IV., and it is expressly stated in the writ for his enlargement, dated at Westminster, November 28, 1400 (RYMER'S *Fœdera*), that Thomas Merk, late Bishop of Carlisle, was pardoned on account of the excellence of his character[2]. To this point also the poet alludes, Act V. Scene 6, where the new king explains the reason of his leniency to the bishop :—

[1] Since the above was written, Sir W. B. Bridges has been raised to the Peerage, by the style of Baron Fitzwalter, of Woodham-Walter, co. Essex; but his title will only date from the time of its creation, April 11th, 1868.

[2] "Pour ce qui regarde l'Evéque de Carlisle il fut aussi arreté & condamné à mort, mais bien qu'en faveur de son caractère, le Roi lui eût accordé son pardon."—RAPIN.

"For though mine enemy thou hast ever been,
High sparks of honour in thee have I seen."

According to Bishop Kennet, Henry IV. bestowed upon Thomas Merk the vicarage of Sturminster-Marshal, co. Dorset; whilst Ritson states that he was presented by the Convent of Westminster to the rectory of Todenham, co. Gloucester; others again assert that he held both these livings. HUTCHINS in his *Dorsetshire*, and Sir N. HARRIS NICOLAS. Thomas Merk died in 1409; he was named by King Richard as one of the executors to his will, and in that capacity had a legacy of "a gold cup of the value of twenty pounds" sterling.

ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER.

RITSON, and all other commentators call this ecclesiastic "William de Colchester," but the compiler of these notices is inclined to believe that the abbot who took part in the latter scenes of this play was his successor, RICHARD HAROUNDEN, or HARWEDEN. The family of Harweden was seated at Harweden, or Harrowden, co. N. Hants, before the time of King John, and several of their members were "clerks" and rectors of Stoke-Bruere, in the county. The family ended in an heiress, Joan Harweden, who married Sir Richard Knightley, of Fawsley and Plumpton (Sheriff of the county 15 Edward IV.); the latter manor coming through the marriage of Joan's ancestor, William de Harweden, with Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir Giles de St John, of Plumpton, M.P. for the shire, 5 Richard II. BAKER'S *N. Hants, under Plumpton.* DART, in his account of Westminster Abbey and its "Abbats," after speaking of William de Colchester, whose date of death he states is uncertain, continues, "RICHARD HAROUNDEN is next nam'd, of whom we know nothing certain, but during this interval of darkness I find the year before the deposition of Richard II. the Abbat of *Westminster* attending Richard II. into Ireland, and after his return appointed with others to go to him in the Tower, concerning his Resignation, and soon after, concern'd at his Usage, join'd with the Dukes of *Exeter*, *Surry*, and *Aumarle*, &c. The Bishop of *Carlisle*, and princi-

pally the Abbat of *Westminster*, had an uncommon aversion to Henry IV., for that when the Earl of *Darby* he had declar'd the Clergy had too much, and the King too little; but I rather think out of a true loyalty to release their captiv'd sovereign, but the king discover'd and several executed. The Abbat fled from his monastery, and dying of an apoplex, escap'd publick Execution. This Harounden I take to be the Man whom the Monks secretly buried without Tomb or Inscription, nor do we know in what part of the church they laid him, probably for fear; but as I am not certain, I leave it doubtful." Dart names the successor of Harounden as George Flaccet, 1402, and states that Henry IV. died in his time, and then tells us that this abbot was succeeded in 1414 by a Willam ..... who lived to 1426, and was employed abroad by Henry V., especially at "the Known Council of Constance," 1414[1], and that he was followed as abbot by John Eastney, who died in 1438; when Edward Kirton became abbot.

WIDMORE, in his account of Westminster Abbey, places the death of William de Colchester as late as October, 1420, or near the end of Henry the Fifth's reign, and states that Harounden succeeded, and resigned in 1440, thus making a difference of forty years between his statement and that of Dart, as to date.

NEALE, in his history of the Abbey, follows Widmore on this point, but, with Dugdale, altogether overlooks the Abbot William ..... to whom Dart does not assign any other name, and yet of whom he gives a precise history; and as he bears the same Christian name with the abbot, whom all the writers agree in calling the immediate predecessor of Harounden, it is possible that Dart is right, and that the other authors have mistaken the one Abbot William for the other SHAKSPEARE also must be regarded as an authority in this case; his version entirely agrees with that of Dart, and must have been derived from some old chronicler, most probably from Grafton, who says, "the Abbot of Westminster, in whose house this con-

[1] The mandate to proceed to the Council of Constance is addressed to William, Abbat of Westminster, and John, Prior of Worcester; it is dated Nov. 17, 1414. And "Willielmus, Abbas Westmonasteriensis," is a witness to a Writ of 2 Henry V., dated Nov. 6, 1414.—RYMER'S *Fœdera*.

federacy was conspired, heeryng that the chiefteynes of his Felowship were taken and executed, he goyng betwene the monasteries and his mansion house for thought fell into a sodaine palsy, and shortly after without any speeche ended his lyfe;" *Under* 1 *Henry IV. Edition,* 1569. Rapin expresses a similar opinion, "L'Abbé de Westminster s'étant aussi mis en fuite, fut saisi d'une frayeur si violente qu'il tomba dans une apoplexie dont il mourut." Edition, 1724.

The abbot appears in the play as "the grand conspirator," and the plot to kill Bolingbroke was devised by him at a banquet in his own parlour, or refectory[1], to which he invites the discontented lords, Act IV. Scene 1,—

> "Come home with me to supper, I will lay
> A plot shall show us all a merry day."

The death of the abbot in the play justifies Dart's description of that event; Henry Percy tells the new king, Act V. Scene 6,—

> "The grand conspirator, Abbot of Westminster,
> With clog of conscience, and sour melancholy,
> Hath yielded up his body to the grave."

In Scene 3, Bolingbroke, after the pardon to Aumerle, declares,—

> "But for our trusty brother-in-law;—and the abbot,
> With all the rest of that consorted crew,
> Destruction straight shall dog them at the heels.
> . . . . . .
> They shall not live within this realm, I swear,
> But I will have them, if I once know where."

In the drama, as in history, each of the plotters against Bolingbroke receives from him a heavy doom, for where their lives are spared, as in the case of Aumerle and Carlisle, they are degraded in rank; and it is hard to believe that this prince, liberal towards his friends, but so vindictive to enemies, would allow the arch-conspirator not only to escape the fate of his comrades if living, but moreover to hold

[1] This is the celebrated "Jerusalem Chamber," which had been built by the immediate predecessor of William de Colchester, Abbot Nicholas Litlington, *circa* 1362, and which is one of the most interesting parts of the conventual buildings of Westminster Abbey.

for so many years his high office as a mitred abbot, with whom the offended king would be constantly brought face to face. The writers who look upon William de Colchester as the abbot in "King Richard II.," do not explain how he only escaped the fate of his friends, and was permitted to enjoy for fourteen years one of the most important preferments in the Church. It is evident that William de Colchester, of whom no one records a violent or sudden death, cannot be SHAKSPEARE'S "grand conspirator." It is unfortunate that the date is wanting on this abbot's tomb in Westminster Abbey, "conjectured to be his" from the "W de C," powdered on the pillow and mitre, "other inscription there is none." DART. In a Writ of 1 Hen. V. dated Westminster, 14 Dec., 1413, the king gives 1000 marks yearly, during his pleasure, for the repair of the nave of Westminster Abbey; and for the quicker despatch of the business appoints Richard Whityngton and Richard Harweden, monks of the said abbey, to carry out the repairs. RYMER'S *Fœdera.* Who was this Harweden? Was he a different person from William de Colchester's successor, or was he that abbot, the abbot of the play, who had escaped the fate of so many noble adherents of Richard II., but had been deprived of his crozier, and *degradcd* to the humble rank of a monk, and after a lapse of fifteen years employed, by the then more merciful sovereign, in a work for which he may have been well fitted by skill in architecture?

LORD MARSHALL, and another Lord.

As Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, was also the Earl Marshall, it was necessary, on account of his intended combat with Bolingbroke, to appoint some one else for the time to fill that important office, and the person who really acted on the occasion, in the lists near Coventry, was the Duke of Surrey, whilst Aumerle was constable. The poet would seem to be aware of this arrangement, for the stage direction, in the folio of 1623, at the opening of the third scene, specifies,—"*Enter Marshall* and *Aumerle,*" between whom the preparations have been made for the coming encounter, and Surrey is not introduced by name.

If it is required to find a name for "another lord" in the

stormy scene in Westminster Hall, Oct. 29, 1399, where the peers fiercely dare each other to the combat, that of THOMAS MORLEY, fourth Lord Morley, 1381 to 1417, K.G., would be most appropriate, as it was he who accused Surrey of double treason; "forty gauntlets, the pledges of furious battle, were thrown on the floor of the house by noblemen who gave mutual challenges, and 'liar', and 'traitor', resounded from all quarters." HUME. SHAKSPEARE therefore has not overdrawn the language used in this scene of violent recrimination. In some early editions the accusation by "another lord," and Aumerle's reply, are not in the text.

SIR STEPHEN SCROOP.

This loyal person was not, as frequently supposed, the knight of the same name who was a brother of Archbishop Scroop, or Scrope, a character in the two next plays, but was the elder brother of King Richard's chief minister, William le Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, who is often mentioned in this drama, though not brought upon the scene. They were the only sons of Henry le Scrope, first Baron Scrope of Masham, summoned 16 Edward III., 1342, who died in 1391, and was succeeded as second baron by his eldest son, the Sir STEPHEN SCROPE in this play, who had been a distinguished soldier from his youth, serving in France and Flanders. He was strongly attached to King Richard's interests, and we have a valuable testimony to his loyalty in the words of Creton, the historian, who was present with Richard at Flint Castle;—"Moreover there was another good friend, whom I heard called Sir Stephen Scroope; I saw him frequently with the king at that time." This knight was taken into favour by Henry IV., who appointed him for his martial experience Deputy Lieutenant of Ireland, under his young son, Prince Thomas of Lancaster. Sir Stephen Scrope defeated the Irish on several occasions, and died Feb. 10, 1408, at Tristel-Dermot, where the Irish parliaments were sometimes held. By his wife, Margaret ..... widow of John, son of Sir William de Huntingfield, he had four sons, of whom the eldest, Henry le Scrope, is the "Lord Scroop" in "King Henry V." Some authors state that Sir John Fastolfe married the widow of this

Sir Stephen Scrope, mistaking her for the widow of Sir Stephen Scrope of the Bolton branch, whose wife was Milicent Tiptoft.

Arms of Sir Stephen Scrope, Lord Scrope of Masham.—*Azure* a bend *Or*, in chief a file of three points *Argent*.

SIR PIERCE of EXTON.

Holinshed says,—"King Henry, sitting on a day at his table, sore sighing, said, 'Have I no faithful friend which will deliver me of him whose life will be my death, and whose death will be the preservation of my life?'" SHAKSPEARE therefore adopts the version of Richard's death, that he was killed at Pontefract Castle by Sir Piers Exton and his guards. This opinion was held by Fabyan, Hall, Hayward, Le Laboureur, Cartier, and other writers. Some authors, as Hardyng, Fortescue, Polydore Vergil, and Stow, think that Richard was starved to death by his keepers; Hume inclines to this belief, "as more consistent with the story that his body was exposed in public, and that no marks of violence were found upon it." In the cartel of defiance sent by the Percies to Henry IV., and repeated by Archbishop Scrope, one of the reasons of their being in arms against him is set forth, that "he caused King Richard to remain in hunger, and thirst, and cold, for fifteen days and nights." Walsingham, Otterbourne, the continuator of the Croyland Chronicle, and Gower the poet, who knew King Richard, suggest that he died of grief and voluntary abstinence. This opinion was held by Mr Amyot and the late Lord Dover (Agar Ellis). In later time Mr P. Fraser Tytler revived the story of Fordun and Winton, that Richard had escaped from Pontefract to Scotland, and that he was honourably entertained by Robert III. (who died in 1406), and afterwards by the Regent Albany. Fordun, under the year 1419, says, "In this year died Richard, King of England, on the Feast of St Luke, in the castle of Stirling." This rumour had been set afloat by Maud, Countess of Oxford, mother of Richard's great favourite, Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland. Creton, the poet and historian, addressed, in 1405, an epistle in verse to his beloved master, who was therefore in his opinion still alive; it is headed, "Ainsi come vraye amour requiert a tres noble prince et

vraye Catholique Richart d'Engleterre, je, Creton, ton liege serviteur, te renvoye ceste epitre." Henry IV. executed several persons who avowed their belief that Richard had escaped; among them was his cousin, Sir Roger de Clarendon, Knight, a natural son of the Black Prince, who would take a lively interest in the fate of his royal half-brother.

The rumour of Richard's escape excited so much attention that Creton, the poet, to whose valuable *Metrical History of the Deposition of Richard the Second* we are so much indebted, was sent by Charles VI. of France into Scotland, to ascertain the fate of his son-in-law, and it was not until Creton's return that Richard's widow, Isabel, was allowed to marry again. The extraordinary resemblance between Richard and his chaplain and devoted follower, Maudelain, gave rise to many strange rumours, and it was even asserted that the latter suffered death instead of his royal master, and that it was his corpse which was shown in public as the king's person.

Sir Nicholas Exton, Sheriff of London with Sir John Frenche (afterwards mayor in 1395), when Sir Nicholas Brembre was mayor, 1385, was a violent opponent in Parliament to Richard II., whose favourite, Brembre, he succeeded as mayor in 1386—7. It is probable that Nicholas and Piers Exton were near relations.

Arms of Nicholas Exton, Mayor of London.—Gules a cross between twelve cross-croslets fitchée *Or.*

CAPTAIN of a Band of Welchmen.

King Richard sent the Earl of Salisbury to excite the Welch against Bolingbroke; he raised 40,000 men, who remained a fortnight in the field, but then disbanded on hearing a report that the king was dead. CRETON. See also Act II. Scene 4.

It will not be out of place here to remark, that the renowned Glendower of the next play, who is alluded to in this, Act III. Scene 1, was actually in attendance on Richard as his "beloved esquire and minstrel;" he must have escaped capture at Flint, since he headed a band of his countrymen, with whom he harassed the rear of Bolingbroke's forces, as

far as Coventry, when he carried off his illustrious prisoner to London.

The name of the herald who accompanied Bolingbroke, and summoned Richard at Flint, has been preserved; he is called, "Richard del Brugge, Lancaster King at Arms del North."

QUEEN to KING RICHARD.

Anne of Bohemia, the first and long-mourned-for consort of Richard II., died in 1394, some years before the action of this play begins; the present queen, therefore, is his child-wife, ISABEL of FRANCE, who according to most historians was said to be only twelve years old at the date of his deposition. Richard had married her thus early, viz. on All Saints' Day, 1396, hoping that his grief would be assuaged by the time she grew up. SHAKSPEARE makes her to speak and act like an adult, yet Froissart, who was present at her marriage, relates of her,—"for all that she was but young, right pleasantly she bare the part of a queen," It would appear that Isabel was older than is generally supposed, for in the treaty of her intended marriage, attested by her four uncles, the Dukes of Berri, Burgundy, Orleans, and Bourbon, dated March 9, 1395, she is therein thus described,—"venue a l'age de douze ans acompliz"; which would make her to be more than sixteen at King Richard's surrender of his crown. RYMER'S *Fœdera*. ISABEL of VALOIS was the eldest daughter of Charles VI., and was crowned Queen of England, January 7, 1397. After the death of Richard, Henry IV. endeavoured to obtain her hand for his son, the Prince of Wales, but her family declined the alliance, and she became in 1408 the wife of her cousin, Charles D'Angoulême, afterwards Duke of Orleans; she died Sept. 13, 1410, soon after giving birth to a daughter, Joan, who married John II., Duke of Alençon, son of the prince who was slain at Agincourt, after his encounter with Henry the Fifth.

DUCHESS of YORK.

This lady was not the mother of "Aumerle," as evidently

supposed to be by the poet, the first wife of Edmund of *Langley* having died in 1394; consequently the "Duchess of York," at the time of the action in this play, was his second wife, Joan Holland, third daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Kent, the son of Joan, the "Fair Maid of Kent," by her first husband, Sir Thomas Holland, K.G. This duchess, surviving her husband, by whom she had no issue, married secondly the "Lord Willoughby" in this play, his second wife; thirdly Henry, the "Lord Scroop" in *King Henry V.*; and fourthly Sir Henry Bromflete, Lord de Vescy, whose daughter, Margaret Bromflete, married the "Young Clifford" in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.*

DUCHESS of GLOUCESTER.

This lady, the widow of Thomas of *Woodstock*, seventh and youngest son of Edward the Third, was the greatest co-heiress in England, ELEANOR DE BOHUN, eldest daughter of Humphrey, the last Earl of Hereford. Her husband, the Duke of Gloucester, took the lead in opposition to Richard's favourite, Robert de Vere, and the king, in revenge for losing de Vere, caused his uncle Gloucester to be seized, and secretly conveyed to Calais, where he was smothered by the squires and yeomen of the Dukes of Aumerle and Norfolk, Oct. 8, 1397. The contrivers and actors of this foul deed all came to violent deaths. By Eleanor de Bohun the Duke of Gloucester had one son and three daughters; the former died unmarried in 1339; of the latter one became a nun, another died unmarried; the eldest, ANNE PLANTAGENET, married EDMUND STAFFORD, fifth Earl of Stafford, K.G. (who was slain at Shrewsbury), and their son, Humphrey Stafford, was created "Duke of Buckingham," under which title he is a character in the *Second Part of King Henry VI.* The death of the Duchess of Gloucester, which occurred Oct. 3, 1399, is supposed in the play to have taken place at the castle of her late husband, at Pleshey, in Essex. In Act. II. Scene 2, the Duke of York directs a servant,—

"Get thee to Plashy, to my Sister Gloster."

At this place, which is mid-way between Chelmsford and Dunmow, the keep still exists of the noble castle built soon

after the Conquest, which was the residence of the lord high constables of England; but not a vestige remains of Pleshey College, which was founded by Thomas of *Woodstock*, the site of which is pointed out by the name of "College Field." The duchess, in reality, died in Barking Abbey, whither she had retired after the murder of her husband. She was buried in Westminster Abbey, where there is a very fine monumental brass to her memory.

LADY attending on the QUEEN.

The chief lady attached to the young queen's household was the "Lady of Couçy," Mary, daughter of the Princess Isabel, daughter of Edward III., who married Ingelram de Couçy, created Earl of Bedford, K.G. After the Lady of Couçy was dismissed in disgrace, King Richard placed his young wife in the care of his niece, Eleanor Holland, widow of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, and she accompanied Queen Isabel on her return to France.

Some persons are mentioned in the play who merit a brief notice, although they are not brought on the scene. A passage occurs in Act II. Scene I, which has given rise to much speculation, and the usual editions have an insertion by Malone, to fill up a supposed "dropped" line. But the text must be dealt with as it comes to us;—

> "I have from Port le Blanc, a bay
> In Brittany, received intelligence
> That Harry, Duke of Hereford, Rainold, Lord Cobham,
> . . . . . [1]
> That late broke from the Duke of Exeter,
> His brother, Archbishop late of Canterbury,
> Sir Thomas Erpingham, Sir John Ramston,
> Sir John Norbery, Sir Robert Waterton, and Francis Quoint,
> All these well furnish'd by the Duke of Bretagne
> With eight tall ships," &c.

[1] The following is the line inserted in this place by Malone:

"The son of Richard, Earl of Arundel,"

the archbishop's brother, Richard Fitzalan, tenth Earl of Arundel, K.G., one of the chief opponents of King Richard's favourites, was beheaded in 1397; "the son," Thomas, eleventh earl, is the character in the *Second Part of King Henry IV.*, under the title of "Earl of Surrey."

The difficulty in this passage is to know what person is intended by "his brother;" the line preceding seems hardly required for the sense, for there was no relationship between the primate and the Duke of Exeter; but "his brother" may refer to the affinity between Reginald, Lord Cobham, and the archbishop, THOMAS ARUNDEL, otherwise Fitz-alan, whose brother, Sir John Arundel, Marshal of England, had left a widow, who was now the wife of Reginald Cobham, who was thus in some sort "brother" to the archbishop, authors not being always precise in defining the degrees of relationship, of which instances occur in these plays. The poet may have read in some of the old chroniclers that John, Lord Cobham, had been sent to the Tower in 1398, by Richard II.; he was much associated with John of *Gaunt* and Archbishop Arundel; he was however only a cousin by the half-blood to Reginald Cobham. The "Duke of Exeter," at this time, John Holland, brother-in-law of Bolingbroke, was not Constable of the Tower, but that post was held by his son, John Holland, in the reign of Henry V., and he became afterwards Duke of Exeter. The association of the names of Exeter and Cobham with the Tower may explain the poet's meaning in the line, although a misconception,—

"That late broke from the Duke of Exeter."

The arms of Reginald, Lord Cobham of Sterborough, whose family will be noticed hereafter, were *Gules* on a chevron *Or* three estoiles *Sable.*

ARCHBISHOP ARUNDEL, banished by Richard II., returned with Bolingbroke from abroad, and crowned him at Westminster, Oct. 13, 1399.

SIR THOMAS ERPINGHAM, afterwards a K.G., is a character in *King Henry V.*; he took an active part against King Richard, and was one of the deputation to the Tower to demand his resignation. He bore for *Arms*, *Vert* an inescutcheon within an orle of eight martlets *Sable.*

"Sir John Ramston," whose Christian name should be Thomas, was appointed Warden of the Tower of London when Richard was confined there; he afterwards became constable of that fortress, a K.G., and admiral of the fleet; he was drowned in the Thames in his progress to the Tower.

SIR THOMAS RAMSTON, K.G., bore for *Arms*, *Gules* three rams' heads *Argent.*

SIR JOHN NORBURY, at the accession of Henry IV., was appointed Governor of Guisnes, and Treasurer of the Exchequer. The family were seated at Stoke D'Abernon, co. Surrey, and ended in an heiress, Anne Norbury, who married Sir Richard Halighwell[1].

Arms of Norbury.—*Sable* a chevron charged with a fleur-de-lis between three bulls' heads affronté *Argent.*

SIR ROBERT WATERTON was Master of the Horse to Henry IV., Sheriff, co. Lincoln, 12 Henry IV., and was second in command to the Earl of Westmoreland against the Percies. The Watertons stood high in the favour of Henry IV. and V., and members of the family frequently filled the office of sheriff in several counties. John Waterton served at Agincourt with "7 lances," and was Master of the King's Horse. The descendants of Sir Robert Waterton are now seated at Walton Hall, co. York.

Arms of Waterton.—Barry of six *Ermine* and *Gules* three crescents *Sable.*

It is possible that the last name on the list of Bolingbroke's companions, in some editions written "Coint," as Holinshed calls him, should be Francis Point; the family of Pointz, or Points, is one of great antiquity, as will be noticed in the next play under "Poins."

The DUKE OF BRETAGNE, who befriended Bolingbroke, was JOHN DE MONTFORT, whose widow, Joan of Navarre, became the second wife of Henry IV.

The "Lord Beaumond," mentioned as one of Bolingbroke's adherents, Act II. Scene 2, was HENRY BEAUMONT, fifth Baron Beaumont, great-grandson of John, second baron, who married Alianor Plantagenet (of Lancaster), great-granddaughter of Henry III. The fifth baron succeeded his father, John, fourth baron, who was Constable of Dover Castle, and

[1] Jane, daughter and heir of Richard Halighwell and Anne Norbury, married Edmund Bray, first Lord Bray, and their daughter, Dorothy Bray, married Edmund Brydges, second Lord Chandos, K.G., and their granddaughter, Catherine Brydges, by her marriage with Francis Russell, fourth Earl of Bedford, was mother of William, first Duke of Bedford.

a K.G. in 1396, and died in 1413; he is ancestor of the present Lord Beaumont, Henry Stapleton, 1865.

Arms of Beaumont.—France *ancient*, a lion rampant. *Or.*

The "Lord Seymour" is named as being with the Duke of York in Berkeley Castle; this noble was RICHARD de St MAUR, fifth baron of that surname, summoned to Parliament from 1380 to 1400. He might properly be introduced on the stage in the representation of the play; his *Arms* were, *Argent* two chevrons *Gules*, a file of three points *Azure*.

The "Blount" alluded to in the company of Bolingbroke's opponents was Sir THOMAS BLOUNT, whose execution at Cirencester was attended by circumstances of great barbarity, and he was cruelly taunted by Sir Thomas Erpingham in the midst of his torments, which he endured with great heroism. He was one of the persons present at the Abbot of Westminster's supper. At the coronation of Richard the Second, July 16, 1377, Sir Thomas Blount (as deputy for the Countess of Pembroke) held the napkin for the king, when he washed his hands before the banquet. A Sir John Blunt was "Custos of the City of London," in place of Mayor, from 1301 to 1307 inclusive. STOW.

It is worthy of notice that the bailiff of Cirencester, Thomas Cousyn, had an annual grant of 100 marks out of the Exchequer for his service in defeating "the rebels" against Bolingbroke.

The names of two of King Richard's adherents, who suffered for their loyalty, deserve to be mentioned; Lord Fitzwalter tells Bolingbroke, in the last scene,—

> "My lord, I have from Oxford sent to London
> The heads of Brocas, and Sir Bennet Seely."

The former of these was Sir BERNARD BROCAS, son of Sir Bernard Brocas, chamberlain to King Richard's first queen, and Master of the Buck-hounds, an office which he obtained by marriage with Mary, daughter and heir of Sir John de Roche, and their son, Sir Bernard, succeeded to the office, which became hereditary in the family of Brocas until the reign of James the First. There is a fine raised-tomb to the memory of the elder Sir Bernard Brocas, who died in 1396, in Westminster Abbey, with this inscription:—

"Hic jacet Bernardus Brocas Miles T. T. quondam Cam. Annæ Reginæ Angliæ: cujus animæ propicietur Deus. Amen."

The second Sir Bernard was carver to Richard II., and by his wife, Joan, daughter of Gilbert Banbury, left a son, William Brocas, of Denton and Beaurepaire, co. Hants., where the family was long seated. Sir Richard Brocas, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1730, bore the same *Arms*, viz. *Sable* a lion rampant guardant *Or*.

The name of the companion in the fate of Brocas is variously given. By some writers he is called Sir John Scheveley (CARTE); by others Sir Benedict Sely (HUME and RYMER), and many historians agree that his name was John. Sir Richard Broun, K.J.J., states that he was Sir JOHN SHELLEY, ancestor of the family of that name, who became baronets, and of whom Sir Philip Charles Shelley, taking the name of Sidney, was created, in 1835, Lord de L'Isle and Dudley. The name of Shelley, rather than Sely, is confirmed by the *canting* coat of the former family, namely, *Sable* a fesse engrailed between three whelk-shells *Or*. BROUN'S *Baronetage*.

FIRST PART OF KING HENRY IV.

Time of Action from A.D. 1402 *to* 1403.

KING HENRY the FOURTH.

BOLINGBROKE had been seated for three years on his ill-gotten throne when the action of this play opens; the first scene recording the recent battle of Homeldon, now Hambleton, near Wooler, co. Northumberland, fought on Holy-rood day, Sept. 14, 1402; and the drama closes with the victory at Shrewsbury, July 21, 1403. The former battle was gained for the king by the Percies, who were arrayed against him in the latter conflict. Henry IV. behaved with signal valour at Shrewsbury, killing, it is said, sixteen, or according to some writers thirty-six, of the enemy with his own hand, thus performing the part of a gallant knight as well as of a skilful leader.

Henry the Fourth's first wife was the great co-heiress, Mary de Bohun, second daughter of Humphrey, the last Earl of Hereford, to whom he was married in 1384. It is said that after he came to the throne he ordered 10,000 masses to be sung for the repose of her soul under the style of "Queen Mary," although she never enjoyed that title, as she died in 1394. The children of this marriage were four sons, and two daughters; of the latter, BLANCHE became the wife of Lewis II., *Barbatus*, Duke of Bavaria; and PHILIPPA married Eric X., King of Norway. The sons were, 1. HENRY of *Monmouth*, born in the Norman castle there, according to the inscription upon his statue in that town, "August ix., 1387," although

most writers place his birth a year later. Rapin ascribes it to the year 1386, and Buswell to 1385. One hardly reconciles the date usually given, 1388, for the birth of "Prince Hal," for that would only make him eleven years old when he is represented as boasting, that in a tournament—

> "He would unhorse the lustiest challenger."
> *King Richard II.*, Act v. Scene 3.

2. Prince THOMAS, born in 1388, afterwards Duke of Clarence, a character in the next play; 3. "Prince JOHN of Lancaster" in this play; 4. Prince HUMPHREY, the "Duke of Gloucester" in the *Second Part.*

Henry IV. married secondly, Feb. 7, 1403, the widow of his friend John de Montfort, Duke of Britany; she was Joan, daughter of Charles *le Mauvais*, King of Navarre, and was crowned Feb. 25, 1403: she died in the reign of Henry VI., 1437, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, in the splendid tomb of her royal husband, whereon are their life-like effigies. Joan of Navarre had no issue by her second marriage.

Arms of King Henry the Fourth.—Quarterly 1 and 4, *Azure* semée-de-lis *Or*, France *ancient*; 2 and 3, *Gules* three lions passant guardant *Or*, England.

HENRY PRINCE of WALES.

In the preceding play we have a slight glimpse of the "Prince Hal" of this drama, in the anxious enquiry of Bolingbroke, Act v. Scene 3:—

> "Can no man tell of my unthrifty son?"

SHAKSPEARE has drawn a lively portrait of this "mad-cap prince," who afterwards so nobly redeemed the follies of his youth. The death of his mother, when he was but seven or eight years old, must have left him early without sufficient control, but his grandmother, the Countess of Hereford, sister of Archbishop Arundel, bestowed some pains on his education, and at eleven years of age he was entered a student at Queen's College, Oxford, a fact which is recorded by an inscription on one of the windows:—

"In Perpetuam Rei Memoriam:—
Imperator Britanniæ,
Triumphator Galliæ,
Hostium Victor et sui,
Henricus V.,
Parvi Hujus Cubiculi,
Olim magnus incola."

WOOD'S *Athenæ Oxoniensis.*

Fuller alludes to the chamber over the gateway as the one used by Henry when a scholar at Oxford.

SHAKSPEARE, in his portrait of "Prince Hal," has taken the groundwork of his facts chiefly from Holinshed and Stow, with some few hints from the old drama, called *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth;* but these facts and hints have been clothed in the poet's own immortal language with singular felicity and beauty. The Prince of Wales, who was so created the day after his father's coronation, won his spurs at Shrewsbury, where he behaved with great bravery, and was "hurt in the face by an arrow" (Holinshed), a wound which the young hero calls in the play "a shallow scratch," and refuses to quit the field.

Arms of the Prince of Wales.—Quarterly France *ancient* and England, a label *Argent.*

PRINCE JOHN of LANCASTER.

JOHN PLANTAGENET, third son of Henry the Fourth, born in 1389, is here rightly called as above, since he did not receive any other style until the reign of his brother, who created him "Duke of Bedford," under which name he is a character in *King Henry V.;* but he figures more prominently in the *First Part of King Henry VI.*, as the "Regent of France." He was however made by his father Constable of England, Governor of Berwick, Warden of the East Marches towards Scotland, and a K.G.

Arms of Prince John of Lancaster, K.G.—Quarterly France *ancient* and England, a label of five points *Ermine* charged with nine fleurs-de-lis *Or.*

EARL of WESTMORELAND.

This nobleman may be well called, in the usual lists of the characters, one of the "Friends to the King." He was the head of that great Northern house of Nevill, which exercised so much sway in this and several succeeding reigns. Gilbert de Nevill came in with the Conqueror, and his grandson, Gilbert de Nevill, married the daughter and heir of Bertram de Bulmer, a powerful Northern baron, by which alliance Brancepeth Castle came to the Nevills[1]. Their daughter, Isabel de Nevill, married Robert Fitz-Maldred, Lord of Raby, and their son Geoffrey took his mother's name, and his great-grandson, Ranulph de Nevill, was summoned to Parliament 22 Edward I., 1294, as Baron Nevill of Raby; his son and grandson were distinguished persons in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II.; and the grandson, RALPH NEVILL, fourth baron, is the character in this play. He was born in 1365, succeeded his father, John Nevill, in 1389, was created Earl of Westmoreland in 1397, by Richard II., but was the first to join Bolingbroke's standard, and the earl became his most powerful supporter against the rebellious Percies. The further consideration of this great baron, and his numerous family, will be resumed in the next play.

Arms of Nevill.—Gules a saltier *Argent.*

SIR WALTER BLUNT.

This gallant knight, standard-bearer to Henry the Fourth, fell on the battle-field of Shrewsbury, mistaken for his royal master, being—

> "Semblably furnish'd like the king himself."

He was one of the ancient family of Blount of Sodington, which came to his father, Sir Walter Blount, by marrying

[1] Several monuments exist in Brancepeth church to the memory of the earlier Nevills. "BRANCEPETH CASTLE has been added to, and the interior mostly rebuilt, but a large portion of the ancient exterior remains." RICKMAN. The same excellent authority says: "Of Sheriff-Hutton Castle the ruins are extensive, and principally of Perpendicular character." This was built by Bertram de Bulmer, and became one of the vast possessions of the Nevills.

Joan, daughter and sole heir of Sir William de Sodington, his first wife. By his second wife, Eleanor, daughter and heir of Sir John Beauchamp, he was father of the character in this play. Sir Walter Blount's last male descendant, Sir Harry Pope Blount, Baronet, died in 1757, without issue, when the family estates passed to his niece Katherine Freeman, who married the Hon. Charles Yorke, father of Philip, third Earl of Hardwicke. The knight in this play was one of the executors to the will of John of *Gaunt*, who left him a bequest; "a Monsr Waut' Blount, Monsr Chambleyn, cent marcs."

Arms of Sir Walter Blount.—Barry nebuly of six *Or* and *Sable*. But in Act v. Scene 3, he should appear with a surcoat similar to that worn by the king.

THOMAS PERCY, Earl of Worcester.

This noble was a younger brother of the Earl of Northumberland in this play. He had been distinguished in war and embassies in the reign of Edward III., serving with the Black Prince, and in 1387 was admiral of the fleet. King Richard II. created him Earl of Worcester in 1397, and made him steward of his household, but the earl "broke his staff of office," as recorded in the preceding play, when his brother was "proclaimed traitor" for joining Bolingbroke. From being one of the warmest supporters of the new king, Worcester became the most bitter of his opponents; Holinshed terms him,—"the procurer and setter-forth of all the mischief;" and he wilfully distorted to his nephew Hotspur,

"The liberal kind offer of the king,"

and thus brought on the decisive battle of Shrewsbury, so fatal to the fortunes of the Percies. Being taken prisoner, he was beheaded two days after the fight, viz. July 23, 1403. He was elected in 1376 a Knight of the Garter, though his name is omitted by some writers. Worcester seems to have had some private grudge against Henry the Fourth's consort, Joan of Navarre, whom he accompanied to England in his capacity of lord chamberlain, when she came over from Britany to be married to her second husband.

Arms of Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester.—Azure five fusils in fesse *Or*, a crescent for difference.

HENRY PERCY, Earl of Northumberland.

The prophetic words of King Richard in the preceding play find their accomplishment in this:—

> "Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithal
> The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne,
> . . . . . thou shalt think,
> Though he divide the realm, and give thee half,
> It is too little, helping him to all."

"The impatient spirit of Henry Percy, and the factious disposition of the Earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the discontent of that nobleman, and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to seek revenge by overturning that throne which he had at first established." HUME. The illness of the earl, the command of his troops devolving on his fiery son, and the defeat of their army, are admirably described in the play.

This powerful noble married first, Margaret Nevill, youngest daughter of Ralph, second Lord Nevill of Raby, by whom he had four sons:—1. Henry Percy, surnamed "Hotspur;" 2. Sir Thomas Percy, and 3. Sir Ralph Percy, Knights; these two brothers married their father's wards, Elizabeth and Philippa de Strabolgi, daughters and co-heirs of David, last Earl of Athol of that surname; 4. Alan Percy. The Earl of Northumberland married secondly, Maud Lucy, daughter of Thomas, second Baron Lucy; she brought Cockermouth Castle to the Percies, and the arms of Lucy, *Gules* three lucies *Argent*, still borne on the shield of the dukes of Northumberland. There was no issue by this second marriage. The earl is a character in the next play.

Arms of Percy.—Azure five fusils in fesse *Or*.

HENRY PERCY, surnamed "Hotspur."

This famous soldier is like one of the paladins of old, from the romantic chivalry with which the poet has invested him,

and with justice, for he was esteemed "the most valiant and approved knight in England." SHAKSPEARE however evidently supposes that "young Harry Percy" and "Prince Hal" were of the same age; thus King Henry reproaches his son, in allusion to Hotspur's martial exploits,—

"Being no more in debt to years than thou."

In Act III. Scene 2, the king speaks of the younger Percy as—

"this Hotspur Mars, in swaddling clothes,
This infant warrior;"

and the prince alludes to his rival as—

"This northern youth."

Lord Bardolf and Travers use similar language respecting Hotspur's age, in the *Second Part.*

But Hotspur was as old as Bolingbroke himself, having been born about A.D. 1366—Collins says in 1364—and was knighted at the coronation of Richard II., in 1377. Hotspur is called "Henri de Percy le Fitz," in a writ 13 Richard II., dated August 11, 1389, in which he is named as Captain of Berwick; and he is found as "Henricus de Percy," together with his father, uncle, and other lords, in a letter to the Pope, dated 1390. The year after the Prince of Wales was born Hotspur was engaged in the famous battle of Otterbourne, August 15, 1388, in which he and his brother, Sir Ralph Percy, were taken prisoners by the Scots[1], commanded by James Douglas, Earl of Douglas, who was slain in the battle, which was fought by moonlight:—

"This deed was done at the Otter-bourne,
About the breaking of the day;
Earl Douglas was buried at the braken bush,
And the Percy led captive away."

The Battle of Otterbourne.

The previous fortunes however of the houses of Percy and Douglas were reversed at Homildon, where the former prevailed, and Archibald, the Earl of Douglas in this play, was taken prisoner by Hotspur, with many illustrious Scottish

[1] "Sir Ralph Percy was made prisoner by the earl mareschal, and shortly after Hotspur was taken by Sir Hugh Montgomery."—Sir WALTER SCOTT.

nobles; and it was the refusal of the Percies to give up their captives to the king which led to the quarrel between him and his powerful subjects. At Shrewsbury Hotspur, who with Douglas chiefly sought out the king's person, "supported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat;" and his death "by an unknown hand decided the victory, and the royalists prevailed." HUME. This renowned warrior, who is called by the old chroniclers, "Harre Hatespurre from hys muche prickynge," married ELIZABETH MORTIMER, eldest daughter and co-heir of EDMUND MORTIMER, third Earl of March, by the Lady PHILIPPA PLANTAGENET, only child of LIONEL of *Antwerp*, third son of Edward III. By his wife, the "Lady Percy" in this play, Hotspur left a son and one daughter, Elizabeth Percy, married first to John, Lord Clifford, and secondly to Ralph Nevill, second Earl of Westmoreland. The son of Hotspur, Henry Percy, became second Earl of Northumberland in 1414; he was slain at the battle of St Alban's, 1455; and his eldest son is the "Earl of Northumberland" in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.* Sir N. Harris Nicolas states that Sir Henry Percy, "Hotspur," was elected in April, 1388, a Knight of the Garter; he is not named by Anstis, Gwillim, or Buswell, as a K.G.

It has been ascertained from charters and other documents, that there are twenty-three variations in spelling the name of this great family, and one of these, Piercy, would suggest itself to SHAKSPEARE, when he makes Falstaff, who boasts that he had killed Hotspur, reply to Prince Hal's demur, "Well, if Percy be alive, I'll pierce him."

The late and present Dukes of Northumberland are descended from Hotspur, thus:—Their ancestor, Sir Hugh Smithson, Bart. (created Duke of Northumberland, 1766), married Lady Elizabeth Seymour, whose father, Algernon, Duke of Somerset, was the son of Charles, Duke of Somerset, and his wife, the Lady Elizabeth Percy, only daughter and heir of Jocelyn Percy, eleventh and last Earl of Northumberland, and was, in her own right, Baroness Percy, Poynings, Fitz-Payne, Bryan, and Latimer.

Arms of Sir Henry Percy, Hotspur.—Azure five fusils in fesse *Or*, a label *Argent.*

EDMUND MORTIMER.

The usual addition to this name in the list of characters is a mistake of person for the real "Earl of March," and it runs all through the play. There cannot be the slightest hesitation in stating that the Mortimer who takes so active a part in this drama is SIR EDMUND MORTIMER, born in 1374, the *second son* of Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, and Philippa Plantagenet, and *uncle* to Edmund Mortimer, the young Earl of March at the period of this play, who was entitled to the crown at the death of Richard II. The same Christian name, repeated for three generations, has perplexed historians; the poet however has correctly made Lady Percy speak of this character as her "brother Mortimer," but she is wrong when she expresses her fear that he "doth stir about his title" to the crown, for that was with their nephew, Edmund Mortimer, fifth Earl of March, at this time a lad of ten years old. Sir Edmund Mortimer, according to some writers, married one of the daughters of Owen Glendower, and he had been—

"By the rude hands of that Welshman taken,"

at Pilleth, co. Radnor, June 22, 1402, leading the retainers of his nephew, "the men of Herefordshire," against that doughty chieftain, who had ravaged the estates of the Earl of March; the latter, "though a mere boy, took the field with his followers, fell also in Glendower's hands, and was carried by him into Wales." HUME.

RALPH DE MORTEMER (*Mortuo-Mari*) accompanied his kinsman, William of Normandy, and held a chief command in his army at Hastings. He was made Constable of England, and rewarded with the lands of Edric, the great Saxon Earl of Shrewsbury, whose castle at Wigmore, co. Hereford, became the chief residence of the Mortimers, who were Barons Mortimer of Wigmore before they were created Earls of March.

Arms of Sir Edmund Mortimer.—Barry of six *Or* and *Azure*, on a chief as the first two pallets between as many based esquires like the second, over all an escutcheon *Argent*. J. W. PAPWORTH.

SCROOP, Archbishop of York.

This prelate, RICHARD LE SCROPE, was the second son of Richard, Lord SCROPE of *Bolton*, who had been chancellor in the reign of Richard II. The archbishop had two brothers, the eldest of whom, Roger, became second Lord Scrope of Bolton; and his youngest brother was Sir Stephen le Scrope of Bentley and Castle-Combe. Nearly all historians and the commentators of SHAKSPEARE have made the mistake, fallen into by the poet, in calling the archbishop a brother of the Earl of Wiltshire, who was a Scrope of Masham, as shown in the memoir of Sir Stephen Scrope in *Richard II.* The name of the Earl of Wiltshire was William le Scrope, who had only one brother, Sir Stephen Scrope, the loyal character in *Richard II.* DUGDALE, NICOLAS, &c. Even the admirable Fuller commits the error, when he talks of the prelate's joining the enemies of Henry IV., "being nettled with the news of his earl-brother's beheading." This agrees with SHAKSPEARE'S language, Act I. Scene 3,—

"who bears hard
His brother's death at Bristol, the Lord Scroop."

The archbishop only appears in one scene of this play, but takes an active part in the next, where his memoir will be resumed.

Arms of Scrope of Bolton.—Azure a bend *Or.* This coat, borne by the archbishop's father, Lord Scrope, gave rise to the memorable controversy between that baron and Sir Robert Grosvenor, who claimed a right to bear the same arms, but the decision was given in favour of Lord Scrope, in whose behalf two hundred witnesses came forward, including the greatest names among the living chivalry of England, from the veteran Sir John Sulby, K.G., 105 years of age, to "Hotspur," then about twenty. Among those who were present when the sentence was pronounced by John of *Gaunt* in this famous trial, which lasted several years, Hotspur is called "Henri Perci le Fitz" in the writ, dated at Westminster, June 4, 1390. RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

ARCHIBALD, Earl of Douglas.

The great house of Douglas was long the most powerful

clan in Scotland, rival in splendour and influence to the throne itself, and threatening at times to replace the dynasty of Stuart by that of Douglas. The character in this play, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, was fourth Earl of Douglas, who, though a brave soldier, was so unfortunate as a commander that he was called "the Tine-man." At Holmedon he lost an eye, and was taken prisoner by Hotspur; and when he fought on his side at Shrewsbury, which he did right valiantly, he was taken prisoner by the royal party, but out of respect to his courage was released without paying ransom.

He was present in 1421 at the battle of Beaugé, in Anjou, where the Duke of Clarence was killed; and he lost his own life at the battle of Verneuil, August 17, 1724, where he fell with the flower of the Scottish nobility, then serving as auxiliaries to Charles VII., who had created Douglas Duke of Touraine. This celebrated person married the Princess Margaret Stewart, eldest daughter of Robert III., King of Scots, by whom he had a son and two daughters; the former, Archibald, became fifth Earl of Douglas; his male line ceased in 1488, in the person of James, ninth earl, K.G., the first of his nation who received that distinction.

Arms of Douglas.—Argent a heart *Gules* royally crowned *Or*, on a chief *Azure* three mullets *Argent*. The "bloody heart" was added to the ancient arms of Douglas, "the starrés three," in memory of the mission of "the good Syr James of Douglas" to carry the heart of his heroic master, King Robert the Bruce, to the Holy Land.

OWEN GLENDOWER.

This great Welsh chieftain, the life-long and formidable enemy of Henry the Fourth, born in 1349, was the son of Gryffyd Vychan (Griffith Vaughan), who married Elena, granddaughter of Llewellyn, the last Prince of N. Wales. Owen entered the Inns of Court in London, and became an "utter barrister," but quitted the study of the law for the service of Richard II., to whom he was appointed "esquire of the body," an office which implied a close attendance on the royal person; thus SHAKSPEARE properly makes Glendower say, in reply to a taunt of Hotspur,—

"For I was train'd up in the English court;"

and Stow and Holinshed state that he served King Richard at Flint.

His resentment at the murder of his royal master, to whom he was strongly attached, and the rudeness with which Henry's Parliament treated his petition for redress, when Reginald Lord Grey de Ruthyn seized his estates, combined to make Glendower enter readily into the plans of Mortimer and Hotspur to place their nephew the Earl of March on the throne, instead of the "ingrate and canker'd Bolingbroke." The scene where the three confederates, with Worcester, meet to divide the realm between them, Act III. Scene 1, is laid at "*Bangor, the Archdeaton's house.*" The meeting was really held at Aber-daron, co. Carnarvon, in the abode of David Daron, Dean of Bangor, who was much attached to the cause of Glendower, who had recently caused himself, in 1402, to be crowned as Prince of North Wales, in virtue of his descent from Llewellyn. And at this time the prophecies of Merlin, derided by Hotspur as "a deal of skimble-skamble stuff," were revived, that Henry, under the style of "Gog-magog,"—

"must be brought in thrall,
By a wolf, a dragon, and a lion strong,
Which should divide his kingdom them among."

The *dragon* was the badge of Glendower, the *lion* was the crest of Percy, and Mortimer was called the *wolf*, from his crest, a white wolf. Glendower was not present at Shrewsbury, though he is said to have witnessed the conflict from a distant tree, the rapid march of the king having prevented the junction of the great Welshman's forces with those of the Percies; but he carried on a petty war during the reign of Henry IV., and suffered two defeats from Henry of *Monmouth*. In all the proclamations in this reign of pardon to his Welsh rebels, Henry IV. always exempts "Owyn de Glendourdy." RYMER'S *Fœdera*. It is supposed that he died Sept. 20, 1415, and was buried in the churchyard of Monington-upon-Wye, co. Hereford. SHAKSPEARE places his death much too early, when he makes the Earl of Warwick, in the *Second Part of King Henry IV.*, tell the king, in Act III. Scene 1,—

"To comfort you the more, I have receiv'd
A certain instance that Glendower is dead."

But it is evident that he outlived Henry IV., for a writ of 3 Henry V. directs Gilbert, Lord Talbot, to treat for Owen Glendower's return to his allegiance; it is dated at Porchester Castle, July 5, 1415, RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

By his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir David Hanmer[1], one of the Justices of the King's Bench, Glendower had five sons, and four daughters. His eldest son, Griffith, was defeated in 1404, and his youngest son, Meredith, concluded a peace with Gilbert, Lord Talbot, 3 Henry V., Feb. 24, 1416. RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

Of Glendower's daughters it is usual to state that the eldest, ELIZABETH, married Sir John Scudamore, Knight of Holm-Lacy, governor of Goodrich Castle; the second, JANE, is said to have become the wife of Sir Edmund Mortimer; the third, JANET, to have married Sir John Croft, Knight, of Croft Castle; and the fourth, MARGARET, to be the wife of Roger Monington of Monington, whose descendants, two ladies, were visited at that place by Mr Pennant.

The Rev. Thomas Thomas, in his *Memoir of Glendower*, confirms the marriages of his daughters Elizabeth, Janet and Margaret, as above stated; he however gives Jane to Reginald, Lord Grey de Ruthyn, Glendower's old enemy, whom he had captured, and who was obliged to marry his daughter. Fabyan, Carte, and other writers agree in this respect. Glendower's eldest daughter is now represented by her lineal descendant, Sir Edwin Francis Scudamore-Stanhope, baronet, of Holm-Lacy; and Janet, by her descendant, Sir Herbert George Denman Croft, ninth baronet, 1865.

Arms of Owen Glendower.—Quarterly *Or* and *Gules* four lions passant guardant counter-changed, adopted by him, being the arms of his maternal grandfather, Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales.

[1] The descendants of the second son of Sir David Hanmer became baronets (1629), and the fourth and last baronet of this line was Sir Thomas Hanmer, Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of Queen Anne, 1712, and Editor of Shakspeare's Plays.

SIR RICHARD VERNON.

The very ancient family of Vernon held the lordship of Shipbrook and fourteen other manors co. Chester, before "Dooms-day Survey." The character in this play was grandson of Sir Ralph Vernon, called *Old Sir Ralph*, to distinguish him from others of that name, who by his second wife, Maud, sister of Sir Robert Grosvenor, was father of Richard Vernon, who had two sons, Sir Ralph, who died without issue, and Sir RICHARD VERNON, the personage in this play, who became Baron of Shipbrook, though not a peer of the Imperial Parliament[1]. He had considerable influence in the North, and, joining the confederacy against Henry IV., was one of the principal leaders at Shrewsbury, where he was taken prisoner after the battle, and "upon the Mondaie folowyng the erle of Worcester, the Baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon, Knights, were condemned and beheaded." HOLINSHED. Sir Richard Vernon married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Piers Malbank, and left a son, Sir Richard Vernon, whose only daughter and heir, Johanna, married Sir Richard Foulshurst, Knight.

Arms of Vernon of Shipbrook.—Or on a fesse *Vert* three garbs of the *first.* The garbs were added by *Old Sir Ralph* to the ancient coat of the Vernons.

SIR MICHAEL, a friend to the Archbishop of York. There is nothing to denote the particular calling of this person, who is styled "a Gentleman" in the usual editions, but from the manner in which he is addressed by the archbishop, in Act IV. Scene 4, as "good Sir Michael," he was most probably his chaplain, the title "Sir" being often given to priests, as will be explained under the memoir of Christopher Urswick in *Richard III.*

[1] Shipbrook was one of the eight baronies of Cheshire, whose holders sat in the Parliaments of the Earls of Chester, Counts Palatine, from the time of Hugh Lupus, nephew of the Conqueror. These dignities were Malbank, Monthalt, Halton, Malpas, Shipbrook, Dunham-Massy, Kinderton (Venables), and Stockport.

SIR JOHN FALSTAFF.

SHAKSPEARE has imparted so much vitality to this wonderful creation of his genius, that he appears to belong to real history. Some curious association between this character and Sir John Fastolfe must have existed in the poet's mind. The name of the latter is spelt "Falstaffe" in the folio of 1623, exactly like that of the humourous knight, who is spoken of by Justice Shallow, as having been "page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk." The Fastolfe of history really served in that capacity in the duke's household. The tavern wherein the knight of SHAKSPEARE'S fancy takes his ease has the same name as one in Southwark, which was built on the property of the historical Fastolfe, and to this association of person and tavern we are probably indebted for the selection by the poet of the knight's name, afterwards slightly altered, and by commentators for that of the celebrated hostelry.

In the Epilogue to Part II. the poet hints that he may continue the character of Falstaff, "unless already a' be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." We are therefore bound to accept this disclaimer, though Fuller, alluding to the notion that had obtained to the contrary, remarks that—"Stage poets have themselves been very bold with, and others very merry at, the memory of Sir John Oldcastle, whom they have fancied a boon companion, a jovial royster, and a coward to boot. The best is Sir John Falstaff hath relieved the memory of Sir John Oldcastle, and of late is substituted buffoon in his place." *Church History.* In the *Famous Victories,* Oldcastle is one of Prince Hal's riotous companions, but there is not a particle of wit in his character, whereas of SHAKSPEARE'S Falstaff it has been aptly said, "the dramatic world cannot furnish his equal." Well does Washington Irving, in his charming *Sketch-Book,* exclaim,—"I would not give up fat Jack for half the great men of ancient chronicle."

In the *Paston Letters* is one, written in 1459, by Henry Windsor, a member of Fastolfe's household, to Sir John Paston, reminding him "of my master's own motion he said that I should set up in the Bore's Head."

Arms of Sir John Falstaff.—Although a fictitious cha-

racter, it will hardly be correct that he should appear on the stage without the distinctive marks of the rank assigned to him by the poet, and as he would wear the spurs of a knight, so he might be allowed a coat of arms; and as there appears to have been a family of the name of Falstofe in Norfolk and Suffolk, their arms would be sufficiently distinct from those of Sir John Fastolfe, K.G. to suit the humourous knight. Quarterly *Or* and *Azure.* BERRY.

POINS.

In the edition of 1623 the "Actors' Names" are given at the end of the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth,* and at the head of the "Irregular Humourists" is Pointz; and the name occurs in this *First Part,* spelt "Pointz, Poynes, and Poines." As this favourite companion of Prince Hal is evidently of more gentle blood than Gadshill or Bardolph, "the worst that they can say of me is that I am a second brother," it is probable that SHAKSPEARE intended him for a cadet of the family of Poyntz, one of high antiquity, found in *Doomsday Book,* under Gloucestershire. Nicholas de Poyntz, and his son Hugh de Poyntz, were among the feudal barons in arms against King John; and Hugh's grandson, Hugh Poyntz, was summoned to Parliament as a baron from 1295 to 1307, and his descendants for three generations were also barons. The family continued to flourish in the county of Gloucester, of which they were sheriffs, from the time of Richard II. to that of Elizabeth. Thomas Poyntz was one of the lances at Agincourt in the train of Lord Maltravers.

The *Arms of Poyntz* of Iron-Acton, co. Gloucester, were, Barry of eight *Or* and *Gules;* these arms are the same as those borne by Hugh Poyntz, the first baron; who accompanied Edward the First to Scotland in 1299, and whose banner is described in the ancient poem, *The Siege of Carlaverock,*

> "E la baniere Hue Poinz,
> Estoit barree de viij poinz,
> De Or e de geules oulement."

PETO.

The name of "Peito" occurs on the "Roll of Battel Abbey," and the family appears to have been seated in the county of Warwick from an early period. In 6 Edward I. Richard de Peito held lands at Drayton, near Stratford-upon-Avon; and 23 Edward I. 1294, William de Peto, who married Margaret, daughter of Richard Langley, was seated at Wolphamcote, co. Warwick; and in 1398, a descendant, William de Peto, cousin and heir to Geoffrey de Langley, gave a release of the manor of Milcote, in the same shire, to William Grevill. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Humphrey Peyto was of Chesterton, where he is buried with his son and grandson, William and Edward Peyto; and Sir Edward Peito was governor of Warwick Castle for the earl. It is therefore likely that the poet selected the name from its connection with his native county, and that he intended Peto to take a better rank than Pistol, Bardolph, and Nym; thus he is classed, in the list of characters of the *Second Part*, in the usual editions, with Poins, as "Attendants on Prince Henry," whilst the others are called "formerly servants to Falstaff," in *King Henry V.* Peto, in this play, holds the rank of "lieutenant" to Falstaff in his "charge of horse."

Arms of Peito, co. Warwick.—Barry of six *Argent* and *Gules* per pale indented and counterchanged. On a seal *temp.* Ric. II.

GADSHILL.

This is a character in the *Famous Victories*, in which he is the person who robs the carrier, is taken before Judge Gascoinge, and for whose rescue Prince Hal involves himself in disgrace. He is called in that play "The Theefe," but Derrick addresses him by his name,—

"Whoop, hallo, now Gadshill, knowest thou me?"

BARDOLPH.

The poet evidently does not imply that this person's name had any affinity with that of the noble house of Bardolf.

It was probably suggested by that of a townsman of SHAKSPEARE'S native place, who is known to have been a contemporary. Falstaff says of Bardolph, "I bought him in Paul's;" and in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, the famous swaggerer is called "Captain Bobadill, a Paul's man," which is explained in the editor's note;—"the middle aisle of St Paul's Cathedral was the common resort of cast captains, sharpers, gulls, and gossips of every description."

LADY PERCY, Wife to Hotspur, and Sister to Mortimer.

The name of this lady, who was born in 1371, was ELIZABETH, so called after her grandmother, Elizabeth de Burgh, wife of Lionel of Clarence. In the play Hotspur always calls his wife "Kate." She was the eldest daughter and co-heir of Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, and Philippa Plantagenet, granddaughter of Edward III. This noble lady is continued in the *Second Part* as the widow of her celebrated husband.

LADY MORTIMER.

It is by no means certain that a daughter of Glendower was married to Sir Edmund Mortimer, as supposed in this play, and so often asserted by commentators. Some historians declare that she became the wife of the Earl of March, and the poet, supposing that nobleman to be the Mortimer of this play, adopts the version; thus the king, in Act I. Scene 3, says of the "great magician," Glendower,—

> "Whose daughter, as we hear, the Earl of March
> Hath lately married."

Other writers state that she was only contracted to him, being but a lad, but it is well-known that he married the lady Anne Stafford. Mr Carte observes that Welsh historians do not bear out a marriage of Glendower's daughter with Sir Edmund Mortimer, to whom, in fact, the best English genealogists do not assign any wife.

MISTRESS QUICKLY, Hostess of a Tavern in Eastcheap.

At the time of the action of this play, as Stow informs us, there were no taverns in Eastcheap, the places for refreshment were only "cooks' dwellings." These are alluded to by Lydgate, who wrote in the reign of Henry IV., in his *London Lackpenny*, describing the visit of a country person to the metropolis,—

> "Then I hyed me into Est-chepe,
> One cryes ribbes of befe, and many a pye,
> Pewtar pottes thay clattered on a heape."

The name of the tavern in Southwark, which belonged to the historical Sir John Fastolfe, was the "Boar's Head," which Shakspeare would constantly pass in his way to the Globe Theatre. The name was selected in 1733 by Theobald, the first commentator, who assigns the "Boar's Head" as the resort of Falstaff, for Shakspeare does not actually give it a name, though he may be supposed to allude to it, when Prince Hal questions Bardolph about the knight's proceedings,—"Doth the old Boar feed in the old frank?" to which Bardolph replies,—"At the old place, my lord, in Eastcheap." 2 *King Henry IV.*, Act II. Scene 2. The locality is well chosen for Prince Hal's revelries, as it was close to the mansion which Henry IV., in 1410, gave to his son, called "Cold Harbour," in Upper Thames Street, an ancient possession of the De Bohuns. It has been ascertained that a tenement, known as "the Boar's Head in Eastchepe," is mentioned in the will of William Warden, stock-fishmonger, in the time of Richard II., but it does not appear to have been then used as a tavern. As such the first known mention of it occurs in a lease, dated in 1537, of "all that tavern called the Bore's Hedde, cum cellariis sollariis et aliis suis pertinentiis in Estchepe in parochia Sancti Michaelis prædicti, et in tenura Johannæ Broke, viduæ." In 1588 it was kept by one Thomas Wright[1].

[1] In Act II. Scene 4, where the Prince and Poins amuse themselves in perplexing the drawer Francis, "a vintner" enters, evidently his master, and orders him to "look to the guests within." Mr J. O. Halliwell takes this person to be the husband of the genial hostess, and places him in the index as "QUICKLY." In the next play Dame Quickly appears as a widow, "a poor

The "Boar's Head Tavern" of Shakspeare's own time, which really did exist in Eastcheap, was destroyed in the

Great Fire of 1666, and rebuilt two years afterwards, but taken down in 1831; and the sign of the "Boar's Head," carved in stone, having the initials of the landlord, or mine host, I. T. and the date 1668, is preserved in the Museum of the Corporation of London, attached to the Library, at Guildhall.

In the First Scene the names are given of the Scottish nobles who were taken prisoners by Hotspur:—

lone woman," whilst in this part both Prince Hal and Falstaff allude to her husband as then living, Act III. Sc. 3; thus the prince addresses Mrs Quickly:

"What sayest thou, Mistress Quickly? How does thy husband? I love him well, he is an honest man;" and the knight tells her:—

"Go, make ready breakfast; love thy husband; look to thy servants," &c.

And when Falstaff wishes to know from her who picked his pocket, she replies,—

"Do you think I keep thieves in my house? I have searched, I have inquired, so has my husband," &c.

"Mordake, the Earl of Fife, and eldest son
To beaten Douglas; and the Earls of Athol,
Of Murray, Angus, and Menteith."

SHAKSPEARE'S list is taken from Holinshed,—"Mordake Earle of Fife, son to the governor Archimbald Earle of Douglas, which in the fight lost one of his eies, Thomas Earle of Murrey, Robert Earle of Angus, and as some writers have, the Earles of Athol and Menteth." The first of these noble captives was MURDACH STEWART, eldest son of Robert Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, who was the third son of King Robert II. Murdach could not, therefore, be "eldest son of beaten Douglas."

"Angus" was GEORGE DOUGLAS, the only son of William, first Earl of Douglas by Margaret Stewart, his third wife, who was Countess of Angus in her own right.

At the date of the battle of Homeldon, there was virtually no "Earl of Athol," that dignity having been resigned to the crown in 1341, and it was not revived until 1408, in the person of Walter Stewart, second son of King Robert II., by his second marriage with Euphemia Ross. There is, however, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, a safe-conduct, dated June 8, 1404, granted to Walter Stewart, Earl of Athol and Caithness, to enable him to visit the shrine of Thomas à Becket.

"Murray" was THOMAS DUNBAR, second Earl of Moray, grandson of Patrick, ninth Earl of Dunbar and Marche, whose wife was Agnes, daughter of the brave Sir Thomas Randolph, who at Bannockburn commanded the left wing of the army of his uncle King Robert Bruce, who created his nephew Earl of Moray.

"Menteith" was one of the titles held by Murdach Stewart, as well as that of Fife, his mother, Margaret Graham, being Countess of Menteith in her own right. He was detained a captive in England for thirteen years, and was exchanged in 1415 for the Earl of Northumberland. The writ addressed to Sir Thomas Rempston, Constable of the Tower, to receive as a prisoner Murdac, Earl of Fife, is dated Feb. 9, 1404. RYMER'S *Fœdera*.

Mr P. Fraser Tytler names more correctly the prisoners of rank:—"Douglas, Murdach Stewart (Earl of Fife), and the Earls of Murray and Angus;" and he states that there were

taken eighty knights, among whom was Sir James Douglas, Master of Dalkeith. The following reading, though still imperfect, would solve some difficulty:—

> "Mordake, the Earl of Fife, the Regent's son;—
> With beaten Douglas; and the Earls of Athol,
> Of Murray, Angus, and Menteith."

In the account of the desperate battle of Shrewsbury[1] the names of some eminent persons are mentioned, though not found in the list of *dramatis personæ*. One of those warriors who were slain, mistaken for the king, who had "many marching in his coats," was the "Lord of Stafford;" this was EDMUND STAFFORD, fifth Earl of Stafford, K.G., descended from a race of warlike ancestors; his grandfather, Ralph, who held high command at Cressy and Poitiers, was created Earl of Stafford, K.G., "a First Founder."

Arms of Stafford, Or a chevron *Gules*.

A "Shirley" is also named as one who fell in the royal guise; this was Sir HUGH SHIRLEY, Knight, Master of the Hawks to Henry IV. and son of Sir Thomas Shirley and his wife Isabel Basset, sister of Ralph, the last Lord Basset of Drayton, K.G., who left his estates to his nephew and heir, Hugh Shirley, who is ancestor of the present Earl Ferrers (Shirley). John of *Gaunt* left a bequest in his will to this knight:—"a Mons'r Hugh Shireley cent marcs."

Arms of Shirley.—Paly of six *Or* and *Azure*, a canton *Ermine*.

Two commanders of high rank are spoken of as requiring succour, and the king tells his son,—

> "Make up to Clifton; I'll to Sir Nicholas Gawsey."

Hume calls the latter "Gausel," who was slain in the battle; this knight was Sir NICHOLAS Goushill, of Hoveringham, co. Notts., father of Sir Robert Goushill, Knt., also killed in the field, who was the fourth husband of the Lady Elizabeth Fitzalan, great-great-granddaughter of Edward the First, and widow of the "Duke of Norfolk" in *King Richard II.* There

[1] The actual scene of conflict was four miles N. E. of Shrewsbury, at a place which is called "Battle-Field," and where Henry IV., in memory of his victory, founded in 1403 a college for a master and five chaplains.

is a fine monument in Hoveringham Church, with the effigies of Sir Robert and Lady Elizabeth Goushill. Their daughter Joan married Sir Thomas Stanley, K.G., ancestor of the present Earl of Derby. "Robert de Goushill" is named as one of the "attornies" of the banished Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray, in a writ dated Oct. 15, 1398. RYMER'S *Fœdera.* Another daughter of Sir Robert and Lady Elizabeth Goushill, Elizabeth, married Sir Robert Wingfield, of Letheringham, co. Suffolk, M.P., and from them is descended the present Viscount Powerscourt, Baron Wingfield, Mervyn Wingfield, 1865.

Arms of Sir Nicholas Goushill.—Barry of six *Or* and *Azure,* a canton *Ermine;* as borne on his seal.

"Clifton" was Sir JOHN CLIFTON, who was Knight of the Shire of Nottingham, 4 Henry IV.; he was also killed in the battle, having been made a banneret on the field. By his wife Catherine, daughter and heir of Sir John de Cressy, he had a son, Sir Gervas Clifton, ancestor of the present Sir Robert Juckes Clifton, of Clifton, Baronet. One of the family, Sir Gervas Clifton, suffered for the House of Lancaster at Tewkesbury; and another Sir Gervas Clifton perished at Bosworth, following Richard III. in his last desperate charge.

Arms of Clifton.—*Sable* semée of cinque-foils and a lion rampant *Argent.*

In Act III. Scene 2, Sir Walter Blunt tells the king,—

> "Lord Mortimer of Scotland hath sent word,
> That Douglas and the English rebels met
> The eleventh of this month at Shrewsbury."

There was no person with such a title, but GEORGE DUNBAR, tenth Earl of MARCHE in Scotland, as well as Earl of Dunbar, was really the person who warned the king, and also attended him at Shrewsbury, where he rescued him from the fierce onslaught of the Douglas, and carried King Henry out of danger. His title of "Marche" has led historians, followed by the poet, into the mistake that he must be a Mortimer; he was the eldest son of Patrick, ninth Earl of Dunbar and Marche by

Agnes Randolph, and had become a subject of England, having renounced his fealty to Robert III., King of Scots, because that monarch preferred Margery, daughter of Archibald, third Earl Douglas, as a wife for his son, Prince David, instead of Dunbar's own daughter Elizabeth. By writ dated July 25, 1400, Henry IV. agreed to confer on George Earl of Dunbar, and Christian his wife, the castle and lordship of Somerton, co. Lincoln. RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

In Act II. Scene 4, Falstaff tells Prince Hal,—

"Here was Sir John Bracy from your father."

There was a family of this name seated at Madresfield, and other places in the county of Worcester, from the time of King John, whose chief line seems to have ended in an heiress, Joan Bracy, daughter of William de Bracy, who became the wife of Thomas Lygon, ancestor of the present Earl Beauchamp, whose principal seat is at Madresfield Court. Several members of the Bracy family were buried at Great Malvern Church, and their coats of arms are preserved in the windows of that beautiful building; one of the inscriptions runs thus:—"Orate pro animabus Johannis Braci, Willielmi et Thomæ, filiorum ejus." Their Arms were.—*Gules* a fesse *Or*, in chief two spur rowels *Argent.*

SECOND PART OF KING HENRY IV.

TIME—*from* A.D. 1403 *to* 1413.

KING HENRY THE FOURTH.

The aspiring Bolingbroke and active general of the two preceding plays is in this drama represented in failing health and broken spirits, subject to epileptic attacks, of which the poet speaks,—

> "these fits
> Are with his highness very ordinary;"

and his latter years are said to have been haunted by remorse for the "indirect crook'd ways" by which he obtained the crown. He was praying, "as was his wont of late," before the shrine of St Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey, March 20, 1413, when he was seized with his last fit, and it was supposed at first that he was dead, but being carried into the Jerusalem Chamber, and laid before a fire, he revived sufficiently to give his parting advice to his successor; his asking the name of the apartment in which he was dying is from history[1]. In this most interesting room, the Jerusalem Chamber, is still preserved the fine original portrait of Richard the Second, upon which his rival must have often looked in his visits to the Abbey[2]. English writers, as Wal-

[1] "Then said the king, 'Loving be to the Father of Heaven, for now I know that I shall die in this chamber, according to the prophecy of me before said, that I should die in Jerusalem,' and so after he made himself ready, and died shortly after."—FABYAN'S *Chronicle*. Ed. 1559.

[2] In Dart's time this portrait was hung up "on the south side of the choir, by the pulpit."

singham and Hardyng, and the French historian, Mezeray, state that Henry IV. died of a dreadful leprous disease, affecting the lower part of his face.

Arms of King Henry IV.—As given in the First Part.

HENRY PRINCE of WALES, afterwards King Henry V.

Stow mentions his robbing his father's receivers of rents, and he was arrested by John Hornesby, Mayor of Coventry, and placed in gaol for a riot. The prince had near that town the manor of Cheylesmore, which was the scene of frequent disturbances. His great poverty has been alleged as the cause of his excesses. The taking away of the crown by the prince, who imagines that his father is dead, is from Holinshed. The early chroniclers lead us to believe that Prince Henry and his father were not on cordial terms, and that the king's mournful reproach in the play, Act IV. Scene 4, was but too well deserved ;—

> "Thy life did manifest thou lovedst me not,
> And thou wilt have me die assured of it."

Arms of Henry Prince of Wales.—Quarterly FRANCE *ancient* and ENGLAND, a label of three points *Argent.*

THOMAS DUKE of CLARENCE.

This prince and his next brother, John, were frequently engaged, according to the chroniclers, in uproars in the city. Stow mentions a riot on St John's Eve, 1410, in Eastcheap, wherein both these princes were foremost and violent actors. SHAKSPEARE does not include them in the disorderly proceedings of their elder brother; and Falstaff speaks of Prince John as "a sober-blooded boy," for which he quite accounts,—"he drinks no wine." THOMAS PLANTAGENET, born in 1388, was created July 9, 1411, by his father, Earl of Albemarle and Duke of Clarence. As this prince does not figure in the succeeding plays, though he is addressed by his brother as if present at the meeting of the kings at Troyes, *King Henry V.*, Act V. Scene 2, a few words are needful in this place. He was chosen President of his father's Council when Prince Hal

was in disgrace, and had been made a K.G. about the year 1400. He was sometime Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Captain of Calais, and Lieutenant-General of France and Normandy. He was a distinguished commander, and was killed at the battle of Beaugé in Anjou, March 23, 1421. The spear with which the Duke of Clarence was unhorsed by Sir John Swinton was presented by that knight's descendant to Sir Walter Scott. The Duke of Clarence married Margaret Holland, second daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Kent, but had no issue by her.

Arms of Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, K.G.—FRANCE *ancient* and ENGLAND Quarterly, a label of three points *Ermine* each charged with a canton *Gules*.

PRINCE JOHN of LANCASTER.

This prince, third son of King Henry IV., was made a Knight of the Bath, with his brothers, the day *before* their father's coronation, the Institution of the Order dating from Oct. 12, 1399. He was also made a K.G. in the same reign, *circa* 1400, Constable of England, Governor of Berwick, and Warden of the East Marches towards Scotland. As his career belongs chiefly to the subsequent reigns of his brother and nephew, his memoir will be resumed in the two next plays.

Arms of Prince John of Lancaster.—As given in the First Part.

PRINCE HUMPHREY of GLOUCESTER.

This prince, fourth and youngest son of King Henry IV., was named after his maternal grandfather, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford. He does not appear to have taken part in the excesses of his elder brothers. He was made a K.G. by his father; he is only introduced towards the close of this play, but takes an active part in the two next reigns, and will be found under the title bestowed upon him, "Duke of Gloucester," by his brother, in the three following plays.

Arms of Prince Humphrey Plantagenet, K.G.—FRANCE *ancient* and ENGLAND Quarterly, a border *Argent*.

EARL of WARWICK.

SHAKSPEARE is under a mistake as to the identity of this character, when he makes the king address him, in Act III. Scene I,—

"You, cousin Nevil, as I may remember;"—

but the title at the time was held by RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, fifth Earl of Warwick of his name. His youngest daughter, Anne Beauchamp, married Richard Nevill, the famous "king-maker," who became Earl of Warwick, but not until the reign of Henry VI., and hence the mistake of the poet as to surname. The illustrious Warwick of this play, born in 1381, descended from Hugh de Beauchamp, who had large grants from the Conqueror, and received his name from his sponsors, King Richard II. and Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York. Like his ancestors, he was a famous warrior; he behaved with great valour against Glendower, whose person he nearly captured, taking his standard; and at Shrewsbury, "he notably and manly behaved himself to his great laud and worship." In 9 Henry IV. he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and during his progress displayed the highest accomplishments of chivalry at different tournaments, wherein he had no superior for courtesy and valour. Southey alludes to his fame in his poem, *Joan of Arc*,—

"Warwick, he whose wide renown,
Greece knew, and Antioch, and the holy soil
Of Palestine, since there in arms he went
On gallant pilgrimage."

In the last year of Henry IV. he was sent to Scotland to treat of peace with the Regent Albany. At the coronation of Henry V., with which this play concludes, April 9, 1413, the Earl of Warwick acted as Lord High Steward of England. As he is a character in the next play, his memoir will be then carried on.

Arms of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.—Gules a fesse between six cross-croslets *Or*.

EARL of WESTMORELAND.

This nobleman, the RALPH NEVILL of the *First Part*, is

an important character in this play, and SHAKSPEARE has followed history in the account of the suppression of the confederacy between the archbishop and Mowbray; but the unworthy stratagem by which they were induced to disband their forces belongs entirely to Westmoreland. This potent baron was amply rewarded for his great services by Henry IV., who gave him the county of Richmond for life, made him Earl Marshal, Governor of Carlisle, Warden of the West Marches towards Scotland, Governor of Roxburgh Castle, and a K.G.

By his two wives he had twenty-two children; many of the sons were eminent characters in history, whilst the marriages of his daughters increased the influence of the Nevills. His first wife was Margaret Stafford, daughter of Hugh, second Earl of Stafford, K.G., by whom he had two sons and seven daughters; the eldest son, John Lord Nevill, died before his father, leaving a son, Ralph, who succeeded his grandfather as second "Earl of Westmoreland," under which title he is a character in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.*

The earl's second wife was the Lady Joan Beaufort, only daughter of John of *Gaunt* and Catherine Swynford; the issue of this marriage were eight sons and five daughters. Of the former,—1. RICHARD NEVILL is the "Earl of Salisbury" in the *Second Part of King Henry VI.*; 2. WILLIAM NEVILL became Lord Fauconberg, and a K.G.; 3. GEORGE NEVILL became Lord Latimer; 4. EDWARD NEVILL was summoned to Parliament, *jure uxoris*, as Baron Bergavenny; 5. ROBERT NEVILL was Bishop of Durham; 6, 7, 8. Cuthbert, Henry, and Thomas, died without issue. Of the daughters, the youngest, CICELY NEVILL, called the "Rose of Raby," by her marriage with RICHARD PLANTAGENET, the "Duke of York" in *King Henry VI.*, was mother of two kings, Edward IV. and Richard III. The Earl of Westmoreland is continued in the next play.

Arms of Nevill.—Gules a saltier *Argent.*

EARL of SURREY.

In the list of the "Actors' Names" placed at the end of this play, in the Folio of 1623, is "Surrey of the King's

partie," and SHAKSPEARE, in Act III. Scene 1, brings him on the stage; the King says to an attendant,—

"Go, call the Earls of Surrey and of Warwick[1];"

and then we have the stage direction, "*Enter Warwick and Surrey.*" Doubtless the poet intended Surrey, who does not utter a word, for THOMAS FITZ-ALAN, eleventh Earl of Arundel, descended from the Earls of Warren and Surrey, and who, according to Sir N. Harris Nicolas, was Earl of Arundel and Surrey. But the earldom of Surrey as an only dignity is not known until it was so created by Richard III., in favour of the gallant Thomas Howard, son of "Jockey of Norfolk." Thomas Fitz-Alan, best known in history as Earl of Arundel, descended from a long line of distinguished ancestors, was made a K.B. at the coronation of Henry IV., who sent him in 1411 at the head of 1200 lances and a large body of cross-bow men to assist John the *Fearless*, Duke of Burgundy, against the Duke of Orleans. He was made a K.G. in the same reign, and in that of Henry V. was Constable of Dover Castle, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Lord Treasurer. He died in 1415 without issue.

Arms of Fitz-Alan.—Argent a lion rampant within a border *Or*.

GOWER, of the King's Party.

THOMAS GOWER, eldest son of Sir Thomas Gower, of Stitenham, co. York, Knight, was 11 Henry IV. one of the Commissioners of Array in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and he afterwards served with Henry V. in France, and was made Governor of Mans, a place which he nobly defended in the reign of Henry VI. He may be the person intended in this play; he was one of the family of Gower, now repre-

[1] In the *Famous Victories*, instead of Surrey and Warwick, the nobles who attend the king's summons are "Exeter and Oxford." But "Exeter" could not be correct, because that title had ceased in 1400, and was not revived until 1416. "Oxford" would be the eleventh earl, Richard de Vere (born 1386, died 1417); he served in the French wars of Henry V., who made him a K.G.; but his relationship (cousin) to the ninth earl, the favourite of Richard II., would not be likely to commend him to the favour of Henry IV.

sented by the Duke of Sutherland, whose ancestor, Sir John Gower, Standard-bearer to Edward Prince of Wales at Tewkesbury, was there taken by the Yorkists and beheaded. In the list given in the *Monasticon*, Vol. II., under "Tewkesbury Monastery," of the "capti et decollati" of the disastrous field, occurs the name, "Johannis Gower Ensiger Principis Edwardi."

Arms of Gower of Stitenham.—Barry of eight *Argent* and *Gules*, a cross patée *Sable*.

HARCOURT, of the King's Party.

The late Right Hon. T. P. Courtenay, who drew up some valuable notes on SHAKSPEARE'S historical plays thirty years ago, says of this character,—"I do not know why the dramatist selected Harecourt as the bearer of the news of Rokeby's success. The Harecourts were considerable persons in this reign. I apprehend that Shakspeare took the name at random. I cannot identify any member of the family as the person intended."

SIR THOMAS HARCOURT, of Stanton, co. Oxford, was Sheriff of Berkshire, 9 Henry IV. 1407, and it is possible that he is the character in this play, as he would not have held that high office unless he had been "of the king's party;" he was succeeded at his death in 1417 by his son of the same name.

Arms of Harcourt.—Or two bars *Gules*.

BLUNT.

In Act IV. Scene 3, Prince John of Lancaster, directing that Sir John Colevile should be sent "to York, to present execution," tells an officer,—

> "Blunt, lead him hence, and see you guard him well."

This person may be a younger son of the "gallant knight" in the *First Part*, Sir Walter Blunt, and if so he was Sir JOHN BLUNT, or Blount, who afterwards served at Harfleur with "20 lances and 60 foot-archers" (Sir N. H. Nicolas),

and was made a K.G. by Henry V. in 1417, and died in 1418. His garter plate bore the arms of Blount and Sanchet quarterly. There was also "James Blount, Esquire," in the retinue of Henry V. in France.

Misled by false reports from "rumour's tongues," Lord Bardolf tells the Earl of Northumberland of

> "both the Blunts
> Kill'd by the hand of Douglas:"

thus confirming the conjecture that "Sir Walter" and the "Blunt" addressed by Prince John were father and son; and it may not be without interest to notice that the stage direction in Act III. Scene 1, reads, in some quartos, (see foot-note, page 414, *Camb. Shaksp.* 8vo. Vol. IV.)—

> "Enter Warwike, Surry, and Sir Iohn Blunt."

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE of the KING'S BENCH.

This upright magistrate, whose name deserves to be recorded with respect, and to whose "bold, just and impartial spirit" the poet bears tribute, was Sir WILLIAM GASCOIGNE, grandson of William Gascoigne, who married Mansild, the daughter and heir of John de Gawthorp, and had issue William Gascoigne of Gawthorp, who by his wife Agnes, daughter and co-heir of Nicholas Franke, had five sons and two daughters, of whom the eldest, the character in this play, was born at Gawthorp in the parish of Harewood, co. York, about A.D. 1350. The future judge appears to have been known to Bolingbroke before the death of King Richard, for we find the name of William Gascoigne as one of the "attornies" to the banished Duke of Hereford in a writ dated Oct. 8, 1398 (RYMER'S *Fœdera*), and the calling in of—

> "the letters patent that he hath
> By his attornies-general to sue
> His livery,"

is alluded to twice in the play of *King Richard II.*, first by the Duke of York, in the passage just quoted, Act II. Scene 1, and next by Bolingbroke himself in Act III. Scene 3. Sir William Gascoigne was appointed Chief Justice, Nov. 15,

1401, and in that capacity was required to pass sentence of death upon Archbishop Scrope, but he refused, telling Henry IV., "Neither you, my lord the king, nor any liege man of yours in your name can legally, according to the rights of the kingdom, adjudge any bishop to death." The action for which the judge is rendered so famous by SHAKSPEARE, the committing of Prince Hal to prison for striking him, is strictly in accordance with history. Steevens states that the judge died in 1413, Fuller states in 1412, and that this date is inscribed on his tomb (a very fine one with his effigy thereon) in Harewood Church; but Mr Tytler has discovered a will of Sir William Gascoigne, bearing date 1419. His successor however to the King's Bench, Sir William Hankford, was appointed, according to Dugdale, in 1414, and therefore SHAKSPEARE would be justified in bringing Gascoigne on the scene in the coronation procession of Henry V. in 1413.

By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Alexander Mowbray, the judge had a son, William Gascoigne of Gawthorp; and by his second wife, Joan, daughter of Sir William Pickering, he had a son, James Gascoigne of Cardington, co. Beds. One of the judge's lineal descendants, Sir William Gascoigne, was treasurer to Cardinal Wolsey; and another, Margaret Gascoigne, sole heiress of Gawthorp, married Thomas Wentworth, and their grandson was the unfortunate Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.

Arms of Gascoigne of Gawthorp.—Argent on a pale *Sable* a luce's head erected *Or*.

EARL of NORTHUMBERLAND.

The play opens with a view of WARKWORTH, "*Before the Castle.*" This "worm-eaten hold of ragged stone" anciently belonged to the Claverings, who were feudal lords of Warkworth, but having fallen to the crown it was given by Edward III. to Henry Percy, second Lord Percy, grandfather of the character in this play. On the news of Archbishop Scrope's death the earl retired to Scotland, though in the play he is made to say, before that event,—

> "I will resolve for Scotland, there am I,
> Till time and vantage crave my company."

In 1408 the earl, tired of inaction, returned to the north of England, and once more unfurled the banner of rebellion, but before the royal army could come up to him he was defeated at Bramham Moor, Feb. 29, by the *posse comitatus* of Yorkshire, headed by "the sheriff of Yorkshire," as stated in the play, and the earl was slain in the battle. Warkworth Castle, standing on a bold eminence, is still magnificent in ruin; the moat enclosed an area of five acres, from the midst of which rose the lofty keep[1]. "Warkworth Hermitage" forms the subject of a beautiful ballad by Dr Percy. The Duke of Northumberland is also Baron Warkworth.

Arms of Percy.—Azure five fusils in fesse *Or.*

SCROOP, ARCHBISHOP of YORK.

Morton's eulogy, in Act I. Scene 1, of this prelate, quite agrees with history:—"Indeed the respect that men had to the archbishop caused them to like the better of the cause, since the gravity of his age, his integrity of life, and incomparable learning, with the reverend aspect of his amiable personage, moved all men to have him in no small estimation." HOLINSHED.

The archbishop's army was much stronger in numbers than that of the royal leaders, a circumstance which prompted Westmoreland's deceitful promise of redress, which induced the too-confiding prelate to disband his forces. On the refusal of Sir William Gascoigne to condemn him, a more compliant judge was found in Sir William Fulthorp, who without even a form of trial passed sentence of death upon him, "the first instance of capital punishment inflicted on a bishop." HUME.

The pious archbishop requested the executioner to dispatch him with five blows of his sword, in allusion to the "five wounds of his Saviour," which the prelate bore on his banner. WALSINGHAM.

He suffered "martyrdom," as his execution was called in aftertime, June 8, 1405.

Arms of Archbishop Scrope.—He would impale the arms

[1] "WARKWORTH CASTLE is one of the finest castellated remains we have, and cannot be too carefully studied."—RICKMAN.

of the See of York with those of his paternal coat, *Azure* a bend *Or*, SCROPE of BOLTON.

LORD MOWBRAY.

This noble, THOMAS MOWBRAY, eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk in *King Richard II.*, was only fourteen years old at his father's death, and never enjoyed his superior title, but held the ancient dignity of his family, and was seventh Baron Mowbray, although Holinshed, followed by Hume, calls him Earl of Nottingham, a title never held by him, but which was revived in his brother. He was also known as "lord marshall," and as such SHAKSPEARE correctly makes the archbishop address him,—

"And first, lord marshal, what say you to it?"

Lord Mowbray was beheaded at York, after the dispersion of the confederate forces. Having no issue by his wife, Constance Holland, daughter of John Duke of Exeter, he was succeeded by his brother, John Mowbray, as eighth Lord Mowbray, who was restored to his father's forfeited title as "Duke of Norfolk;" and his grandson, John Mowbray, is the character under that style in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.* The forfeited estates of the Earl of Northumberland, the lord marshall, and Lord Bardolph, in this play, were bestowed by Henry IV. on his Queen Joanna, August 10, 1405. RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

Arms of Thomas Lord Mowbray.—Gules a lion rampant *Argent.*

LORD HASTINGS.

The person here intended who took part in the archbishop's rebellion was Sir RALPH HASTINGS, not "Lord Hastings." He was eldest son of Sir Ralph Hastings, Knight, by his second wife, Maud, daughter of Sir Robert de Sutton, of Sutton, co. York. HUME, who calls him Sir Ralph, says that his life was spared after the dispersion of the confederates; other writers, followed by the dramatist, state that he was beheaded; the king is told in Act IV. Scene 4,—

"Mowbray, the Bishop Scroop, Hastings and all,
Are brought to the correction of your law."

Arms of Hastings.—Argent a manch *Sable.*

LORD BARDOLPH.

This person was THOMAS BARDOLF, fifth baron; summoned to Parliament from 1390 to 1404. His ancestor, Doun Bardolf, married Beatrice, eldest daughter and coheir of Reginald de Warren (grandson of the Earl of Warrenne who married the Conqueror's youngest daughter Gundred), feudal Lord of Wirmegay, co. Norfolk. Doun Bardolf's grandson, Hugh Bardolf, who served in the French and Scottish wars of Edward I., was summoned to Parliament from 1299 to 1302, as Baron Bardolf of Wirmegay, and his great grandson, William, was summoned as fourth baron from 1376 to 1385. His son, the character in this play, joining in the archbishop's insurrection against Henry IV., was defeated at Bramham Moor, where "he was taken but sore wounded, so that he shortly after died of his hurts." HOLINSHED. By his wife, Avice, daughter of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, he had two daughters, his coheirs; 1. Anne Bardolf, who married first Sir William Clifford, Knt.; and secondly Sir Reginald Cobham, the third Lord Cobham of Sterborough; 2. Joan Bardolf, who married Sir William Phelip, K.G., who is sometimes called Lord Bardolf; he was one of the heroes of Agincourt; his only child, Elizabeth Phelip, married John Viscount Beaumont, K.G., ancestor of the present Lord Beaumont.

Arms of Lord Bardolf.—Azure three cinque-foils *Or.*

SIR JOHN COLEVILE.

In the play, Act IV. Scene 3, Prince John of Lancaster gives a direction respecting this trophy of the "pure and immaculate valour" of Falstaff,—

"Send Colevile, with his confederates,
To York, to present execution."

HUME says that his life was spared; if so, no doubt he was

the same "Sir John Colvyl, Knight," who was one of the retinue of Henry V. in his expedition to France, 1415, and to whom, as security for payment of "his wages," the king pawned "a large fleur-de-lys garnished with one great balays, and one other balays, one ruby, three great sapphires, and ten great pearls." Sir N. H. NICOLAS. The prisoner to Falstaff is perhaps the same Sir John Colvill who was Governor of Wisbeach Castle in 1416, and whose grandfather of the same name served with Edward III. in his French wars, and whose seal bore for arms, *Azure* a lion rampant *Argent*, a label of three points *Gules*.

In a writ of 13 Henry IV., dated June 12, 1412, occurs the name of "Johannis Colvyle, Chivaler;" and in 2 Henry V. he appears in three writs, dated June 26, 1414, joined with another person as envoys to John Duke of Bretagne, wherein they are styled,—"nos chiers and foiaulx John de Colvyle Chivaler, & Mestre Richard Hals Licentiæ as Loys." RYMER'S *Fœdera*.

TRAVERS and MORTON.

The superior retainers in the households of great barons were persons of gentle degree, and the language used by these two individuals would seem to imply that the poet did not class them as "domestics," which is the designation applied to them in some editions, in the sense of the term as now understood. TRAVERS and MORTON are both the names of good families, such as would send their sons to learn the duties of chivalry as pages and esquires, before they could attain the dignity of knighthood, in the establishments of great barons and prelates, some of whom kept up a state of almost royal dignity;—SHAKSPEARE'S brother-poet says of a page's education,—

> "Where can he learn to vault, to ride, to fence,
> To move his body gracefully, to speak
> His language purer, or to tune his mind
> Or manners more to the harmony of nature,
> Than in the nurseries of nobility?"
>
> BEN JONSON. *New Inn*. Act I. Sc. 3.

PISTOL.

In this play we are first introduced to this famous "tame-cheater" and swaggering bully, "with a killing tongue and a quiet sword," one of the class described by Ben Jonson in "Captain Bobadil" (*Every Man in his Humour*), followed by Congreve in his "Bluff" (*Old Bachelor*), and later still by Sir Walter Scott in his Alsatian swash-buckler, in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, Captain Colepepper. A similar character, a compound of buffoon and bully, called "Piston," is introduced in a play entitled *Solimen and Perseda* which was printed in 1599, a date somewhat later than that usually ascribed to this *Second Part* by Malone, Chalmers, and Drake.

Mr J. O. Halliwell tells us,—"the names of Bardoulf and Pistail are found in the muster-roll of artillerymen serving under Humphrey Fitz-allan, Earl of Arundel, at the siege of St Laurens des Mortiers, Nov. 11, 1435." But that nobleman was only seven years old at this date, succeeding in 1434 his father, John Fitz-Alan, thirteenth earl, K.G., who was also Duke of Touraine, and had served much in France under the great Talbot.

SHALLOW and SILENCE, Country Justices.

The former of these worshipful gentlemen may almost be treated as an historical personage, as it is quite certain that SHAKSPEARE, under the guise of "Robert Shallow esquire, in the county of Gloster, justice of peace, and coram," has immortalized his early persecutor, Sir THOMAS LUCY, Knight, whose seat, Charlecote, co. Warwick, is distant a few miles from Stratford-upon-Avon, and whose coat of arms, *Gules* three luces (or pikes) haurient *Argent*, is only modified in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, where Master Abraham Slender says of his cousin Shallow's family, "they may give the dozen white luces in their coat." The fine parks at Charlecote are still famous for their large herds of deer, both fallow and red. The present noble mansion there was built by SHAKSPEARE'S Sir Thomas Lucy, in 1558, and it is now enjoyed by his lineal descendant, Henry Spencer Lucy, Esquire, who was sheriff for the county of Warwick in 1857.

It is pleasant to trace in this play, in the scenes connected with Justice Shallow, how much the poet likes to remind us of his own Warwickshire, in the choice of names either actually belonging to that county or but thinly disguised. Thus "Clement Perkes of the Hill" was suggested by a name common in his county; "Edward Perkes" occurs among the baptisms registered at Stratford-upon-Avon, 1603, born at Shottery, ANN HATHAWAY'S own hamlet; and the family of Perkes was connected with that of Shakspeare. "Wincot," which has really no existence, is the mode in which the name of a village a short distance from Stratford would be pronounced, WILNECOTE. "Barson," also fictitious, but made by the poet famous for its stout "Goodman Puff," is either meant for "Barston," N.W. of Warwick, or which is more likely for "Barton-on-the-Heath," close on the borders of Warwickshire and Gloucestershire, but in the former county, and where a resident, Robert Dover, in 1600, founded the annual "Cotswold Games." In this play Justice Shallow alludes to "Will Squele, a Cotswold man," as he does in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* to the coursing of Page's "fallow greyhound on Cotsall." It has been suggested that "Hinckley," although a market-town in the adjoining county of Leicester, is intended for Henley-in-Arden, and that "Stamford," with its fair, takes the place of Stratford itself. Mr Halliwell prints "Stratford Fair" in his text, thus unveiling the disguise which the poet no doubt intended to preserve. Two of the above localities are alluded to in *Taming of the Shrew*, by Christopher Sly, who refers, for his identity, to "Marian Hacket, the fat ale-wife of Wincot," and calls himself "Old Sly's son of Burton-heath." Wilnecote is three miles from Stratford, and was the home of the poet's mother, MARY ARDEN, before her marriage with JOHN SHAKSPEARE.

LADY NORTHUMBERLAND.

SHAKSPEARE does not intimate that this lady was the mother of "Hotspur;" she was in reality the earl's second wife, MAUD LUCY, widow of Gilbert de Umphrevill, third Earl of Angus, by whom she had a son, Robert Umphrevill,

who died in his father's life-time, without issue. The Earl of Northumberland had no children by his second countess.

LADY PERCY.

In the index of characters at the end of this play, in the edition of 1623, the only instance of the *dramatis personæ* being so collected, in the *Histories*, this high-born lady is called "Percies Widdow," and in the scene where she appears with her father-in-law, Act II. Scene 3, she is styled "Harrie Percies Ladie." After the death of her "noble husband," Henry IV., who had no love for any of the Mortimers, ordered that she should be arrested, and brought before him to answer such questions as should be demanded from her. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, her father, mentions her in his will;—"Item nous devisons a n're fille Elizabeth un saler en manere d'un chien & un hanaper d'or." Also to her brave husband the Earl of March leaves a token of remembrance:—"Item nous devisons a notre fitz Monsr Henry Percy un petite nouche en manere le corps de cerf & teste d'egle." These bequests not only settle the name of Hotspur's wife, but are interesting records of the pieces of plate and ornaments used in former days, the "saler," or "salt," being often made in shape like some beast or bird, or a combination of both. The "nouche" above mentioned, reminds one of the line which Falstaff quotes, in Act II. Scene 4,—

"Your brooches, pearls, and ouches."

"Sir JOHN UMFREVILL" is mentioned in the first scene as sending tidings of the battle of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Northumberland. There was a connection between the two families, for Robert Umphrevill, only son of the earl's second countess by her first husband, married Margaret, daughter of Henry, Lord Percy. [N.B. I cannot find any John Umphrevill, who is no doubt the person alluded to in the confession of the Earl of Cambridge as "Unfrevyle," in connection with the conspiracy of the Percies. G. R. F.]

The "Sheriff of Yorkshire" who defeated the Earl of Northumberland deserves honourable mention, as his name is not recorded by the poet. He was Sir THOMAS ROKEBY,

descended from an old and knightly family, long seated at Rokeby, co. York, a place rendered familiar by Sir Walter Scott's poem of the same name. Holinshed says, "The sheriff was as ready to give battle as the earl to receive it, and so with a standard of St George spread set fiercely on the earl, who under a standard of his own encountered his adversaries with great manhood, but victory fell to the sheriff." For this good service Sir Thomas Rokeby was rewarded with "the manor of Spofford[1], with Lynton and Letheley," from the forfeited estates of the attainted Earl of Northumberland, by writ, dated May 30, 1408. RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

Justice Shallow states that he once saw Falstaff "break Scogan's head at the court-gate." This is the person alluded to in Ben Jonson's *Masque of the Fortunate Isles*, 1626:—

> "*Mere-fool.* Scogan, what was he?
> *Jophiel.* O a fine gentleman, and master of arts,
> Of Henry the Fourth's time, that made disguises
> For the king's sons, and writ in ballad-royal
> Daintily well[2]."

Among the persons to whom "letters of protection" were granted, on going abroad, occurs the name, "Henricus Scogan, armiger," in a writ dated April 18, 1399. RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

[1] Spofforth, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, was a principal seat of the Percies in the reign of Edward III. "The remains of the castle, extending 135 feet in length, and 51 in width, evince its original grandeur, particularly the great hall, which appears to be of the age of Edward III." GORTON, *Topog. Dict.* "Gaultree Forest" formerly surrounded Sutton, a parish now called Sutton-in-the-Forest, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, eight miles above York.

[2] Stow gives Henry Scogan's Ballad addressed to the young princes, sons of Henry IV., "when at supper among the merchants of London, in the Vintrie, in the house of Lewis John."

KING HENRY V.

TIME OF ACTION, *from* 1415 *to* 1420.

KING HENRY THE FIFTH.

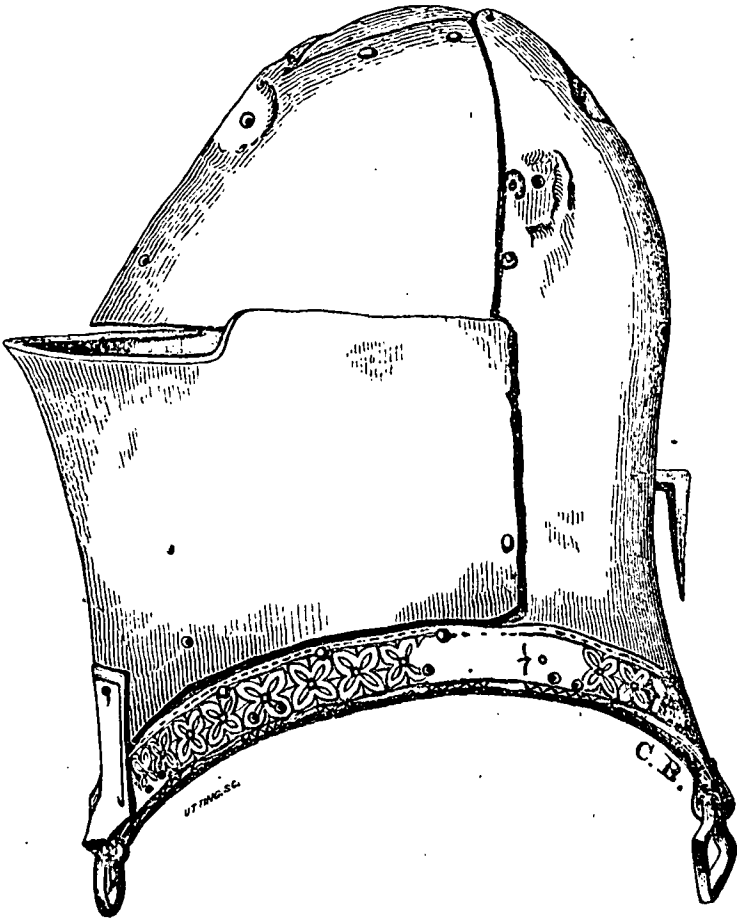
The sudden alteration in the behaviour of the young king is described by all the early chroniclers, and the Poet Hardyng, who was with "his maister" at Agincourt, says:—

> "The hour he was crownèd and anoint,
> He changèd was of all his old condition."

The glorious career of this warlike prince is well drawn in the play; his title to "wear the garland" was not challenged by the rightful heir to the throne, the Earl of March, whose friendship with Henry is a remarkable fact, and honourable to both parties.

The king had been a suitor for the hand of the youthful widow of Richard II., Isabel of France; and afterwards of her next sister, Marie, who took the veil; failing in these objects, he made overtures for a younger sister, Katherine, and after many years of negociation, obtained her at last, almost a prize of his sword; they were married at Troyes, by the Archbishop of Sens, June 3, 1420, and had only one child, Henry of *Windsor*, born there Dec. 6, 1421. The heroic king, in the midst of preparation for new conquests, was taken ill of pleurisy, ending in fever, and died at the castle of Vincennes, August 31, 1422. The ceremony of his funeral occupied ten weeks, being celebrated with great pomp and splendour, the body resting each night in some church or cathedral, the solemn service for the dead *never ceasing, by day or night*, until the royal corpse was finally deposited in

Westminster Abbey, November the tenth, and buried the next day.



Arms of Henry the Fifth.—When Charles VI. of France altered his coat of arms, that of the early kings, viz. *Azure* semée de luces *Or*, to *Azure* three fleurs-de-lis *Or*, Henry V. followed his example, and this charge was borne by the succeeding sovereigns of England in the first and fourth quarters of their shields, with the lions of England in the second and third quarters, until the reign of George the Third. The above wood-cut represents the casque worn by Henry V. at Agincourt, and on it are seen the dents inflicted by the battle-axe of Alençon. It is now hung up in Westminster Abbey.

DUKE of BEDFORD, Brother to the King.

This is the "Prince John of Lancaster" of the preceding play, who was created by his brother, May 6, 1414, Earl of Kendal, and Duke of Bedford, and was also appointed to act, during the king's absence in France, as "Lieutenant of the whole realm of England;" his presence therefore before Harfleur, and at Agincourt, as in the play, is out of place, since he remained at home, whilst his brother was at those two celebrated scenes of his glory. Afterwards, in 1420, Bedford carried over large reinforcements to the king in Normandy, and was with him at the siege of Melun, which lasted fourteen weeks. He was present at the sick couch of his dying brother, who charged him never to give up Normandy. Bedford is a prominent character in the next play.

It would be more in accordance with history if the Duke of Clarence had been substituted for his brother Bedford, since it was he who directed, with the assistance of "Master Giles," the engineer, the mining operations against Harfleur, which in the play are allotted to the Duke of Gloster, Act III. Scene 2. This insertion would be justified by the fact that SHAKSPEARE makes Henry V. address his brother Thomas,—

> "Go, uncle Exeter,
> And brother Clarence, and you, brother Gloucester,
> . . . . . go with the king,"

at the interview with Charles VI. at Troyes, Act V. Scene 2, and Clarence, though not present at Agincourt, was performing good service elsewhere in France.

Arms of John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford, K. G.—Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND, a label of five points per pale *Ermine* for Britany, and fleur-de-lis for France.

DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, Brother to the King.

Prince HUMPHREY PLANTAGENET was in reality the only one of King Henry's brothers present at Agincourt, with his retinue of "143 lances, and 406 archers," the largest contingent, with the exception of the king's, brought by any leader into that glorious field, where he behaved with the greatest valour, and being wounded and thrown down, his kingly

brother bestrode his body, and bravely defended him until he was carried in safety from the field. Prince Humphrey had fought with distinguished courage at Harfleur, as he did in other parts of France, during the reign of his warlike brother. He was present at the meeting of the English and French princes at Troyes, 1420. He was created Duke of Gloucester, 1 Henry V., Sept. 26, 1414. His further career belongs to the next reign, and he will be found in the two following plays.

Arms of Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, K.G. —Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND within a border *Argent.*

DUKE OF EXETER, Uncle to the King.

This personage was THOMAS BEAUFORT, third son of John of *Gaunt* and Catharine Swynford, and therefore half-brother to Henry IV., who made him Admiral of the Fleet to the Northward, Captain of Calais, and for a soldier he was strangely appointed to be Lord Chancellor of England, a post usually filled by a churchman in our early reigns. By the same king he was created Earl of Dorset, and a K.G., and by his nephew Henry V. in his first year Thomas Beaufort was made Lieutenant of Aquitaine, and in his fifth year, Nov. 18, 1416, Duke of Exeter, by which title he is known in the play, though at the time of the siege of Harfleur, and of the battle of Agincourt, both in 1415, he was still only Earl of Dorset, the Poet giving him his higher rank by anticipation. He was *not present* at Agincourt, although nearly all writers have fallen into the mistake, followed by SHAKSPEARE, of giving him a chief command there, that of the rear-guard, which in fact was held by the Lord Camoys; and it is remarkable that the Poet himself has assigned a sufficient reason for Beaufort's absence from that famous field, for he makes King Henry confide Harfleur, after its capture, to his uncle's care; Act III. Scene 3,—telling him,—

> "Come, uncle Exeter,
> Go you and enter Harfleur; there remain,
> And fortify it strongly 'gainst the French."

This agrees with the language of a contemporaneous ballad, "The Batayl of Egyne Court and the Great Sege of Rone,

imp. by John Skot;" of which the original manuscript is in the Bodleian Library;—where the king says,—

> "Myne uncle Dorset, without lettynge,
> Captayne of Herfflete shall he be."

And in fact his presence was urgently required at Harfleur, as the Count of Armagnac twice attacked the town after its capture by the English, and was signally repulsed each time by the garrison under the Earl of Dorset, whose prowess on the occasions is highly praised by the old chroniclers. Sir N. Harris Nicolas, in his admirable *History of the Battle of Agincourt*, does not mention Dorset as being there, and he gives the name of every baron, knight, and lance engaged. In the latter part of this play Beaufort would be rightly styled Duke of Exeter, and he was present at Troyes, being one of the Ambassadors on the part of Henry V., to negotiate his marriage. He is continued a character in the next play.

Arms of Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, K.G.—Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND, a border gobony *Argent* and *Azure*.

DUKE OF YORK, Cousin to the King.

This prince is the "Aumerle" in *King Richard II.*, and was restored by Henry IV. to his father's title in 1406, and made a K.G. He redeemed his early career of infamy by his glorious death at Agincourt, "fought on the day of Crispin Crispianus," October 25, 1415, where he commanded the English van, as recorded by SHAKSPEARE, and also by MICHAEL DRAYTON, in his *Ballad on Agincourt*;—

> "The Duke of York so dread,
> The eager vanward led."

He was very corpulent, and having been struck down by the Duke of Alençon, it was in stooping to assist his cousin that the king himself was assailed by that French prince, who smote off Henry's jewelled coronet.

The Duke of York had no issue by his wife, Philippa, eldest daughter of Sir John Mohun, Lord Mohun of Dunster, K.G., and his title came to his nephew Richard Plantagenet, who is the "Duke of York" in the three next plays. The

Duchess Philippa married secondly Sir Walter Fitz-walter, knight, and died in 1433; there is a very beautiful monument to her memory in the chapel of St Nicholas, Westminster Abbey.

Arms of Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York, K.G.—Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND, a label *Argent* charged with nine torteauxes.

EARL OF SALISBURY.

This valiant noble was THOMAS DE MONTACUTE, eldest son of the loyal Earl of Salisbury in *King Richard II.*, and who was restored to his father's forfeited title, 10 Henry IV. He was one of the greatest captains in the French wars of Henry V., by whom he was made a K.G., and rewarded with the earldom of Perche. He does not appear in the list given by Sir N. Harris Nicolas, of those who fought at Agincourt, nor is he mentioned as being there by contemporary historians. He was one of the Ambassadors to treat of Henry's marriage with the Princess Katharine, and was his Lieutenant-general in Normandy. His career is continued in the next play.

Arms of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, K.G.—*Argent* three fusils in fesse *Gules.*

EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

This is the same nobleman who is a character in the two preceding plays, the great earl RALPH NEVILL. He however was not the person who uttered the wish for more men from England[1], but Sir WALTER HUNGERFORD, a most valiant knight, who was present at Agincourt, with a train of "17 lances and 55 archers," and was much engaged in the wars of Henry V., who made him a K.G. He might very properly be brought upon the scene. His *Arms* were Barry of four *Argent* and *Gules*, in chief three plates.

The Earl of Westmoreland could not be at Agincourt, because his duty would require him to remain in England,

[1] In "the Chronicle Historie of Henry the Fift," it is Warwick who desires more men, and Westmoreland is omitted from the play.

not only as one of the Council to the Regent Bedford, but also as Warden of the West Marches towards Scotland, and the necessity of guarding the North of England during Henry's absence, "against the weasel Scot," is strongly insisted upon, in the second scene of the play, by the king himself,—

> "We must not only arm to invade the French,
> But lay down our proportions to defend
> Against the Scots, who will make road upon us,
> With all advantages."

In the meeting of Parliament, April 17, 1415, when the Duke of Bedford was named Regent, at the same time his Council was appointed to consist of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester and Durham, the Prior of the Hospital of St John, the Earl of Westmoreland, and the lords Grey of Ruthyn, Berkeley, Powys, and Morley; "et pour l'efforcement de les Marches vers Escoces serront entendantz au susditz Comte de Westmorland les Sires de Maulee & de Dacre." RYMER'S *Fœdera*. The two last-named noblemen were sons-in-law of the Earl of Westmoreland; Peter de Mauley married Maud Nevill, and Thomas de Dacre married Philippa Nevill, the earl's eldest daughters by his first wife, Margaret Stafford.

In his *History of Durham*, Mr Surtees, usually so correct, says that the Earl of Westmoreland was present at Agincourt as Earl-Marshal, but Sir N. H. Nicolas not only states that he remained in England to protect the Northern border, but gives the name of "John Earl-Marshal" on the "Roll of Agincourt," who can be no other than John Lord Mowbray, who had been restored in 1412, by Henry IV. as Earl-Marshal.

The Earl of Westmoreland's eldest son, JOHN Lord NEVILL, who died before his father in 1423, was a most gallant soldier, and by his wife Elizabeth Holland, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Kent, had a son RALPH NEVILL, who became second Earl of Westmoreland, at the death of his grandfather in 1425. The first earl was buried at Staindrop, co. Durham, where there is a magnificent tomb, with the effigies in alabaster of the great earl and his two countesses, a most valuable example of the armour and costume of the period.

Of the great baronial residence of the Nevills, near Stain-

drop, Mr Rickman says,—"RABY CASTLE retains most of its original exterior; but the interior and many of the windows are modernized. The ancient hall, with a carriage road through it, remains, and except colouring is nearly in its original state. It is a magnificent hall, with two rows of octagonal piers, and a fine groined roof." Its present possessor, the Duke of Cleveland, is also Baron Raby of Raby Castle, a place which has been the property of his ancestors from the time of Sir Henry Vane, Secretary of State to Charles the First.

Arms of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, K.G.—*Gules* a saltier *Argent.*

EARL OF WARWICK.

This is the distinguished character in the preceding play, RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, who, though much engaged in the French wars, and serving at Harfleur, was not present at Agincourt. Walsingham states that he returned to England immediately after the capture of Harfleur. He afterwards went to France, and was made Governor of Caen, when it was taken by Henry V., who created Warwick Earl of Albemarle, and a K.G. He was also one of the Ambassadors to treat of Henry's marriage; and was present at Troyes; and was appointed by the King, when dying, tutor or governor to his infant son, for that "no fitter person could be provided to teach him all things becoming his rank." This great nobleman figures in the next play; he was honoured by the Emperor Sigismund with the title of "The Father of Courtesy."

Arms of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G.—*Gules* a fesse between six cross-croslets *Or.*

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

This personage was HENRY CHICHELEY, called by Fuller, "that skilful state-fencer," and by Southey, in his *Joan of Arc*,—

> "the proud prelate, the blood-guilty man,
> Who, trembling for the Church's ill-got wealth,
> Made our fifth Henry claim the crown of France."

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He was born, about 1362, at Higham Ferrars, where he afterwards, in 1415, built and endowed a college for secular priests. He became a monk of the Carthusian order, then Archdeacon of Salisbury, Bishop of St David's in 1408, and Archbishop of Canterbury, in succession to Arundel, in 1414. This prelate, who died April 12, 1443, founded All Souls' College, Oxford, in 1437, and he enlarged and beautified Lambeth Palace.

Arms of Archbishop Chicheley.—Or a chevron between three cinque-foils *Gules.*

BISHOP OF ELY.

Mr T. P. Courtenay says of this character,—"I do not know why Shakspeare selected him." In "*The Chronicle Historie of Henry the Fift,*" the "two bishops" are introduced, without any names assigned to them. In the folio of 1623, the stage direction is,—"*Enter the two Bishops of Canterbury and Ely.*" JOHN FORDHAM, Dean of Wells, was appointed in 1381 to the See of Durham, and translated to Ely in 1388; he died in 1425. It was Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who opened the proceedings in Parliament, and announced the king's intention to invade France.

Arms of Bishop Fordham.—Sable a chevron between three crosses patonce *Or.*

EARL OF CAMBRIDGE.

This character was RICHARD PLANTAGENET, brother of the Duke of York in this play, and second son of Edmund of *Langley,* the "Duke of York" in *King Richard II.* He married ANNE MORTIMER, daughter of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, by whom he had two children, ISABEL PLANTAGENET, who married Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex; and RICHARD PLANTAGENET, who is the "Duke of York" in the three next plays.

For the part he took in the conspiracy against Henry V., at Southampton, the Earl of Cambridge was beheaded there, August 5, 1415, and attainted. His intention was to place his brother-in-law Edmund Mortimer, fifth Earl of March, on the

throne[1], but the latter, far from wishing success to the scheme, disclosed the plot to his intimate friend, the king, whom he accompanied in his French wars. The Earl of Cambridge is said to have married secondly, Maud, daughter of Thomas, Lord Clifford, who became afterwards the wife of John Nevill, Lord Latimer. SANDFORD.

Arms of Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge.—Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND within a border *Argent* charged with ten lions rampant *Purpure;* a label of three points *Argent* each charged with three torteauxes. *College of Arms.*

LORD SCROOP.

He is rightly styled in this play, "Henry Lord Scroop of Masham;" he was the eldest son of the loyal "Sir Stephen Scroop," the character in *King Richard II.*, who was *only* brother to that monarch's favourite, the Earl of Wiltshire. This HENRY SCROPE was greatly trusted by Henry V. in embassies to Denmark and France; but whilst in the latter country he allowed himself to be corrupted by the promise of an immense bribe, as John Lydgate says,—

"For a million of golde, as I herde say,"

to compass the destruction of Henry V. and his brothers at Southampton, and he induced the Earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey to join him; he was condemned, after a hasty trial, attainted, and beheaded August 5, 1415. He married first, Philippa, daughter of Sir Guy Bryan, knight, and secondly, Joan Holland, widow of Edmund of *Langley*, Duke of York, but had no issue by either wife, and he was succeeded by his next brother John, as fourth Lord Scrope of Masham, whose male line ended in 1517. Geoffrey le Scrope, ninth and last Lord Scrope of Masham, and Upsal, had three sisters, Alice married to James Strangeways, Mary

[1] This intention, though somewhat distorted, is alluded to by the Earl of March, in the next play, where he tells his nephew, Richard Plantagenet, Act II. Scene 5,—

"Thy father, Earl of Cambridge, then derived
From famous Edmund Langley, Duke of York,
Marrying my sister, that thy mother was,
Again in pity of my hard distress
Levied an army, weening to redeem,
And have install'd me in the diadem."

to Sir Christopher Danby, and Elizabeth to Sir Ralph Fitz-Randolph; among whose descendants the barony is in abeyance.

Arms of Scrope of Masham.—Azure a bend *Or*, in chief a file of three points *Argent.*

SIR THOMAS GREY.

This associate of Cambridge and Scroop was the second son of Sir Thomas Grey of Berwick, Constable of Norham Castle, by his wife Catharine, daughter of John fourth Lord Mowbray of Axholme. The character in this play was seated at Heton, co. Northumberland, and married Alice Nevill, third daughter of the great earl Ralph Nevill of this and preceding plays[1]; and from them descended, after many generations of knightly owners of Heton and Howick, Sir Charles Grey, K.B., a general officer who served with distinction at Minden, was Commander-in-chief in the West Indies, and in 1806 was created Earl Grey and Viscount Howick; the present earl (1865) is his grandson.

Sir Thomas Grey of Heton was executed at Southampton three days before Cambridge and Scroop suffered. His eldest brother Sir John Grey was distinguished in the French wars of Henry V., who rewarded him with the earldom of Tancarville, and made him a K.G. Sir Thomas Grey's widow, Alice Nevill, married secondly Sir Gilbert Lancaster.

Arms of Sir Thomas Grey of Heton.— Gules a lion rampant within a border engrailed *Argent.*

SIR THOMAS ERPINGHAM.

This celebrated knight landed with Bolingbroke at Ravenspur, and was made by him a K.G., Chamberlain of the household, and Warden of the Cinque Ports. To this experienced warrior, "grown grey with age and honour" (MONSTRELET), was entrusted the setting in order of battle of the English army at Agincourt, and when all was ready for the attack he gave the signal by throwing his truncheon in the

[1] RAINE'S *North Durham.*

air, crying out, "Now strike," an exclamation which the French chroniclers give as "Nestroque." In the "Roll of Agincourt" the knight is styled "Steward of the King's house;" his retinue consisted of "16 lances and 47 archers." Henry IV. had bestowed upon him the manor and advowson of Toft-monks, co. Norfolk, in which shire his ancestors had been long seated at Erpingham, and Sir Robert de Erpingham, grandfather of Sir Thomas, was knight of the shire in 1332. The character in this play was a great benefactor to the city of Norwich, where he built the noble gate-way, called after him "the Erpingham Gate." He married first, Joan Walton, and secondly Joan, daughter of Sir William Clopton, knight, and died without issue in 1428. He supported the doctrines of Wicliffe, for which he incurred some persecution as "a Lollard."

* *Arms of Sir Thomas Erpingham, K.G.—Vert* an inescutcheon within an orle of eight martlets *Argent*, as carved on his Gate, with his Motto, "BEWAR."

GOWER, FLUELLEN, MACMORRIS, JAMY, Officers in King Henry's army.

SHAKSPEARE probably selected these names to represent the four nations ("what ish my nation") which sent contingents to Henry's army in France. The Englishman, "Captain Gower" does not appear to be the same as the character in the preceding play, and the name is not found on the "roll of Agincourt[1]." In the valiant and choleric Welshman, some commentators see a caricature of Davy *Gam*, which means "squint-eyed," whose real name was Llewellyn, though it is worth notice that FLUELLEN, as the Welsh word is pronounced, is, as well as Bardolph, the name of a contemporary townsman of SHAKSPEARE'S, Stratford-upon-Avon. The "Irishman, Captain Macmorris," who assists the Duke of Gloucester in the "order of the siege," takes the place of "Master Giles," the engineer who really directed the mining

[1] Shakspeare seems partial to the name of Gower, for in addition to the characters introduced as actors in the plays, we have in "Pericles" the part of "Chorus" taken by the famous poet of the fourteenth century, "ancient Gower."

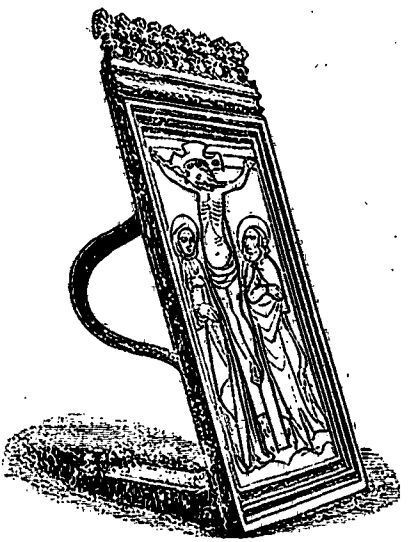
operations against Harfleur, and who is named as giving advice to the Duke of Clarence, in a narrative written in Latin by a priest, one of the chaplains to Henry V., attached to the expedition, and of which the manuscript is in the British Museum.

On account of the ancient feuds between England and Scotland there would not be many of the latter nation present, represented by "the Scots captain," "Captain Jamy," or "James," as he is also called by Fluellen, but there was one of the nation who accompanied Henry V. throughout his wars in France, of the highest rank, no less a personage than JAMES the FIRST, King of Scots, who had been taken prisoner in the reign of Henry IV., 1405[1], and kept confined by him in Windsor castle. He obtained his personal freedom in the next reign, through the intercession, it is said, of Queen Joan, on the condition of serving as a private knight under the immediate leading of Henry V. in his French wars, the prince not being allowed to return to his native land, to which in fact he was not restored until 1423. The King of Scots followed as chief mourner in the protracted funeral of Henry V. through France. His marriage with a lady of the English blood-royal was made a condition of his final release, and his choice fell on the lady Joanna Beaufort, John of *Gaunt's* granddaughter, for whom the Scottish prince conceived a strong affection, which he has recorded in his poem, called "The King's Quair." When he was basely murdered by Sir Robert Grahame and other nobles, his heroic Queen Joanna received two wounds in trying to save her royal husband. From their marriage descended all the succeeding Sovereigns of Scotland and Great Britain.

NYM, BARDOLPH, PISTOL, formerly servants to Falstaff, now Soldiers in King Henry's army.

The name of NYM is a verb which signifies "to filch," or as Pistol softens the expression, "Convey the wise it call."

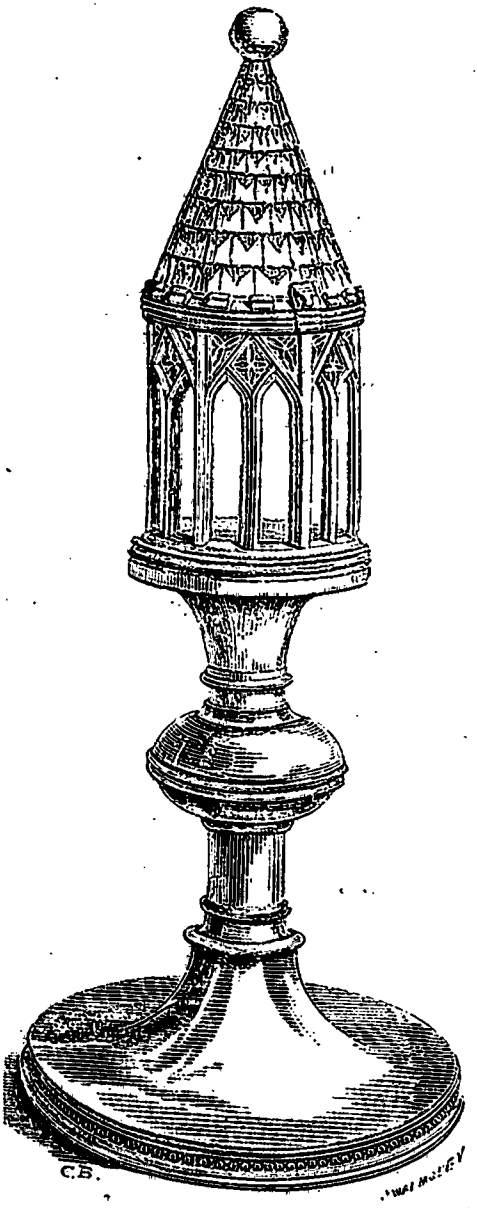
[1] The young Prince James of Scotland was on his voyage to France, under the care of Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, when their vessel was driven by stress of weather on the coast of Norfolk, near Cley, by whose mariners they were detained, and sent as prisoners to London.



A Pax, or Pax-brede.

Nym's peculiar "humour" may have been taken by SHAKSPEARE from actual observation. The theft for which BARDOLPH was condemned to die "with edge of penny cord," namely, for stealing a "pix of little price," is recorded by the contemporary historians, Elmham and Titus Livius, as having been committed by a soldier on the march, Oct. 17, 1415, who mistook a pix of copper-gilt for real gold, and stole it from the church at Corbie, for which sacrilege the king ordered him to be hanged on a tree, close to the church, in sight of the whole army.

In some editions the theft of Bardolph is called "a pax," in others "a pix;" Dr Johnson strangely says, "they signified the same thing;" but the two articles, of great importance in Roman Catholic ceremonies, have very different meanings. The "pax," called also the "pax-brede," is a small tablet, or plate of gold, silver, or copper-gilt, sometimes of ivory, having usually upon it a representation of the Crucified Saviour between the Virgin Mary and St John, with a handle at the back, by which it was carried round, during the celebration of Mass, for the communicants to give "the kiss of peace," whence its name, and hence it was also termed "the osculatory." The "pyx" was the most sacred vessel of the Church of Rome, often formed of the most costly materials, sometimes covered with jewels and precious stones, and frequently made like a shrine or tabernacle of the richest Gothic design and workmanship, and containing the HOST, or consecrated wafer. Bardolph's crime therefore, in the eyes of so great a venerator of church discipline as Henry V., would be greater for stealing a *pix*, even of the humblest materials, than a *pax*, however costly. That the Poet intended the former may be inferred from the language of Hall and Holinshed, his great authorities,—"a foolish soldier stole a pix out of a church, and unreverently did eat the holy hostes within the same contained." As instances, among many which might be quoted, shewing the distinction between a pix and a pax, the inventories of church furniture afford most interesting proofs;—"A coupe of sylver and golde to lay Goddes body with cristall, and iii. pax-bredes of sylver-gilt: St Mary Hill Church, London, 10 Henry VI." Among the jewels, &c. belonging to the Church of St Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey,



A Pyx.

taken in the reign of Edward VI. mention is made of "ii latten pyxses and ii paxses of copper." In the inventory of church plate belonging to St Frideswide, Oxford, we find,—"Itm a pixe of thymage of God gilte, weying 33 ounces. Itm a highe standyng pixe wth a cover gilte weing 3 ounces. Itm a little paxe gilte weing 3 ounces." MONASTICON.

One of the Ordinances made by Henry V., when in France, is as follows:—"For Holy Churche. Also that no man be so hardy, of lesse that he be prest (*priest*), to touch the sacrement of Godes bodey, upon payne to be drawen and hangede therfor; nor that no maner man be so hardy to touche the box or vessell in the whiche the precious sacrement is in, upon the same payne aforesaide." SIR N. H. NICOLAS.

PISTOL was no doubt a great favourite with the audience, as evinced by the titles of some editions of the *Second Part of King Henry IV.*, which set forth, "The humours of Sir John Falstaffe, and swaggering Pistoll;" whilst the present play was frequently entitled "The Chronicle History of Henry the Fifth, with his battle fought at Agincourt in France, together with Ancient Pistoll."

A HERALD.

Three heralds attended Henry V. at Agincourt, namely, Lancaster, Guienne, and Ireland, Kings at Arms. In 1419, March 4, King Henry created a new herald, called "Agincourt, king at arms," in honour of his great achievement. In this reign "Lancaster, king at arms," was John Ashwell; "Guienne," was John Wrexworth; and "Ireland," was John Kitteby. *Weever, Ancient Funeral Monuments.* The king also employed "Dorset" herald, on embassies; he is named in a writ, May 13, 1413, "William Bois, Armiger, Dorset le Heraud." RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

CHARLES THE SIXTH, King of France.

This monarch is very properly not introduced on the stage in the scenes at Agincourt, for his uncle, the Duc de

Berri, who served at Poitiers *sixty years before*, with a vivid recollection how fatal that field had been to the French royalty, persuaded his sovereign not to be present, observing that it was better to lose a battle, than a battle and a king also. Charles, however, was not at Troyes, Act v. Scene 2, to witness the betrothal of his daughter, May 21, 1420, being "otherwise occupied;" such was the court-phrase on the recurrence of one of those fits of insanity to which he had been subject since 1392. This prince, who succeeded his father Charles V. in 1380, married Isabel, daughter of Stephen II., Duke of Bavaria, by whom he had three sons, successively Dauphins; and five daughters, viz. 1. ISABELLE, the second Queen of Richard II.; 2. MARIE, who became a nun; 3. MICHELLE, who was the first wife of Philip, Count of Charolois, afterwards Duke of Burgundy; 4. JANE, married to John de Montfort, Duke of Britany; 5. KATHARINE the *Fair*, who became the Queen of Henry the Fifth. Charles VI. died Oct. 21, 1422, a few weeks after his English son-in-law, who had been declared his heir to the kingdom of France, as noticed in the play, Act v. Scene 2.

Arms of Charles the Sixth.—In the first part of his reign, his arms were those borne by the preceding Kings of France, namely, *Azure* semée-de-lis *Or*, called FRANCE *ancient;* he afterward reduced the number of lilies, and the Arms thenceforth became, *Azure* three fleur-de-lis *Or*, called FRANCE *modern.* It has however been ascertained that St Louis (IX.) bore only three fleur-de-lis on his shield.

LEWIS, the DAUPHIN.

SHAKSPEARE only speaks of this Prince as "the Dolphin," without assigning any Christian name. The three sons of Charles VI. bore the title in rapid succession, during the reign of Henry V. LOUIS, the eldest son, was Dauphin at the commencement of this play; he died soon after the battle of Agincourt, viz., Dec. 18, 1415, in his twentieth year, and leaving no issue by his wife, daughter of John the *Fearless*, Duke of Burgundy; his next brother, JOHN, then became Dauphin, who died in 1417, and his brother CHARLES succeeded as Dauphin, and was afterwards King as Charles VII.:

he figures in the next play under both characters. Louis the Dauphin was not allowed to be present at the battle of Agincourt[1]; he was a dissolute youth, of headstrong passions; the story of his sending the derisive message to Henry V. is related by several contemporary authors; Thomas Elmham, Prior of Lenton, records the incident in Latin prose and verse; in the poem he says,

> "Parisius pilas misit quibus ille valeret,
> Ludere cum pueris, ut sua cura fuit."

And the monk Lydgate makes the Dauphin "mock" King Henry in like terms;—

> "A tonne of tenys ballys I shall hym sende,
> For to pley him with alle."

Henry's reply to the insulting message,—

> "tell the pleasant prince,—this mock of his
> Hath turn'd his balls to gun-stones,"

is furnished by the language of Holinshed,—"he anone lette make tenes balles for the Dolfin (Henry's ship), in alle the hayste that they myght, and they were great gounestones for the Dolphin to playe with alle."

Arms of the Dauphin of France.—Quarterly 1 and 4, FRANCE *modern;* 2 and 3, *Or* a dolphin haurient embowed *Azure.*

DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

The Duke, at the beginning of this play to Act II, would be John *Sans-peur*, or the *Fearless*, who was basely assassinated at the bridge of Montereau, Sept. 10, 1418, at the interview with the Dauphin Charles. His son, Philip Count of Charolois, mentioned under that title in the list of the great feudatories summoned to the field, Act III. Scene 5, is therefore the Duke of Burgundy in Act V. Scene 2, since he was present at Troyes, acting as Deputy for Charles VI. As Count of Charolois he visited Agincourt soon after the battle, and Monstrelet relates that the Count was much grieved at

[1] In the play, Act III. Scene 5, the French king says, "Prince Dauphin, you shall stay with us in Rouen."

the loss of his uncles, the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Nevers, the former of whom is named in the *royal fellowship of death*,—

"Anthony, Duke of Brabant,
The brother to the Duke of Burgundy."

At Troyes, the Duke of Burgundy appeared in deep mourning for his murdered father; King Henry on the same occasion, Act v. Scene 2, was in a splendid suit of burnished armour, wearing in his helmet a fox's tail ornamented with jewels. GODWIN.

Arms of the Duke of Burgundy.—Bendy *Or* and *Azure*. Burgundy *ancient*.

DUKE of ORLEANS.

This French Prince was the son of Louis Duke of Orleans (brother to Charles VI.), who was murdered in 1407, by the adherents, and with the connivance, of John *Sans-peur*, Duke of Burgundy; between these two princes there had been a constant struggle for power. The Duke of Orleans in this play, CHARLES D'ANGOULÊME, married in 1408 his cousin Isabel, the young widow of Richard the Second, who died soon after she gave birth to a daughter, Joan, who became the wife of John II., Duke of Alençon, the character under that title in the next play. The duke of Orleans married secondly Bona, daughter of Bernard, Count of Armagnac, and thirdly Mary, daughter of Adolph, Duke of Cleves. The character in this play, placed by SHAKSPEARE at the head of the list of "prisoners of good sort," who were captured at Agincourt,—

"Charles, Duke of Orleans, nephew to the king,"

was discovered by an English esquire, Richard Waller, under a heap of slain, showing but faint signs of life (LE FEVRE), and after a captivity of twenty-five years in England, he was released on payment of 80,000 crowns, in part of the sum fixed for his ransom, April 1440. He lightened the rigour of his prison, the Tower of London, by composing several poems, which possess great merit. He died in 1465,

and his son, by his third wife, became King of France, in 1498, as Louis XII., in succession to Charles VIII.

Arms of the Duke of Orleans.—FRANCE *modern*, a label *Gules*, charged with fleurs-de-lis.

DUKE of BOURBON.

This Prince, JOHN, DUKE of BOURBON, succeeded his father, Louis the *Good*, in 1410; he served at Agincourt in the van, under the Constable D'Albret, and being taken prisoner, was conveyed to England, where he died in 1433, and was succeeded as Duke of Bourbon by his son, Charles Count of Clermont. The character in this play was buried at Christ-Church, Newgate Street, where so many illustrious persons of royal and noble rank were interred. Among the great persons buried at Christ Church were four queens, and Stow records the interment of the French prince;—"*John*, Duke of *Burbon* and *Angue*, Earl of *Claremond*, *Montpencier*, and Baron *Beaugen*, who was taken prisoner at *Agencourt*, kept prisoner eighteene yeeres and deceased in 1433."

Arms of the Duke of Bourbon.—FRANCE *modern*, a baton raguly *Gules*.

The CONSTABLE of FRANCE.

This personage, called in the play, "Charles de-la-Bret, high constable of France," was a natural son of Charles *le Mauvais*, King of Navarre, and consequently half-brother to Henry the Fifth's step-mother, Queen Joan, whom he had accompanied to England in 1402, when she came over from Britany to be married to Henry IV. By virtue of his office the Constable D'Albret had the supreme command of the French army at Agincourt, and led the van; he was wounded, and died the day after the battle. In the play, Act III. Scene 7, the Lord Rambures puts a question to the Constable;—"My lord Constable, the armour that I saw in your tent to-night, were those stars, or suns, upon it?"—to which D'Albret replies,—"Stars, my lord." But it is most probable that he would adopt his father's coat, with the distinction of illegitimacy, as follows:—

Arms of the Constable D'Albret. NAVARRE, namely, *Gules* a double orle saltier and cross composed of chains from an annulet in the centre point *Or, a baton sinister.* It may not be out of place here to notice that the Arms of Navarre, almost invariably described wrongly as "an escarbuncle," are embroidered in an escutcheon of red velvet placed on the inside of the very shield carried by Henry V. at Agincourt, and which, with his saddle, and the casque bearing upon it two dents inflicted by the battle-axe of D'Alençon, is hung up at Westminster Abbey. These three interesting memorials of the warlike king are engraved in the "Catalogue of the Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall, London, in May, 1861."

BAMBURES and GRANDPRÉ, French lords.

The former of these leaders was "Master of the Cross-bows," and held a high command in the van. He is no doubt the person alluded to as "David, Seigneur de Ramouxes nostre Cambellain and Maister de Arbalestriers de France," in a treaty between Charles VI. and Henry V., dated at Paris, August 22, 1413. RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

The lord of Grand-Pré was a leader in the main body with the Dukes of Bar and Alençon. Both the "French lords" fell in the battle. The Count of Grand-Pré is named as one of the Twelve Great Peers of France, assembled in Parliament at Paris, held in 1223; and Froissart mentions a "lord of Rambures" as commanding the French infantry, circa 1381, in the war between Charles VI. and Philip *von* Arteveldt.

Arms of Rambures.—The arms assigned by DUBUISSON to DE LA ROCHE, Seigneur de RAMBURES, de Fontenille, et de Gensac, are namely, Quarterly of Four; 1st, *Or* three bars *Gules;* 2nd, *Or* two lions passant *Gules* within a bordure *Vert* charged with eight bezants; 3rd, Paly of six *Or* and *Gules;* 4th, Quarterly, 1 and 4, *Or* a torteaux; 2 and 3, *Azure* a wolf salient *Or;* over all an escutcheon *Azure* three chess-rooks *Or.*

Arms of Grand Pré.—DUBUISSON assigns the following *coat of Arms* to DE JOYEUSE, Seigneur de GRAND-PRÉ, et de St Didier, namely Quarterly of Four, 1 and 4, Paly of six *Or*

and *Azure*, on a chief *Gules* three adders *Or*, for JOYEUSE; 2 and 3, *Azure* a lion rampant *Argent* within a bordure *Gules* charged with eight fleurs-de-lis *Or*, for ST DIDIER.

GOVERNOR of HARFLEUR.

Jean lord D'Estouteville held the chief command at Harfleur when it was first invested by the English, but a reinforcement of 300 lances having been thrown in under Raoul, Sieur de Gaucourt, that leader seems thereupon to have assumed the direction of the defence; thus Lydgate speaks of him as Governor,—

> "The Lord Gaucourt certyenly,
> For he was capteyn in that place."

Gaucourt was the principal spokesman, for his side, in the parleys with the English lords, appointed to treat for the surrender of the town, after a siege of thirty-six days, Sept. 22, 1415. D'Estouteville and Gaucourt were both sent as prisoners to England; the latter wrote a narrative of the siege. A Robert D'Estouteville was appointed by Louis XI. to the command of a force in Artois to oppose the landing of Edward IV. when he meditated the conquest of France.

AMBASSADORS to the King of England.

Several embassies were sent from France to Henry IV., but the personages on the present occasion were, Louis Earl of Vendôme; Monsieur William Bouratin, the Archbishop of Bourges; the Bishop of Lisieux; the lords of Ivry and Braquemont, with Jean Andree and Master Gualtier Cole, the King's Secretaries. Writ 3 Henry V., dated June 29, 1415. RYMER'S *Fœdera*. Grafton gives at much length the addresses of the ambassadors, of whom the Archbishop was the chief speaker, telling Henry V. with great boldness, that his master, the King of France, did not consider him even to have any right to the crown of England, since it belonged to the true heir of the late King Richard. In the *Famous Victories* it is stated that "the Archbishop of Bourges and Monsieur le Cole" have been sent on the embassage, but the prelate only appears on the scene.

MONTJOY, a French Herald.

The principal King at Arms was taken prisoner at Agincourt, and it was from him that Henry V. learned that he had gained the field, and the name of the place, as stated in the play. "Mont-joie" was the battle-cry of the French, as "St. George" was of the English; and in the *Famous Victories* the former are represented as crying, "St. Dennis Mont-joye, St Dennis!"

ISABEL, Queen of France.

Owing to her husband's malady, Isabeau of Bavaria took an active part in state affairs, although the Dukes of Burgundy, John the *Fearless*, and his son, Philip the *Good*, by turns ruled or distracted the kingdom. The Queen died Sept. 24, 1435, three days after the ratification of the "peace of Troyes," (the second treaty of that name), to which she was mainly instrumental. Miss Strickland speaks of her as "the wicked queen Isabeau," and calls her "a vile woman, who neglected her children when they were young." Mr. Hallam styles her "the most infamous of women." French writers differ in opinion of her, for whereas M. Villaret condemns Isabel's conduct, M. de Sismondi thinks more favourably of her character.

KATHARINE, daughter of Charles and Isabel.

This princess was born in Paris, Oct. 27, 1401; after her betrothal at Troyes, May 21, 1420, Henry V. committed the safe keeping of his bride to his favourite Knight, Sir Louis Robsert, who fought at Agincourt, for which service he was made a K.G., and who was the escort of the widowed Katharine during the long ceremony of her great husband's funeral, being always one mile in the rear of the stately procession.

Queen Katharine married secondly, OWEN TUDOR, a highly-descended but poor Welch gentleman, who is said to have been one of Davy Gam's retinue at Agincourt, and to have saved the life of Henry V., who certainly made him one of his "esquires of the body," an office which he after-

wards held to the infant King, Henry VI., on whom he attended at Windsor, and thus was brought to the notice of the young Queen-mother. This second marriage, for a long time kept secret, is supposed to have taken place in 1428. The children of Owen Tudor and Queen Katharine were three sons and a daughter, Tacina Tudor, who married Reginald, seventh Lord Grey of Wilton[1]; the sons were, 1. EDMUND TUDOR, of *Hadham;* 2. JASPAR TUDOR, of *Hatfield,* afterwards Earl of Pembroke; 3. OWEN TUDOR, who became a monk in Westminster Abbey. The eldest son, EDMUND TUDOR, created by his half-brother, Henry VI., in 1452, Earl of Richmond, obtained the hand of the great heiress of the Dukes of Somerset, MARGARET BEAUFORT; and their only child sat on the throne as Henry the Seventh.

The widow of the warlike Henry V. passed the latter part of her life in great obscurity, her second marriage having given much offence to the proud princes of both nations, and she died in Bermondsey Abbey, January 3, 1437. Henry VI. took very little notice of his step-father, who never attained any dignity or title, and he is simply styled "Owen *ap* Tyder, Esquire," in a charter of Queen Katharine, dated 1434; and the only reward or office which appears to have been bestowed upon him was in the year before his death, when he was appointed keeper of some royal parks in the county of Denbigh, being styled in the writ, 38 Henry VI., dated Feb. 5, 1460, by his royal step-son, "Dilectus armiger noster Owinus Tudyr." RYMER'S *Fœdera.* He fought for the Lancastrian cause in the War of the Roses, under his able son Jaspar Tudor, at Mortimer's Cross, and being taken prisoner, was beheaded by order of the Duke of York, afterwards Edward IV.; this battle was fought on Candlemas Eve, Feb. 1, 1461.

As an instance of the neglect towards Owen Tudor, even to the omission of his Christian name where it is usual to give it according to Welsh practice, it is only necessary to quote a petition of the Abbess of Barking, Katharine de la Pole, wherein she asks for "lii livres xii sols," for the mainte-

[1] From them is lineally descended the present Earl of Wilton, who is also Viscount Grey de Wilton.

nance of his two sons, who are styled "Edmund ap Meredith ap Tydur, and Jaspar ap Meredith ap Tydur;" Meredith Tudor being their grandfather. This prayer was granted Nov. 5, 19 Henry VI., 1441. RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

In the representation of this play several persons who were present at Agincourt might with great propriety be brought upon the scene, and some of them are named in the drama. Thus the EARL of SUFFOLK, the only noble besides the Duke of York slain in battle, and of whose companionship in a glorious death so touching an account is given, might be one of the actors, especially as he was also engaged at Harfleur. This noble was MICHAEL DE LA POLE, third Earl of Suffolk, whose retinue consisted of "16 lances and 71 archers;" his father, of the same name, died during the siege of Harfleur, Sept. 4, 1415. *Arms of De La Pole, Azure* a fesse between three leopards' heads *Or.*

Another nobleman, who might be brought upon the stage, is addressed by Henry V. as being present at the interview at Troyes, Act V. Scene 2; this was JOHN HOLLAND, EARL of HUNTINGDON, who was at Harfleur, and also at Agincourt; his train had "16 lances and 35 archers." *Arms of Holland.*—ENGLAND and a border of France.

A very experienced warrior, the Lord Camoys[1], a knight banneret, commanded the rear-guard at Agincourt: he had in his train "23 lances and 69 archers." *Arms of Camoys.*—*Azure* on a chief *Gules* three plates.

Sir GILBERT UMPHREVILL, LORD KYME, bore a conspicuous part in the campaign, both at Harfleur and at Agincourt. The king sent him and Sir John Cornwall, K.G., on the 19th of October, 1415, across the Somme to reconnoitre the French, and to secure the advance of the English. The Poet makes the French king allude to this important success on King Henry's part, Act III. Scene 5;—

"'Tis certain he hath pass'd the river Some."

Arms of Umphreville.—*Gules* a cinque-foil within an orle of cross-croslets *Or.*

[1] Ancestor, through several heiresses, of the present Lord Camoys, Thomas Stonor, 1865.

Sir JOHN CORNWALL, who was uncle, by marriage, of Henry V., created Lord Fanhope by Henry VI. in 1433, was a very distinguished commander. His *Arms* were, *Ermine* a lion rampant *Gules* crowned *Or*, within a border *Sable* bezantée.

The Earls of March, Oxford, Devonshire (Courtenay); the "lord marshal," John Mowbray; the Lords Ferrers of Chartley, and of Groby, Ros, Willoughby, Fitz-hugh, Clifford, and Talbot[1]; and of Knights, Sir William Bourchier, Sir John Grey, Sir William Harrington, Sir Hugh Stafford, Sir William Pilkington, and Sir Thomas West, with many more gallant persons, easily to be named, would appropriately figure on the stage. Lydgate describes the prowess of some of the heroes of Agincourt;—

> "The Duk of Glocestre that is no nay,
> That day full worthyly he wroughte,
> On every side he made gode waye,
> The Frenchemen faste to grounde he broughte.
> The Erl of Huntyndon sparyd nought,
> The Erl of Oxenford layd on all soe;
> The yonge Erl of Devinshire he ne rought,
> The Frenchemen faste to grounde gan goe."

Two knights especially might be introduced; one, Sir LOUIS ROBSERT, before mentioned, always in close attendance on Henry V. as "esquire of the king's body," *Arms, Vert* a lion rampant *Or;* the other, Sir THOMAS STRICKLAND, who carried the banner of St George; *Arms, Gules* a chevron *Or* between three crosses patée *Argent.*

Sir JOHN BLOUNT remained at Harfleur as Lieutenant of that place under the Earl of Dorset; and "JOHN FASTOLF Esquire," also stayed there as one of the captains of the garrison. THOMAS CHAUCER, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1414, son of the poet, accompanied Henry V. to Agincourt with "9 lances and 37 archers." "Dayy Gam,

[1] The king specially mentions "Talbot," as one of the names which should become "familiar as household words;" Act IV. Scene 3. This warrior was Gilbert, fifth Lord Talbot, K.G., elder brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury in the next play; his train consisted of "20 lances, and 55 archers." In the will made by the king before he left Southampton, he bequeathed to Gilbert Talbot, "consanguineo nostro," a cup of C marks.

Esquire[1]," who married a sister of Owen Glendower, attended with "three archers;" his son-in-law, Sir Roger Vaughan, was among the few who were killed on the English side. Of this number also was Sir RICHARD KIGHLEY[2], called KETLEY in the play, whose retinue consisted of "6 lances and 18 archers."

When in armour the English warriors of rank should be represented wearing their linen or silken sur-coats emblazoned with their armorial bearings; as it is expressly stated by St Remy, who was present with the English army, that when Henry V. heard that the French were advancing against him, he and his followers constantly wore their "cottes d'armes," in readiness for battle.

The four royal banners, besides the Standard of England, were those of the Holy Trinity, St George, St Edward, and St Edmund; the respective leaders would have their emblazoned banners. The *Oriflamme*, or royal banner of France, was unfurled for the last time at Agincourt, where it was borne by Guillaume Martel, Seigneur de Basqueville.

Of illustrious French personages the brave Duke of Alençon might well be brought on the stage; he married Marie de Bretagne, daughter of Joan of Navarre by her first husband. The "Lord Bouciqualt," who was taken prisoner, was Jean de Meingre, a celebrated Marshal of France; he died in England, being unable to pay the sum fixed for his ransom. At Agincourt the French were encumbered by the immense weight of their armour; in the Musée d' Artillerie at Paris are still preserved the casque and cuirass born by Ferri de Lorraine, killed in the battle, which weigh 90lbs.

The bridge alluded to, Act III. Scene 6, by Captain Gower,—

"How, now, Captain Fluellen, come you from the bridge?"

[1] Henry V. sent Davy Gam, before the battle, to reconnoitre the French, and in reply to the king's inquiry as to their number the valiant Welshman said, "May it please you, my liege, there are enow to be killed, enow to be taken prisoners, and enow to run away." Some of the descendants of Davy Gam are buried in the parish church of Llanfrynach, county of Brecon. And in the church of Merthyr-Cynog there is a monument to Roger Gam, dated 1620.

[2] Kighley, or Keighly, is the name of a market-town in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

the same question being afterwards asked by the king, was over the river Ternoise, near Blangy, and being taken by the English after a fierce resistance, October 24, the day before the battle of Agincourt, the stream was afterwards called by the victors "the river of swords." ELMHAM and TITUS LIVIUS.

Dr Henry Edwards states, that another knight was slain whilst defending the king against the attack of Alençon and his followers, namely, Sir William *ap* Thomas, who was knighted, before he expired, by Henry. Some writers say that he married Gladys, daughter of David Gam (also knighted by the king on the field of battle), and that their son was William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke.

FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI.

Time of Action, from A.D. 1422 *to* 1443.

KING HENRY THE SIXTH.

Of this most unfortunate monarch Fuller says in his quaint fashion,—"This Henry was twice crowned, twice deposed, and twice buried, first at Chertsey, and then at Windsor[1], and once half-sainted." Henry V. had expressly directed that his son's birth should not take place at Windsor, but the event occurred there Dec. 6, 1421, and when the young king came to the throne he was only eight months old. The scenes in this play are much confused as to order of time, and the youthful sovereign is brought upon the stage long before he could take any active share in the realities of government. This *First Part* is made to commence with the funeral of Henry V. in Westminster Abbey, Nov. 11, 1422; and it closes with the departure of the Earl of Suffolk to treat for the hand of Margaret of Anjou; this commission was given in 1443. Henry VI. was crowned by Archbishop Chicheley, Nov. 6, 1429.

Arms of King Henry VI.—Quarterly FRANCE *modern* and ENGLAND, as adopted by Henry V.

[1] In *King Richard III.*, Act 1. Scene 2, where the corpse of King Henry is brought in, Lady Anne directs her attendants,

"Come, now, toward Chertsey with
your holy load,
Taken from Paul's to be interred
there."

The poor king was not "solemnly interr'd" as Gloster promised, but buried without any pomp in the Old Benedictine Abbey,

"But, first, I'll turn yon fellow in
his grave,"

and the body was removed by Henry VII., and placed with more reverence among the royal tombs in St George's Chapel, Windsor.

DUKE of GLOUCESTER, Uncle of the King, and Protector.

The brave HUMPHREY PLANTAGENET, who fought so well at Agincourt, figures in this play as the chief guardian to the young king, his nephew; and in the very first scene he is brought into collision with the proud priest, the Bishop of Winchester, better known as Cardinal Beaufort, in foretaste of the bitter hatred and struggle for power between them, which ceased not until the "good Duke Humphrey" came to an untimely end by his envious rival's means. The career of Gloster is continued in the next play.

Arms of Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, K.G. —As before given in "King Henry V."

DUKE of BEDFORD, Uncle to the King, and Regent of France.

In this part the "Prince John of Lancaster," of former plays, closes his career of military glory and wise administration, sullied, however, by one blot,—his treatment of the heroine, Joan of Arc. Hume calls him "the most accomplished prince of the age," and Talbot's eulogy in the play, well expressed Bedford's character,—

> "A braver soldier never couchèd lance,
> A gentler heart did never sway in court."

This great general gained the famous battle of Verneuil, August 27, 1424, against the combined French and Scots, and after achieving many other victories died at Rouen, the seat of his government, Sept. 14, 1435, *after* the execution of Joan of Arc, although in the play his own death is made to occur before that of the Maid of Orleans. Bedford's first wife, 1423, was ANNE, sister of Philip the *Good*, Duke of Burgundy, the character in this play; she died Nov. 14, 1432, and very shortly after he married secondly Jacqueline, daughter of Peter, Count of Luxemburg, a vassal of the Duke of Burgundy, who was highly offended at the hasty alliance. The Duke of Bedford had no children by either of his wives, and his widow Jacqueline soon after his death, being then only seventeen, married Richard Woodville, and one of their

children, Elizabeth, became the Queen of Edward the Fourth.

The Duke of Bedford was buried in the church of St Marie at Rouen, and the following inscription was placed on his tomb:—"Cy gist fu de noble memoire tres-haut & puissant prince Johan en son vivant Regent le Roialme de France, Duc de Bedford; pour lequel est fondre une Messe estre chez un jour perpetuellement celebre a cest autel par le college des Clementines incontinent apres prime. Et trespassa le xiv jour de Septembre l' an Mill. ccccxxxv, au quel xiv jour semblablement est fonde pour luy une solempnele en ceste Eglise. Dieu face pardon a son ame." BUSWELL. Greatly to his praise, Louis XI. refused to deface the monument to Bedford's memory when urged to do so, declaring,—"Let his body rest in quiet, which when he was living would have disquieted the proudest of us all; and as for his tomb, which I assure you is not so worthy as his acts deserve, I account it an honour to have his remains in my dominions." BANKS.

Arms of John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford, K.G.—As before given in "King Henry V."

THOMAS BEAUFORT, Duke of Exeter.

This is the character in the last play, but as he died Dec. 27, 1426, his introduction is out of place in many of the scenes, as in Act IV. Scene I, his nephew's coronation in Paris, which did not occur till 1431. Thomas Beaufort had no issue by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Nevill, and his large estates passed to his nephew, John Beaufort, first Duke of Somerset.

Arms of Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, K.G.—As before given in "King Henry V."

HENRY BEAUFORT, Great Uncle to the King, Bishop of Winchester, and afterwards Cardinal.

This eminent ecclesiastic was the second son of John of *Gaunt* and Catharine Swynford, and Humphrey of Gloster

takes care to remind his rival of the bar-sinister attaching to his birth,—

"Thou bastard of my grand-father,"

for no Act of Parliament can change a *natural taint of blood* in a person, though it may restore him to forfeited honours.

HENRY BEAUFORT was born about the year 1370, and in 1402 succeeded the illustrious William of Wickham in the see of Winchester, and in the same year was appointed Lord High Chancellor. He became extremely rich, and he lent to his nephew, Henry V., the large sum (for those days) of £28,000 for his French wars. His abilities, as well as his birth, qualified him for the leading part which he took in state affairs during the long minority of his great-nephew. In 1426, June 23, Pope Martin V. made him "Cardinal of St Eusebius." In opposition to the Duke of Gloster, who wished the young king to marry a daughter of the Count of Armagnac, Cardinal Beaufort recommended Margaret of Anjou, and his interest prevailed. The character of this prelate, as drawn in the play, agrees with the account given of him by the old chroniclers,—"Haughty in stomach, and high in countenance," says Holinshed, "and strong in malice and mischief." His career is continued in the next play.

Arms of Henry Beaufort, Cardinal-Bishop of Winchester.—Quarterly FRANCE *modern* and ENGLAND, a border compony, *Argent* and *Azure;* as borne upon his seal under a cardinal's hat.

JOHN BEAUFORT, Earl, afterwards Duke of Somerset.

This character was third earl, succeeding his elder brother Henry in that title, and was second son of John Beaufort, first Earl of Somerset, the eldest of the children of John of *Gaunt* and Catharine Swynford. The first earl was a distinguished soldier, under his father, and in the reign of Richard II. was Constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; he died in 1410, leaving by his wife Margaret Holland, daughter of Thomas Earl of Kent, the two sons already mentioned, and a third son, Edmund Beaufort, afterwards Duke of Somerset, a character in the *Second Part of King Henry VI.*, and also two daughters, 1. Joanna Beaufort, who

became the Queen of James the First, King of Scots, so long a prisoner in England; and 2. Margaret Beaufort, who married Thomas Courtenay, fifth Earl of Devon. The character in this play served with great honour in the French wars, was a K.G., and created by Henry VI. in 1443 Duke of Somerset; he died in the next year, leaving by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletsho, an only child, the great heiress, MARGARET BEAUFORT, who married first EDMUND TUDOR, Earl of Richmond, and their only son sat on the throne as Henry the Seventh; the Countess of Richmond married secondly Sir Henry Stafford, knight, and thirdly Thomas, Lord Stanley, a character in *King Richard III.*, but had no issue by either of these two husbands.

John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and his wife, Margaret Beauchamp, are buried under a rich monument at Wimborne Minster, co. Dorset, where their daughter, the Countess of Richmond, founded a grammar-school in 1497.

Arms of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, K.G.—Quarterly FRANCE *modern* and ENGLAND, a border compony *Argent* and *Azure.*

RICHARD PLANTAGENET, son of Richard late Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York.

This Prince was the only son of RICHARD of *Coningsburg* and ANNE MORTIMER. As his father had been attainted it was necessary that he should be restored in blood, thus Somerset taunts him,—

"Till thou art restor'd, thou art a yeoman."

This taint was removed in the Parliament held April 30, 1425, Act III. Scene 1, where King Henry, though only in his fourth year, is made to express his pleasure,—

"That Richard be restored to his blood."

He was at the same time created Duke of York, the title which had been held by his uncle, who fell at Agincourt, and by his grandfather, Edmund of *Langley.* In 8 Henry VI., he was made Constable of England during the absence of the Duke of Bedford in France; and at the death in 1435 of

that warlike prince succeeded him as Regent of France, conjointly with the Duke of Somerset. The introduction however of the Duke of York in Act IV. Scene 1, is premature, as he did not arrive in France until 1436. He had been elected a K.G. in 1433. As his sons, although really too young for such scenes, are introduced in the *Second Part*, it will be most in place here to notice the marriage of Richard Plantagenet with CICELY NEVILL, the "Rose of Raby," an alliance which brought to the House of York the powerful support of her father's numerous family connections. By this lady, youngest child of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, the Duke of York had, besides four sons who died young, four other sons, and four daughters; of the latter, 1. ANNE, married first Henry Holland, second and last Duke of Exeter, a character in the *Third Part*, and secondly Sir Thomas St Leger, and their daughter Anne married Sir George Manners, ancestor of the Dukes of Rutland; 2. ELIZABETH, married to John de la Pole, son to the Duke of Suffolk in this play; 3. MARGARET, who became the third wife, in 1467, of Charles the *Bold*, Duke of Burgundy; 4. URSULA, who died young.

The surviving sons were, 1. EDWARD, born in 1442, afterwards king; 2. EDMUND, Earl of Rutland, born 1443; 3. GEORGE, the ill-fated Clarence, born 1449; and 4. RICHARD, *youngest* of all the eight sons, born 1452, afterwards king. The eldest of all, Henry, born 1441, died quite young; William, the fourth son, born 1447; John, fifth son, born 1448; and Thomas, born before Richard, all died in their infancy.

Arms of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, K.G.— Quarterly FRANCE *modern* and ENGLAND, a label *Gules* charged with nine torteauxes. *Garter Plate.*

EARL of WARWICK.

The RICHARD BEAUCHAMP of the two preceding plays is appropriately continued in this *First Part of King Henry VI.*, whom he carried in his arms at fourteen months old, on being presented to his Peers in Parliament. In the "Rous Roll," the Earl of Warwick is depicted holding his young

charge on his arm. He succeeded the Duke of Bedford as *lieutenant-general in France and Normandy*, and died at Rouen, April 30, 1439; he was buried at Warwick, where his tomb, in the Church of St Mary, is considered to be the most magnificent and beautiful of its kind in England. He married first, Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of Thomas, fifth Lord Berkeley, Viscount Lisle, and by her had three daughters: 1. Margaret Beauchamp, who was the second wife of the illustrious Talbot in this play; 2. Alianor Beauchamp, who married first, Thomas, ninth Lord de Ros, and secondly, Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset; 3. Elizabeth Beauchamp, who married George Nevill, Lord Latimer. The Earl of Warwick's second wife was Isabel le Despencer, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Gloucester, by whom he had one son, his successor, Henry Beauchamp, created Duke of Warwick, and a K.G.; and one daughter, ANNE BEAUCHAMP, who became the wife of RICHARD NEVILL, who is the great "Earl of Warwick" in the two next Parts. Fuller says of Richard Beauchamp, "His deeds of charity, according to the devotion of those days, were little inferior to the achievements of his valour."

Warwick Castle, as built by the Beauchamps, is deemed by archæologists to be the finest example of baronial architecture in England, and it is the least marred by alteration. Sir WALTER SCOTT speaks of it as "that fairest monument of ancient and chivalrous splendour which yet remains uninjured by time."—*Kenilworth.* Mr RICKMAN says, "One tower, called Guy's Tower, is nearly untouched; it appears to be of Decorated character; though very plain, it is perhaps the most perfect remain of its kind in existence—is very curious both as to composition and construction, and its outline, seen from a distance, is peculiarly fine." The more modern mansion is in good keeping with the ruins, possessing many fine works of art and valuable antiquities, displayed in some noble apartments, which overlook SHAKSPEARE'S own Avon. It was built by Sir Fulke Greville, "friend to Sir Philip Sidney," about 1604. The present Earl of Warwick, George Guy Greville, is descended from Sir Fulke Greville, who married Elizabeth, grand-daughter and heir of Robert, second Lord Willoughby de Broke, whose wife, Elizabeth

Beauchamp, was eldest daughter and co-heir of Richard, Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, an early branch of the family.

Arms of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G.—*Gules* a fesse between six cross croslets *Or.*

EARL of SALISBURY.

In this play the valiant THOMAS MONTACUTE closes his long and glorious career at Orleans in 1428. He has been styled, "a person more of an old Roman courage, than one of his age." Camden states that he was the first English gentleman that was slain by a cannon-ball. The earl was a patron of Lydgate the poet and historian, who dedicated his works to Salisbury, and the copy in the British Museum has in the frontispiece portraits of the earl and the poet. Thomas Montacute married first, Eleanor Holland, daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Kent, and their only daughter, Alice Montacute, married Richard Nevill, who is the "Earl of Salisbury" in the *Second Part.* The earl in this play married secondly, Alice, daughter of Thomas Chaucer (the poet's son), but had no issue by her. His daughter, Alice Nevill, inherited her father's baronies of Montacute and Monthermer.

Arms of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, K.G.—*Argent* three fusils in fesse *Gules.*

EARL of SUFFOLK.

This noble was WILLIAM DE LA POLE, fourth earl, brother and successor of Michael de la Pole, third earl, who fell gloriously at Agincourt, and to whose large possessions the fourth earl eventually became heir. At the death of Henry V. he was left in France, and held a high command at the famous battle of Verneuil, second only in importance to Agincourt, under the regent, Bedford, and with Salisbury for a colleague, at whose death Suffolk succeeded to the chief command at Orleans. At the siege of Jergeau, May 18, 1429, he was taken prisoner by a French esquire, to whom Suffolk yielded his sword, having first knighted him with it;

his captor was named Guillaume Renaud. The earl was present in Paris at the coronation of Henry VI., and was sent into Sicily to negociate that king's marriage with Margaret of Anjou; this *First Part* concludes with Suffolk's departure on his embassy. He is continued in the *Second Part* with increase of rank, the consequence of his successful mission. He was made a K.G. in the reign of Henry V.

Arms of William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, K.G.—*Azure* a fesse between three leopards' heads *Or*.

LORD TALBOT, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury.

This is the renowned captain, Sir JOHN TALBOT, whose ancestor, Richard de Talbot, came in with the Conqueror, and from whom lineally descended Gilbert Talbot, summoned to Parliament, 4 Edward III., 1330, as Baron Talbot, and his grandson, of the same name, third Lord Talbot, married Petronilla Butler, daughter of James, first Earl of Ormonde by his wife, Eleanor de Bohun, a granddaughter of Edward the First, and was father of Richard, fourth Lord Talbot, who by his wife Ankaret, daughter of John, fourth Lord Strange of Blackmere, had four sons, the eldest of whom, Sir Gilbert Talbot, K.G., one of the heroes of Agincourt, was fifth lord, and the second son, Sir John Talbot, is the character in this play, who became sixth Lord Talbot at the death of his brother Gilbert in 1419. His career was a series of successes against the French until he was defeated by their great heroine, Joan of Arc, at Pataye, in 1429, when he was taken prisoner. This affair is mentioned in the first scene, although that opens with the funeral of Henry V., which was in 1422. Talbot was detained captive four years, and was exchanged for a famous French leader, who is named in the play,—

"The brave Lord Ponton de Santrailles,"

the very same knight who had taken Lord Talbot prisoner at Pataye. His creation as Earl of Shrewsbury was in 1442, although placed much earlier in the play, where in Act III. Scene 4, the king says to him,—

"We here create thee Earl of Shrewsbury,
And in our coronation take your place;"

but that ceremony occurred in Paris in 1431.

This great soldier's name was used by the French women to quiet their unruly children, as SOUTHEY says, in *Joan of Arc*,—

"Talbot, at whose dread name the froward child
Clings mute and trembling to his nurse's breast."

This effect upon children is alluded to in the play by the Countess of Auvergne, when she fancies that Talbot is in her power, and she taunts him with the meanness of his stature, Act II. Scene 3,—

"Is this the Talbot so much fear'd abroad,
That with his name the mothers still'd their babes?"

After taking Bordeaux he was killed, when more than eighty years of age, with his son, "valiant John," at Castillon, July 7, 1453, long *after* Joan of Arc had suffered her cruel fate, although in the play her death is placed after that of the Talbots. Most writers place the death of the great captain as July 20, but the 7th is the date which was recorded on his monument at Whitechurch, co. Salop. "Orate pro anima prænobilis domini, domini Johannis Talbot quondam Comitis Salopiæ, domini Furnivall, domini Verdon, domini Strange de Blackmere, & Mareschelli Franciæ, qui obiit in bello apud Burdews vij Julii, MCCCCLIII."—BUSWELL. The great Talbot was born at Blackmere, which derives its name from one of the three fine lakes in the neighbourhood of Whitechurch.

The Earl of Shrewsbury married first, MAUD NEVILL, eldest daughter of Thomas, fifth Lord Furnival, by whom he had three sons: 1. Thomas, *obt. vitâ patris;* 2. JOHN; 3. Sir Christopher Talbot; the two latter were slain at Northampton, July 10, 1460, fighting for the house of Lancaster. The second son, John Talbot, succeeded his father as second earl[1], and from his second son, Sir Gilbert Talbot

[1] The supporters to the arms of the family are the noble hounds known as "talbots;" and King Henry the Sixth used to speak of the second Earl of Shrewsbury, who was his lord treasurer, as "Talbot our good dogge."

of Grafton, descended the later Earls of Shrewsbury, and also the Earls Talbot, both which titles are now united in Sir Gilbert's lineal descendant, the present premier earl of England.

The character in this play married secondly, Margaret Beauchamp, by whom he had one daughter, Joan, married to James, sixth Lord Berkeley, and three sons, JOHN, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Lewis; his eldest son by this marriage is the next character.

Arms of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G.—Gules a lion rampant *Or* within a border engrailed of the *second.*

JOHN TALBOT.

This young soldier, whom his father proudly calls "valiant John," was created in 1443 Baron, and in 1452 Viscount L'Isle, his mother, Margaret, being eldest daughter and co-heir of Richard Beauchamp, the "Earl of Warwick" in this play, by Elizabeth, only child of Thomas, fifth Lord Berkeley, Viscount L'Isle. The admirable scene wherein the elder Talbot in vain implores his son to quit the field is from Hall. As the death of young Talbot occurred twenty-two years after the execution of Joan of Arc, it was impossible that they could meet in single combat, as hinted at by her in the play, Act IV. Scene 7,—

"Once I encounter'd him, and thus I said," &c

The Viscount L'Isle married Joan, daughter of Sir Thomas Cheddar, Knight, and had by her one son, who died without issue in 1469, and two daughters, of whom the youngest, Margaret Talbot, married Sir George Vere, and the eldest, Elizabeth Talbot, married Sir Edward Grey[1], who was created Viscount L'Isle, and their daughter, Elizabeth Grey, by her marriage with Edmund Dudley, carried the ancient barony of L'Isle to that family, from whom it descended by marriage to the Sidneys; and the lineal representative of those two families, and of young John Talbot, is the present Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, Philip Sidney (1865), who has also taken

[1] Younger brother of Sir John Grey, first husband of Elizabeth Woodvile; another brother, Reginald Grey, was slain at the battle of Wakefield.

the name of his lady, daughter and heir of the late Sir William Foulis, Bart., of Ingilby.

Arms of John Talbot, Viscount L'Isle.—As his father's, with a martlet for difference.

EDMUND MORTIMER, Earl of March.

This nobleman was the rightful heir to the crown at the deposition of Richard the Second, but being only about seven years old his friends consulted his safety by not urging his claim against the popular Bolingbroke. The scene in this play wherein he is introduced, Act II. Scene 5, is founded on the idea that he is the Mortimer in the *First Part of King Henry IV.*, but so far from the Earl of March of this play having been kept in sequestration, as he says,—

> "Since Henry Monmouth first began to reign,—
> Before whose glory I was great in arms,"—

he was in reality the friend and companion of that king in his French wars, serving at Harfleur and at Agincourt, with a train of "19 lances and 102 archers;" was second in command to the Duke of Clarence when he thundered at the gates of Paris; was with Henry V. at the fierce siege of Melun; carried the sceptre at his Queen Katharine's coronation; and was one of the chief, and without doubt one of the truest, mourners who followed his royal friend's protracted funeral procession through France to England.

History does not present an instance of more devoted friendship than that felt by the Earl of March for Henry V., to whom, when Prince of Wales, he had been assigned in wardship; and though he had been an object of jealous suspicion to Henry IV., who confined him in Windsor Castle, yet Henry V. seems never to have shewn any sentiments but those of tender affection towards the young friend whose title to the throne was so much better than his own.

In the first year of Henry VI., 1422, the Earl of March was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, an appointment which had been held by his father, Roger, fourth earl, who was killed there in 1398; and by his grandfather, Edmund, third earl, who died in Ireland in 1381; and where the character in this play, fifth and last Earl of March of his name, expired

at the ancient seat of his family, the stately Trim Castle, being only thirty-two years old, although in the play he is described as bowed down with all the signs of "weak decaying age," speaking of himself as—

"Nestor-like aged in an age of care,"

detained "within a loathsome dungeon," the place of his imprisonment and death being made to be the Tower of London. The poet must have taken his notion from Hall's allusion to the Earl of March, "which long time had been restrained from his liberty, and finally waxed lame." Sandford makes the Earl of March to die in Trim Castle[1], after an imprisonment of twenty years. That place, long the residence of the governors of Ireland, from the time of King John, who had been Lord Deputy, came to the Mortimers by marriage with one of the Genevills, who were lords of Trim. As the Earl of March was born on St Leonard's day, 15 Richard II., the date of his birth was Nov. 6, 1391. It is generally stated that his death occurred January 19, 1424, but he is named as one of the admirals of the king, and also one of the conservators of the truce between Henry VI. and the King of Scots, in a writ dated at Durham, March 28, 1424; and in a writ dated at Westminster, 3 Henry VI., Feb. 26, 1425, the king grants to his mother, Queen Katharine, the residence in the City of London which belonged to the Earl of March, recently deceased, to hold during the minority of the Duke of York, his nephew. RYMER'S *Fœdera*.

Several writs of the reign of Henry V. prove that the Earl of March not only had his liberty, but was held in high honour. At the meeting of the Parliament at Westminster, 3 Henry V., April 16, 1415, where the king announced his "propos de faire un viage à la Grace de Dieu en son propre persone pur le Recouvrir de son Héritage," the name of the "Conte de la Marche" ranks next after the royal dukes and mitred ecclesiastics among the peers who were present. In 1417, July 24, "Edmund, Earl of March and Ulster," is

[1] "The castle, once the residence of King John, is perhaps the most spacious in Ireland. It consists of a keep, or citadel, enclosed by curtains and bastions, and protected by a fosse, the whole occupying about four acres of land. The ruins are yet considerable and imposing." GORTON, *Topog. Dict.*

appointed the king's lieutenant on the sea. He is also one of the witnesses to two writs tested by the king in person, dated at Rouen, Jan. 20, and March 24, 1420; and his name appears in other documents of this reign, next to the king's brothers; and a most important evidence of his serving at Agincourt is found in the "letter of safe-conduct," 4 Henry V., granted to "William D'Achyngcourt, prisoner to our beloved kinsman, Edmund, Earl of March," on his returning to France, dated Jan. 11, 1416. RYMER'S *Fœdera*. In the "Roll of Agincourt" it is stated that the Earl of March took two prisoners, and the above name is remarkably confirmed by Monstrelet, who among the prisoners of rank mentions—"the Lord of the said place of Azincourt, and his son."

The Earl of March had no issue by his wife ANNE STAFFORD, daughter of Edmund, fifth Earl of Stafford, K.G., and his nephew, Richard Plantagenet, then "fourteen years old," was found to be his heir at the inquisition, *post mortem*. Thus in the play the dying Mortimer tells his nephew,—

> "thou seest that I no issue have,
> And that my fainting words do warrant death:
> Thou art my heir."

In Act II. Scene 2, of the *Second Part*, where the Duke of York recounts his descent, and his "claim to the kingdom" through his mother, Anne Mortimer, "being heir unto the crown," all the mistakes are repeated of Edmund Mortimer's making "claim unto the crown" and being "kept in captivity till he died." The history of the Mortimers requires to be re-written, and cleared from the errors which have been introduced.

Arms of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.—Barry of six *Or* and *Azure*, on a chief as the *first* two pallets between as many based esquires like the *second*, over all an escutcheon *Argent*.

SIR JOHN FASTOLFE.

This knight, son of John Fastolfe and his wife, Mary, daughter of Nicholas Parke, was born on St Leonard's day, Nov. 6, 1380, at Great Yarmouth, co. Norfolk; he was educated as a page in the household of Thomas Mowbray, the "Duke of Norfolk" in *King Richard II.*, and afterwards

attended Prince Thomas of Lancaster to Ireland in 1405. He accompanied Henry V. in his expedition to France in 1415, with a retinue of "10 lances and 30 archers," and served at Harfleur, where he was left to form part of the garrison, so that he could not be at Agincourt, as often asserted. After the death of Henry V., the regent, Bedford, made Fastolfe Grand Master of his household, and Seneschal of Normandy; and in 1423 appointed him Governor of Anjou and Maine. He took several strong places from the French, and in 1426 was rewarded with the honour of a K.G. In 1428 he achieved his great exploit, called "the Battle of the Herrings," before Orleans; but in the next year he was defeated at Pataye by Joan of Arc, who caused such a panic among the English that they fled in dismay, and Monstrelet mentions the behaviour of Sir John Fastolfe and his companions, who "had not dismounted, and to save their lives, they with many other knights set off full gallop." This blot on his escutcheon is alluded to in Act III. Scene 2, where "a Captain" asks,—

> "Whither away, Sir John Fastolfe, in such haste?
> *Fastolfe.* Whither away? to save myself by flight."

According to the same French author, the knight was reproached by Bedford for having thus fled "before a stroke was given," and was by him deprived of his "Garter," which was restored in after time. This degradation is, in the play, performed by Talbot, who pronounces a glowing eulogy on "this most honourable order," Act IV. Scene 1. The Duke of Bedford continued his favour to Fastolfe, appointed him Governor of Caen, and named him as one of the executors to his will. He remained in France under the Duke of York, who rewarded his services with a pension, and he at length retired from active service in 1440, to his estate at Caistor, near Great Yarmouth, where the remains exist of the stately castellated brick mansion, which he built from the proceeds, as alleged, of the ransom of John II., Duke of Alençon (son of the prince killed at Agincourt), who was taken prisoner by Fastolfe, at the battle of Verneuil, in 1424[1]. Sir John died at

[1] Some writers, without sufficient reflection, have stated that Fastolfe took prisoner this prince's father, at Agincourt; whereas no fact is more certain than that the valiant foe of Henry V. was slain in the fight.

Caistor, Nov. 6, 1459 (BLOMEFIELD), leaving no issue by his wife, who pre-deceased him in 1446, Milicent, widow of Sir Stephen Scrope, of Bentley and Castle-Combe (brother of Archbishop Scrope, and of Roger, second Lord Scrope of Bolton), who was second daughter and co-heir of Robert, third Lord Tibetoft, whose eldest daughter, Margaret Tibetoft, married Sir Stephen Scrope's brother, Lord Scrope. Fastolfe's wife, sometimes called "Lady Castle-Combe," had one son by her first husband, after whom he was named Stephen Scrope, and who does not appear to have been fairly treated by his step-father, Fastolfe, in respect of his inheritance. Sir John bequeathed the greater part of his large estates to charitable and pious purposes, and in his lifetime had endowed Magdalene College, Oxford, with the manor of Caldecot, co. Suffolk, and the tenement called the "Boar's Head" in Southwark. He had a nephew, John Fastolf, of Congsham; and the name of "Edmund Fastolf" appears on the "Roll of Agincourt," as a lance in the train of the Earl of Oxford. The family was seated early at Great Yarmouth, of which place many of the name were bailiffs from the time of Edward the First. BLOMEFIELD. In 1335 "Katherine Fastolf" was Prioress of Bungay Nunnery, an office which was held in 1535 by "Cecilia Falstolfe," the last prioress. SUCKLING'S *Suffolk.* Hugo Fastolf was sheriff of Norfolk, 13 Richard II.; and Thomas Fastolf was Bishop of St David's from 1352 to 1361.

Arms of Sir John Fastolfe, K.G.—Quarterly *Or* and *Azure,* on a bend *Gules* three cross-croslets *Argent.* These arms, with his motto, ME - FAUNT - FARE, "I must be doing," are carved on Caistor Castle, impaled with the arms of his wife, Milicent Tibetoft, viz., *Argent* a saltier engrailed *Gules.* "All the family of the Fastolf's, excepting Sir John, bore three escallops Argent on the bend." BLOMEFIELD.

SIR WILLIAM LUCY.

This character may be intended for SIR WILLIAM LUCY, Knight, of Charlecote, co. Warwick, whereof he was sheriff, in the 14, 28, and 31 of Henry VI., and who died 6 Ed-

ward IV., 1466. His family had been seated at Charlecote from the time of King John, when Walter de Cherlcote's son, William, assumed the name of Lucy, 1 Henry III., 1216. From him descended in the seventh generation Thomas Lucy, who died 3 Henry V., and by his wife Alesia, sister and heir of William Hugford of Hugford, co. Salop, was father of Sir William Lucy, supposed to be the character in this play, who married Alianor, daughter of Reginald Lord Grey de Ruthyn; and their lineal descendant, Sir Thomas Lucy, is the person celebrated by SHAKSPEARE to all time as "Justice Shallow," placing him however in the reign of Henry IV., though he flourished in that of Queen Elizabeth.

Arms of Lucy of Charlecote.—Gules three luces haurient *Argent.*

Another SIR WILLIAM LUCY, of a different family, was killed at the battle of Northampton, 1460, at the age of forty. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Percy of Athol, son of Sir Thomas, next brother of "Hotspur," but died without issue. He might be the character intended in this play, though he would only be thirty-three years old at the death of the Talbots. He bore for Arms, *Gules* crusuly *Or* three pikes haurient *Argent.*

In the "REGISTER de WORKSOP *apud* ANSTIS," there is an interesting account of the recognition by the herald of the body of the "great Alcides of the field," Lord Talbot,—"the herald of this glorious veteran sought out the body amongst the heaps of slain, wept over it, and embraced it with these pathetic words, 'Alas! my lord, and is it you? I pray God pardon you all your misdoings. I have been your officer of arms forty years, and now it is time I should surrender to you the ensigns of my office.' Thus saying, he threw his coat of arms over the corpse, thus performing one of the ancient rites of sepulture."

Many great nobles and knights had their family heralds, or poursuivants at arms; thus Edmondson tells us,—"Waysford was Pursuivant to the famous John lord Talbot, who is in the 24th year of Henry the Sixth stiled Earl of Shrewsbury and Washford." This latter is meant for the earl's Irish title, Wexford, to which allusion is also intended in

SHAKSPEARE'S recital of Talbot's dignities, Act IV. Scene 7, where Sir William Lucy calls him,—

"Great Earl of Washford, Waterford, and Valence."

Among other nobles, characters in these plays, Scales, Rivers, and Hastings, had their poursuivants, named after them; Fastolfe had his herald, William de Wycestre; and Sir Matthew Gough had one called "Buel."

SIR WILLIAM GLANSDALE.

This knight is called by French historians "Glacidas," by Stow "Gladesdale;" and Southey, in his *Joan of Arc*, speaks of him, under the name of "Gladdisdale," as—

"the last of all his race,
Slain in a foreign land, and doom'd to share
A common grave."

This alludes to his fate at Orleans, where he perished by the breaking of a draw-bridge, struck by a cannon-shot, when he was drowned, with many knights and soldiers, who sank in the Loire, oppressed by the weight of their armour. SHAKSPEARE makes Glansdale, in the only words spoken by him, take up his position at the place whence he was to assault the town, and where he lost his life, Act I. Scene 4,—

"And I here, at the bulwark of the bridge."

Serle calls this character "a stern rude soldier of fortune," which may account for the compiler of these memoirs not finding the name of Glansdale, or Glasdale, as he is sometimes styled, in any Ordinary of Arms: and in answer to an enquiry, Mr J. W. Papworth says—"I believe you will not find anywhere, except by the merest accident, a coat for Gladdesdale or Glansdale."

SIR THOMAS GARGRAVE.

The fatal shot which struck down the Earl of Salisbury, before Orleans, also wounded one of his chief officers, SIR THOMAS GARGRAVE, who died from the blow within two

days. The family was seated at Gargrave and Nosthall, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, of which county another Thomas Gargrave was sheriff 7 and 11 Queen Elizabeth; and afterwards the office was filled by members of the family. The Priory at Nostell, for Augustine Friars, was founded by Ilbert de Lacy, *temp.* William Rufus. In 1625 the site was sold by Sir Richard Gargrave to the Ireland family; it was afterwards purchased by Sir Rowland Wynne, Bart. MONASTICON.

Arms of Gargrave of Nosthall.—Lozengy *Argent* and *Sable*, on a bend of the *first* three crescents of the *second.* FULLER'S *Worthies*, co. York.

MAYOR of LONDON.

This is the first time that this important functionary is introduced in SHAKSPEARE'S plays. The events in Act I. Scene 3, and Act III. Scene 1, both really occurred in 1425, during the time that the Lord Mayor was JOHN COVENTRY, citizen and mercer; and it is recorded in history that he behaved manfully on the occasions, and put the Bishop of Winchester's faction to flight. The title of "Lord Mayor" was first allowed 28 Edward III., 1354. In Act I. Scene 3, the stage direction in the Folio of 1623 reads,—"*Enter in the hurly burly the Maior of London, and his officers;*" among whom no doubt the sheriffs would appear; these in 1425 were William Milred and John Brockle, who became Mayor in 1433. STOW.

Arms of John Coventry, Lord Mayor of London.—*Argent* on a chevron *Sable* between three columbine flowers slipped *proper*, a bezant.

WOODVILE, Lieutenant of the Tower.

RICHARD DE WIDVILL, or WOODVILE, of a good Northamptonshire family, of whom several had served as sheriff, was 7 Henry IV. Governor of Northampton Castle; he was afterwards one of the esquires of the body to Henry V., and subsequently became chamberlain and councillor to the Duke

of Bedford, under whom he served in the French wars. In 3 Henry VI. he was appointed Constable of the Tower, he was therefore of higher rank than "Lieutenant," as he is styled in the play (and in the year 1424 Robert Scot was the Lieutenant); Woodvile was created a K.G. by Henry VI., and in 1448 Baron Rivers. Monstrelet calls him the handsomest man in all England. In 1436 he married the youthful widow of his patron the Duke of Bedford, JACQUELINE of Luxembourg, by whom he had five sons and six daughters. The former were: 1. Sir Anthony Woodvile, who is the "Earl Rivers" in *King Richard III.*; 2. Sir John Woodvile, who was slain with his father in 1469; 3. Lionel Woodvile, Bishop of Salisbury; 4. Sir Edward Woodvile, K.G.; 5. Sir Richard, afterwards third Earl Rivers, at whose death in 1491, without issue, the title became extinct.

Of the other children of Earl Rivers by the Duchess Jacqueline, Fuller says,—"Almost all our ancient nobility may be traced to his six daughters." These were: 1. ELIZABETH, the wife first of Sir John Grey, and afterwards Queen to Edward IV.; 2. Margaret, who married Thomas Fitz-alan, sixteenth Earl of Arundel; 3. Anne, thrice married, viz., to William Lord Bourchier, George Grey, Earl of Kent, and Sir Anthony Wingfield; 4. Jacquetta, who married John Lord Strange; 5. Mary, the wife of William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon; 6. Katharine, who married first Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, secondly Jaspar Tudor, and thirdly Sir Richard Wingfield, K.G. Richard Woodvile was created Earl Rivers by his son-in-law, Edward IV., in 1466, and was beheaded by Robin of Riddesdale at Northampton, 1469. The Duchess Jacqueline died in 1472.

Arms of Woodvile.—Argent a fesse and a canton *Gules.*

VERNON, of the White Rose, or York faction.

Mr T. P. Courtenay says,—"I presume that the person intended is Sir Richard Vernon, Speaker of the House of Commons in the Leicester Parliament, ancestor of Lord Vernon; he died 1452." This character, therefore, was Sir RICHARD VERNON, of Haddon, Knight of the Shire of Derby in 1433. He married his cousin, Benedicta, daughter of

William Ludlow, by whom he had a son, Sir William Vernon, Treasurer of Calais, and Constable of England for life, who died in 1467, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Henry Vernon, K.B., who was Governor and Treasurer to Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII., and who by his wife Anne, daughter of John Talbot, second Earl of Shrewsbury, was father of Humphrey Vernon, whose second son, Thomas, was ancestor of the present Lord Vernon. In the east window of the chapel at Haddon, which was built by Sir Richard Vernon, there is an inscription,—"Orate pro animabus Ricardi Vernon militis et Benedictæ uxoris ejus, qui fecerunt istam capellam, A.D. 1427:" DUKE'S *Shropshire*, under TONG, in which church there is a splendid effigy of Sir Richard Vernon, in armour, one of the finest examples of the kind; it is given in SHAW'S *Decor. of Mid. Ages.* "HADDON HALL, near Bakewell, is kept up in a habitable state, with much ancient furniture, and is one of the most curious mansions in the kingdom. The most ancient portions, the hall and chapel, were built soon after 1427, and no part of it appears later than the reign of Henry VIII., except some interior fittings, which may be nearly as late as the end of that of Elizabeth. The buildings are very irregular, and surround two courts. The situation is fine; and the great variety of outline, combining with some very fine trees, renders the view of the hall in almost every direction peculiarly interesting." RICKMAN.

Arms of Sir Richard Vernon of Haddon.—Argent fretty *Sable* a canton *Gules.* FULLER.

BASSET, of the Red Rose, or Lancaster faction.

The family of Basset was one of great eminence in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, and several of its members were barons, highly distinguished in the wars of Henry III. and of the three Edwards. The person in this play may have been one of the heroes of Agincourt, either Robert Basset, who was one of the lances in the train of the earl marshal, or Philip Basset, a lance in the retinue of Lord Botreaux.

A Red Rose was the badge of John of *Gaunt,* as the White Rose was of his brother, Edmund of *Langley;* hence

the origin of their adoption afterwards by the partizans of their families, as symbols of strife. These badges are found as illustrations in the Missal of Nicholas Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, written between A.D. 1373 and 1377. SHAKSPEARE has given a poetical charm to the selection of the Red and White Roses, by the Lancaster and York factions, in the Temple Garden.

Arms of Basset of Drayton.—Or three piles *Gules*, a canton *Ermine.*

CHARLES, DAUPHIN, and afterwards KING of FRANCE.

This prince, third son of Charles VI., became Dauphin in 1417, in succession to his brothers, Louis and John. Although at the date when the second scene of this play occurred he was really king by the death of his father, and had been crowned at Poitiers in 1423, he continued to be styled the Dauphin, until he was conducted by Joan of Arc, according to her promise, to be solemnly inaugurated at Rheims, where the kings of France had been usually crowned. This ceremony occurred July 17th, 1429, although it is prematurely alluded to in the first scene:—

"The Dauphin Charles is crownèd king in Rheims."

Charles VII. married Mary of Anjou, sister of King René, and by her was father of Louis XI., who is a character in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.*

Arms of Charles VII., King of FRANCE.—*Azure* three fleurs-de-lis *Or*, called FRANCE *modern.*

REGNIER, DUKE of ANJOU, and titular KING of NAPLES.

This prince, usually called "le bon Roi René," was second son of Louis II., King of both the Sicilies, Naples, Arragon, and Jerusalem, Duke of Calabria and Anjou, and Count of Provence. René married Isabella, daughter and heir of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, at whose death his brother An-

thony de Vaudemont claimed that province, and a war ensued between him and his nephew René, who was taken prisoner in 1429 at the battle of Balgenville, after fighting valiantly, and he was not released until 1438; he is therefore out of place in some of the scenes in this play. His eldest daughter Yolande married her cousin, Ferrand, son of Anthony de Vaudemont; his youngest MARGARET of Anjou became the Queen of Henry VI. Of this alliance Holinshed remarks,—"the Earl of Suffolk condescended that the duchy of Anjou, and the county of Maine, should be delivered to the king, the bride's father, demanding for the marriage neither penny nor farthing." The "good King René," who was an excellent poet and musician, died in 1480; his character is well sketched by Sir Walter Scott in *Anne of Geierstein.*

Arms of King Regnier.—It will probably be correct to emblazon his sur-coat with the arms of Naples and Jerusalem; viz. Quarterly, 1 and 4, *Azure* semée-de-lis *Or*, a label of three points *Gules*, NAPLES; 2 and 3, *Argent* a cross potent between four crosses couped *Or*, JERUSALEM.

According to *Francis de Rosiers*, King René, in a charter dated 1435, used a seal Quarterly of four, viz. the Arms of Arragon, Sicily, Jerusalem, and Anjou.

The arms of "Jerusalem" afford a rare instance of the exception to the general rule of blazonry, "that metal should not be placed upon metal." This coat was first borne by Godfrey of Bouillon, and the exception in question is said to have been made in his favour, out of regard to his valour as well as the exalted rank to which he was called. Cleveland the Poet alludes to this very instance:—

> "Metal on metal is false heraldry;
> And yet the known Godfrey of Boulogn's coat
> Shines in exception to the heralds' vote."

DUKE of BURGUNDY.

In this play the duke is the Count de Charolois of the preceding drama, PHILIP, called "the Good," born in 1396, who succeeded his father, John *the Fearless*, in 1418. Duke Philip for a long time was in alliance with England, and the Duke of Bedford resigned to him the Regency of France in

1429; but though the defection of Burgundy from the English is in the play made to occur through the persuasion of Joan of Arc, he did not really fall off, and become reconciled to France, until 1435.

In reality the only interview between Burgundy and Joan of Arc was at her capture; the "fair persuasions, mix'd with sugar'd words," employed by the heroine in Act III. Scene 3, were addressed to the duke in a letter, wherein she implored him, as first vassal to the crown of France, to return to his allegiance. BARANTE.

The Duke of Burgundy's first wife was Michelle, daughter of Charles VI.; she died in 1422; he married secondly, Bona, daughter of Philip, Count of Eu, who died in 1425; and thirdly, in 1430, Isabella of Portugul, daughter of John I. and Philippa, the daughter of John of *Gaunt* by his first duchess, Blanche of Lancaster. By his third wife, a woman of great talent and spirit, Duke Philip had two sons, who died during infancy, and a third son, who succeeded at his father's death in 1467 as Duke of Burgundy, and is known in history as "Charles the Bold;" he is alluded to in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.*, Act IV. Scene 6,—

> "I like not of this flight of Edward's,
> For doubtless Burgundy will yield him help."

Charles *the Bold's* third wife was Margaret Plantagenet, 1467, sister of Edward IV.; she was the Duchess of Burgundy, who supported, if she did not suggest, the impostures of Lambert Simnel, and Perkin Warbeck.

In honour of his third marriage Philip *the Good* established the Order of the Golden Fleece of Burgundy, at Bruges, Jan. 18, 1430. He was elected a Knight of the Garter in the reign of Henry V. as his son, Charles the Bold, was in that of Edward IV.

Arms of Burgundy, ancient.—Bendy *Or* and *Azure.*

DUKE of ALENÇON.

This was John II., son of the brave prince, John I., who was slain at Agincourt, after his personal encounter with Henry V., who endeavoured to save the life of his noble

enemy. The character in this play was released on *parole* after he was taken prisoner by Fastolfe, in 1424, at Verneuil; and he commanded the French forces in 1429 at Jergeau, where the Earl of Suffolk was taken prisoner. He was present at the coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims, but joined the faction of Louis the Dauphin against the royal authority in 1440, but was allowed to retire to his *apanage*. In 1456 Alençon was arrested on a charge of intriguing with the English cabinet, tried and pronounced guilty of treason, Oct. 10, 1448, and condemned to die; but though his life was spared, he was kept in close confinement, and did not regain his liberty until the accession of his friend the Dauphin as Louis XI. in 1461, against whom in turn he rebelled, and being once more arrested, this time by the celebrated Tristan l'Hermite, this turbulent prince ended his days in prison, in 1476. By his wife Joan, daughter of Charles, Duke of Orleans, and Isabel of France, he left a son, René, who succeeded as Duke of Alençon.

Arms of the Duke of Alençon.—FRANCE *modern*, a border *Gules* charged with bezants.

BASTARD of ORLEANS.

This renowned warrior, "the brave Dunois," was JOHN, an illegitimate son of Louis, Duke of Orleans, by Marie D'Engheim, wife of his chamberlain, Albert, Lord of Cawny. In 1439 he was legitimated as of the blood-royal, and created COUNT OF DUNOIS and Longueville. It is under the first title that he is known as the best knight in France, and one of the greatest captains of the age; Monstrelet calls him, "one of the most eloquent men in all France." He compelled the Earl of Warwick to raise the siege of Montargis in 1429, and chiefly directed the sallies of Joan of Arc from Orleans. Dunois gained many important victories in Normandy and Guienne, and his martial exploits have made him the hero of song and romance. The count by his second wife, Mary, daughter of James, Count of Tancarville, had a son, Francis, Count of Dunois, nearly as famous a soldier as his warlike father; he is introduced by Sir Walter Scott in *Quentin Durward*. He married Agnes of Savoy, a younger sister of the

"Lady Bona" in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.*, and their son, Francis II., was created Duke of Longueville.

Arms of Dunois.—FRANCE *modern*, a label *Argent*, debruised with a baton *sinister*.

GOVERNOR of PARIS.

John, Duke of Bedford, when Paris was captured by the English, appointed as its governor JOHN of LUXEMBURG, who may therefore be the person introduced, as present at the coronation of Henry VI., Dec. 7, 1431, to take the oath of fealty to him, as King of France, in Act IV. Scene 1.

GENERAL of the French Forces in Bordeaux.

The great Talbot surprised the garrison of Bordeaux, and captured the city, Oct. 23, 1452. At the battle of Castillon, where he and his son John Talbot were slain, fighting against overwhelming numbers, the French forces were commanded by two Marshals, Andreas de Valle, Lord of Loheauc, and the Sieur de Jalognes, July 7th, 1453.

MASTER GUNNER of Orleans and his SON.

The incident recorded in Act I. Scene 4, is taken from Holinshed;—"The son of the master-gunner perceiving men looking out of the window took his match as his father had taught him, who was gone down to dinner, and fired the gun, the shot whereof broke, and struck the iron bars of the grate, so that one of the same bars struck the earl so violently on the head, that it struck away one of his eyes, and the side of his cheek." Serle, in his *Life of Joan of Arc*, calls the father of the young gunner, "Maître Jean." A very significant stage direction is found in the folio of 1623, which does not occur in some editions; Talbot recounting his captivity, and his being strictly guarded, concludes,—

> "And if I did but stir out of my bed,
> Ready they were to shoot me to the heart;"

but before his noble friend Salisbury replies, a direction, interesting as marking the gunnery practice of the day, is inserted,—

"*Enter the boy with a linstock.*"

AN OLD SHEPHERD, Father to Joan la Pucelle.

The parents of the French heroine were JACQUES D'Arc, a small farmer, and his wife, ISABEL ROMEE, who lived at Domrémy, a village near Vaucouleurs, on the Marches of Bar, Champagne. DE SERRES, &c. Charles VI., in grateful testimony of Joan's vast services, granted a patent of nobility to her father, brothers, and their descendants, even in the female line; they were to take the sur-name of DE LYS, and the village of Domrémy was to be for ever free from taxation. Montaigne, writing in 1580, saw the house in which Joan's father lived;—"Ses descendans furent ennoblés par faveur du Roi, et nous monstrarent les Armes que le Roi leur donna, qui sont, D'Azur a une espée droite couronnée et poignée d'or, et deux fleurs de lis d'or au coté de ladite espée." *Voyages.* The last male descendant of the family is said to have died in 1761, namely COULOMBE DE LYS, Prior of Coutras.

It is however stated by Mr Sneyd, in *Notes and Queries*, vol. VII. p. 295, 3rd series, that "the representative of the ancient and noble family of Du Lys D'Arc, derived from a brother of the Maid of Orleans, is the Rev. J. T. Lys, Fellow of Exeter College (Oxford), whose ancestors, after the period of their settlement in England, thought proper to drop the foreign title, and to curtail their name to its present form."

MARGARET, daughter to REGNIER, afterwards married to KING HENRY.

"The history of Margaret of Anjou, from her cradle to the tomb, is a tissue of the most striking vicissitudes, and replete with events of more powerful interest than are to be found in the imaginary career of any heroine of romance." MISS STRICKLAND. King Henry had caused a portrait to be taken of his future queen, who was as celebrated for her beauty as for her commanding intellect; and it appears that

a prisoner belonging to Sir John Fastolfe, Champchevrier by name, was very instrumental in obtaining her miniature. This princess was born March 23, 1429; the treaty for her marriage was concluded in 1444; her further history belongs to the *Second Part.*

COUNTESS of AUVERGNE.

Mr T. P. Courtenay says,—"I do not know where Shakspeare found the story of Talbot and the Countess of Auvergne." This lady, introduced in Act II. Scene 3, may be intended for Mary, daughter of Godefroi D'Auvergne, wife of Bertrand III., Lord de la Tour, Count of Auvergne; from a branch of this house have descended the Princes De la Tour-Auvergne.

JOAN LA PUCELLE, commonly called JOAN OF ARC.

Modern writers have atoned for the unjust character assigned by the early chroniclers to this noble heroine, the most remarkable female in French history. Southey has paid a tribute to her memory in his *Joan of Arc*, in fine contrast to the infamous epic of Voltaire. JOAN D'ARC was born at Domrémy about the year 1410; one of her many biographers says of her deportment; "Il n'y a qu' une voix sur la douceur de son caractère, la sagesse de sa conduite, et son amour pour le travail." BERRIAT SAINT-PRIX. Another writer, BONFINIUS, speaks of her receiving the revelation, in a vision, to free her country, when she took shelter in a chapel from a storm, whilst feeding her flock[1]. This vision is alluded to in the play, Act I. Scene 2, when Joan is introduced to the Dauphin, in the passage,—

"Lo, whilst I waited on my tender lambs," &c.

In consequence of this vision Joan applied to the Lord of Vaucouleurs, Robert de Baudricourt, afterwards a Marshal of

[1] "Joanna, Gallica puella, dum oves pascit, tempestate coacta in proximum sacellum confugit, ibi abdormiens liberandæ Galliæ mandatum divinitus accepit." BONFINIUS.

France, who sent her under an escort to Chinon, where Charles then held his court. Her selection of the Dauphin from a crowd of knights and courtiers, is recorded by Daniel; —"Ce prince pris exprès ce jour un habit fort simple, et il se mêla sans distinction dans la foule des courtizans. La fille entra dans la chambre sans paroître aucunement etonnée, et quoiqu' elle n'eût jamais vu le roi elle lui adressa la parole, et lui dit d'un ton ferme que Dieu l'envoyoit pour le decouvrir, pour faire lever le siège d'Orleans, et le conduir à Rheims pour y être sacré." Her finding the sword is mentioned by Polydore Vergil; it was discovered in the Church of S^te^. Catharine, at Fierbois, a village of Touraine, which was the burial-place of the family of Bouciqualt, one of whom had been taken prisoner at Agincourt; and whose Arms were "five crosses," which in reality was the bearing on the weapon found by Joan, though called by her "five flower-de-luces."

The enthusiasm with which "the Holy maid" inspired her own countrymen, and the panic struck into the English by her supposed miraculous powers, are matters of history; the early chroniclers of our own nation, and the English commanders, ascribed her successes to witchcraft, the Duke of Bedford called her "a disciple and lymbe of the fiende, that used false enchantments and Sorcerie." RYMER. After her relief of Orleans, her sallies from that city in which she was twice wounded, and her defeat of Fastolfe at Pataye, she conducted the "Gentil Dauphin," as she till then called him, to be crowned at Rheims, and during the ceremony stood by the high altar, holding her famous banner, emblazoned with fleurs-de-lis of gold on a white ground, and having thereon a figure of the Saviour seated in glory, with the words JHESVS MARIA, beneath.

In a sortie, May 25, 1430, from Compiègne, then besieged by John de Luxemburg, Count de Ligny, Joan, after bravely covering the retreat of her detachment, was not properly supported, or rather as suspected was purposely deserted, and being unhorsed by a Picard, or as some say by an English archer, she gave herself up to Lionel de Vendôme, by whom she was yielded to his general, de Luxemburg, who sent his prisoner to Marigny;—"the shouts of joy which announced her capture summoned the Duke of Burgundy from his quarters;" "he went," continues Monstrelet, "to the lodgings where

she was confined, and spoke some words to her;" and he provokingly adds, "but what they were I do not now recollect, although I was present." Three days after her capture the Vicar-General of the Inquisition demanded her from the Duke of Burgundy, but he sold his prisoner for 10,000 francs to the English, who delivered the heroine to an ecclesiastical commission, at the head of which was her bitter enemy, Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais. Joan was tried for sorcery and heresy, and for wearing male attire; she had to undergo fifteen examinations, and her simple honest replies often baffled the talent and subtilty arrayed against her. One of her answers deserves notice for its piety and humility. When the Bishop of Beauvais sternly asked her, "Are you in God's grace?"—the maid replied, "If I am so may God keep me in it, if I am not, may He admit to it." Joan was finally condemned to suffer at the stake as a relapsed heretic, and was burnt in the old market-place at Rouen, May 30, 1431, enduring her torments with pious fortitude, the name of Our Saviour being the last word on her lips. Cardinal Beaufort was present at her trial, and execution, and ordered her ashes to be flung into the Seine. The cruel fate of this heroic woman reminds one of the words of the great Poet, who often comprises an entire homily in a single sentence,—

> "It is an heretic that makes the fire,
> Not she which burns in 't."
>
> *Winter's Tale*, Act III. Scene 3.

A touching tribute to the memory of this noble martyr in her country's cause was raised in Orleans, Sept. 13, 1851, in the well-known statue of the heroine, sculptured by the daughter of King Louis Philippe, the Princess Marie Christine. The day of Joan's deliverance of the city with which her name is so closely associated, May 8th, is still observed there as an annual fête. A monument, with her statue, was also erected in her honour, on the scene of her execution at Rouen.

Two renowned English commanders are named in Act I. Scene 1, as prisoners taken with Lord Talbot;—

> "And Lord Scales with him, and Lord Hungerford."

The former of these nobles is a character in the next play; the

latter is Sir. Walter Hungerford, K.G., who has been already noticed as one of the heroes of Agincourt. He was Steward of the Household in the beginning of the reign of Henry VI., and afterwards Treasurer; he died in 1449, having had by his wife Catharine, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Peverell, three sons, of whom the second, Robert, succeeded as second Lord Hungerford.

Sir Thomas Peverell married Margaret Courtenay, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Courtenay (younger son of Hugh, first Earl of Devon), by his wife Muriel, eldest daughter and co-heir of John, fourth and last Baron de Moels; her sister, Isabel de Moels, married William, Lord Botreaux, and their great-granddaughter, Margaret Botreaux, became the wife of Robert, second Lord Hungerford.

The famous sword of TALBOT, alluded to by FULLER, in his *Worthies*, as having "good steel within, and bad Latin without," is no longer in existence. CAMDEN states that "it was found not long since in the river of Dordon, and sould by a peasant to an armorer of Bordeaux." A portrait of TALBOT was long preserved in a castle built by him in France, in which he is represented with his drawn sword, on the blade of which is engraved:—

SVM TALBOTI Miiii° XLiii
PRO VINCERE INIMICO MEO.

This date is ten years before the great captain's death. The picture was engraved as early as the year 1584, in *The True Portraits and Lives of Illustrious Men*, written by André Thevet.

SECOND PART OF KING HENRY VI.

Time of Action, from A.D. 1445 *to* 1455.

KING HENRY THE SIXTH.

The date of 1445 may be assigned to the opening scene, since Margaret of Anjou, introduced as Henry's consort, who reached England March 9th in that year, having been married to him by proxy, "in the famous ancient city Tours," in November, 1444, was espoused by him, April 22, 1445, at Southwick, in Hampshire. Margaret was crowned at Westminster, May 30th following. This ceremony is referred to in this first scene by the king,—

> "Come, let us in, and with all speed provide
> To see her coronation be perform'd."

Henry VI., who is supposed to have inherited from his maternal grandfather, Charles VI., a taint of insanity, gave himself up to the guidance of his queen, who took part with Cardinal Beaufort against his rival kinsman, Duke Humphrey, whom she disliked for his opposition to her marriage, and this feeling is made to appear throughout the play.

The King's own words, in Act IV. Scene 9;—

> "Was never subject long'd to be a king,
> As I do long and wish to be a subject,"

convey a good idea of the unfitness of this feeble son of a great sire for the cares of state.

Arms of King Henry the Sixth.—As given in *Part I.*

HUMPHREY, DUKE of GLOUCESTER.

"The Good Duke Humphrey," called also "the darling of the people," fell a victim to the combined influence of Queen Margaret, Cardinal Beaufort, and the Duke of Suffolk. At the Parliament held Feb. 11, 1447, at Bury St Edmund's, Duke Humphrey was arrested on a charge of high treason, not by Suffolk, as in the play, Act III. Scene 1, but by the Viscount Beaumont, Constable of England, and seventeen days after he was found dead in his bed. LINGARD. Fabyan says six days after his arrest; Stow twenty-four days; and Hall and Rapin place his death the day after his arrest. Lingard's statement however is confirmed by the inquisition held *post mortem*, whereby the Duke of Gloucester's death is named "ult. Febr." Duke Humphrey's natural daughter, Antigone, married Henry Grey, second Earl of Tankerville.

Arms of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, K.G.—As given in the *Second Part of King Henry IV.*

CARDINAL BEAUFORT.

Six weeks after the death of his nephew, "the good Duke Humphrey," his life-long enemy, the haughty Cardinal, breathed his last, April 11, 1447, preyed upon, it is supposed, by remorse for the fate of his victim;—

> "Sometimes he talks as if Duke Humphrey's ghost,
> Were by his side."

The charge urged against him by Gloucester, in the *First Part*, Act III. Scene 1,—

> "Lascivious, wanton, more than well beseems
> A man of thy profession and degree,"

was not without foundation, for the Cardinal left a natural daughter, Joan, who became the wife of Sir Edward Stradling, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, and their descendants were baronets, of St Donat's Castle, creation of 1611, extinct in 1735.

Fuller is very angry with this great Churchman for calling himself by "his insolent title of Cardinal of England," especially as there was another English Cardinal at the time,

Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham. In the writs of Henry the Sixth's reign Henry Beaufort is as often styled "Cardinal of England," as he is called by his real title, "Cardinal of St Eusebius."

Arms of Cardinal Beaufort.—As given in the *First Part.*

RICHARD PLANTAGENET, DUKE of YORK.

This prince, the rightful claimant to the throne, through the family of Mortimer, was well suited by his valour and abilities to contest the title with the feeble Henry,—

"Whose church-like humours fit not for a crown."

The Duke of York was popular, not only in England, but in Ireland, where he had been sent as Lord Lieutenant in 1448; and his large fortune, and powerful family connections, especially through the Nevills, rendered him a formidable rival for the crown of his ancestors, which though lost, when so nearly in his grasp, was finally to rest with his posterity. In this Part, the *War of the Two Roses*, foreshadowed by the scene in the Temple Garden, in the *First Part of King Henry VI.* Act II. Scene 4, has its commencement, as the Play closes with the first battle of St Alban's, fought May 22, 1455, between the Houses of York and Lancaster, in which the latter suffered a signal defeat, King Henry, wounded in the neck by an arrow, falling into the hands of the Duke of York. This noble prince is continued in the *Third Part*, wherein his career is closed, being brought about through his own rashness.

Arms of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York.—As given in the *First Part.*

EDWARD and RICHARD PLANTAGENET, sons of the DUKE of YORK.

These two princes were in reality too young to take the part which the Poet has assigned to them; for Richard, at the date of the battle of St Alban's, was only three years of age,

and his brother was but ten years older. As they figure prominently, and in their right places in some of the scenes in the *Third Part*, their memoirs will be then more fitly entertained.

DUKE of SOMERSET.

This personage is EDMUND BEAUFORT, brother of John Beaufort, who in the "First Part" was Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Somerset, at whose death, in 1444, the character in this play became fourth Earl, and in 1448 was created Duke of Somerset. He was an eminent commander in France, and was appointed Regent there in 1445; he became Constable of England, and a K.G. He was slain, fighting on the Lancastrian side, at the first battle of St Alban's, 1455. By his wife Alianor, second daughter and co-heir of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, he had three sons, and five daughters; of the former, Henry and Edmund Beaufort became third and fourth Dukes of Somerset; the third son, Sir John Beaufort, was killed at Tewkesbury. The five daughters were: 1. Alianor, the wife, first of James Boteler, Earl of Wiltshire, secondly, of Sir Robert Spencer, Knight; 2. Joan, married first to Robert St Lawrence, fifteenth Lord Howth, and secondly to Sir Richard Fry, Knight; 3. Anne, married to Sir William Paston, Knight; 4. Margaret, the wife, first of Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, and secondly of Sir Richard Darell, Knight; 5. Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Lewis, Knight.

Arms of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, K.G.— Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND, a border compony *Argent* and *Azure*.

DUKE of SUFFOLK.

This character, the "Earl of Suffolk" in the *First Part*, WILLIAM DE LA POLE, was created in 1444 Marquess, and in 1448, June 2, Duke, of Suffolk, although in this play that title is conferred upon him by the King in the first scene, somewhat prematurely;—

> "We here create thee the first Duke of Suffolk,
> And girt thee with the sword."

This is an interesting instance of the early custom of bestowing a dignity by the cincture of a sword. The Duke of Suffolk, after filling many important offices at home, and serving with the highest distinction abroad, perished in the miserable manner recorded in the play; his body was found on the sea-shore, by his chaplain, who conveyed it to Wingfield, co. Suffolk, where the family of De la Pole had a castle; in the church are several monumental records in memory of the Wingfields and De la Poles; the first Earl of Suffolk, Michael de la Pole, grandfather of the personage in this play, married Catharine, daughter and heir of Sir John Wingfield, Knight. The wife of the Duke of Suffolk was the widow of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, Alice, daughter and heir of Thomas Chaucer, son of the Poet; and their son, John de la Pole, married Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of the Duke of York in this play; and their son John, Earl of Lincoln, was declared heir to the crown by his uncle Richard the Third, in default of issue to his own son the Prince of Wales.

Mrs Jameson observes, that "the Queen's criminal passion for Suffolk is a dramatic incident, and not an historical fact." A few words from Holinshed, "the Queen which entirely loved the duke," may have furnished the idea to the Poet for this passion; Suffolk was really older than King René, and his own wife, Alice Chaucer, accompanied him to France, when he went to "marry Princess Margaret," as the proxy for King Henry. The plays of SHAKSPEARE abound with instances where the word "lover" merely means a friend, as in the Bible, and our good old writers.

Suffolk had been made a Knight of the Garter by Henry V., and he alludes, just before his murder, to this noblest of all orders of chivalry,—

"Look on my George, I am a gentleman."

In *The First Part of the Contention*, Suffolk says,—

"I am a gentleman; look on my ring,"

which, no doubt, would be his signet, bearing his coat of arms. This would be a better reading than that usually given; as a nobleman in disguise would hardly carry about him the insignia of an Order so limited as to betray the

wearer's rank at once. Capell proposed *ring* instead of the *George.*

The duke's death occurred May 2, 1450; his widow, Alice, died June 9, 1475, about the time that Queen Margaret, to whom she had long been principal lady of honour, left England for ever.

Arms of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, K.G.—*Azure* a fesse between three leopards' heads *Or.*

DUKE of BUCKINGHAM.

This personage, HUMPHREY STAFFORD, was only son of the brave Edmund Stafford, fifth Earl of Stafford, K.G., who is alluded to in the *First Part of King Henry IV.* as one of the commanders at Shrewsbury, slain there in guise resembling that of the king. Humphrey Stafford's mother was ANNE PLANTAGENET, eldest daughter of Thomas of *Woodstock*, youngest son of Edward III.; and he was created Duke of Buckingham, Sept. 14, 1444, with precedence of all peers, except princes of the blood. The duke, who was a K.G. and held many important offices, married ANNE NEVILL, third daughter, by his second wife, of Ralph first Earl of Westmoreland, and had three sons, and three daughters; of the latter, 1. Anne Stafford married first, Aubrey de Vere, eldest son of John, twelfth Earl of Oxford, and secondly, Sir Thomas Cobham, knight; 2. Joan Stafford, married first, William Viscount Beaumont, secondly, Sir William, or Sir John Knevet, knight; 3. Catharine Stafford, who married John Talbot, third Earl of Shrewsbury. Of the sons, the eldest, Humphrey Stafford, married Margaret Beaufort, daughter of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, and left a son Henry, who succeeded his grandfather, and is the "Duke of Buckingham," in *King Richard III.* The second son, Sir Henry Stafford, married in 1459, Margaret Beaufort, the celebrated Countess of Richmond, and died in 1481; and the third son, John Stafford, was created by Edward IV. in 1470, "Earl of Wiltshire," under which title he is alluded to in the *Third Part*, Act I. Scene 1. The Duke of Buckingham of this play[1] was slain at the

[1] In *The First Part of the Contention* there is a stage direction,— "Alarmes again, and then enter three or foure, bearing the Duke of *Bucking-*

battle of Northampton, July 27, 1460; and his eldest son was killed at the first battle of St Alban's, May 22, 1455, with which this Part concludes. They both fell in the cause of the Red Rose of Lancaster.

Arms of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, K.G. —*Or* a chevron *Gules.*

LORD CLIFFORD.

This staunch adherent of the House of Lancaster was THOMAS CLIFFORD, eighth Baron Clifford, descended from the feudal lords of Clifford Castle, co. Hereford, of whom Robert was summoned as Baron Clifford, in 1299, 23 Edward I., whom he accompanied to Scotland, and who made him governor of that renowned fortress, Carlaverock Castle, which so long with a small garrison withstood the mighty hosts of the English monarch in 1300. This warlike lord fell at the battle of Bannockburn, in 1314. From him descended John, seventh Lord Clifford, K.G., who was killed at the siege of Meaux, 10 Henry V., 1422, leaving by his wife, Elizabeth Percy, only daughter of "Hotspur," a son, who is the character in this play[1], who distinguished himself greatly in France, and when the War of the Roses broke out in England this great baron gave his powerful support to Henry VI., in whose cause he fell at the first battle of St Alban's, 1455, leaving by his wife, Joanna, daughter of Thomas, sixth Lord Dacre of Gillesland, a son, who is the "Young Clifford" in this Part, and the "Lord Clifford" in the next play. The Cliffords were hereditary Sheriffs of Westmoreland, from the time of Edward the First.

Roger de Clifford, father of the first baron (by writ, 1299), married Isabel, daughter and co-heir of Robert de Vipont, hereditary Sheriff of Westmoreland. The widow of John,

ham wounded to his tent." In *The True Tragedie*, answering to *The Third Part*, the opening scene represents "Edward Earle of Marche," saying that he had wounded him:

"Lord Stafford's father, Duke of *Buckingham*,
Is either slain or wounded dangerouslie."

[1] In *The First Part of the Contention* this character is called "Lord *Clifford*, the Earle of *Cumberland*;" but the latter title was first given to his great-grandson, in 1525.

seventh Lord Clifford, married secondly Ralph Nevill, second Earl of Westmoreland, a character in the *Third Part.*

Arms of Lord Clifford.—Chequy *Or* and *Azure* a fesse *Gules.*

EARL OF SALISBURY.

This character is RICHARD NEVILL, eldest son by his second marriage of Ralph, first Earl of Westmoreland, and marrying Alice Montacute, only daughter and heir of the valiant Earl of Salisbury in the *First Part,* had that title revived in his favour, May 4, 1442. Up to the Fifth Act the earl is rightly represented as being attached to Henry VI., who had bestowed upon him many honours and rewards, but the earl deserted the royal cause for that of his brother-in-law, the Duke of York, and was one of his chief commanders at the first battle of St Alban's. This powerful nobleman gained a signal victory at Blore-heath in Staffordshire, Sept. 23, 1459, over the Lancastrians under Lord Audley, and he greatly contributed to the defeat of the king's forces at Northampton, July 10, 1460; but the fortune of war changed at the battle of Wakefield, where the Duke of York was slain Dec. 24, 1460, and Salisbury being wounded, was taken prisoner, and beheaded shortly after the battle.

By Alice Montacute the Earl of Salisbury had six sons, and six daughters; of the latter, 1. Joan married William Fitz-alan, fifteenth Earl of Arundel; 2. Cicely, married first Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, secondly, John Tibetoft, the learned Earl of Worcester; 3. Alice, who married Henry, fifth Lord Fitz-hugh; 4. Eleanor, the first wife of Thomas, "Lord Stanley," the character in *King Richard III.;* 5. Catharine, who married the "Lord Hastings," in that play; and 6. Margaret, who became the wife of John de Vere, the "Earl of Oxford," in the *Third Part.* The Earl of Salisbury's sons were, 1. RICHARD, the next character; 2. Sir Thomas Nevill, slain at Wakefield, whose death is alluded to in the *Third Part,* Act II. Scene 3;—

> "Thy brother's blood the thirsty earth hath drunk,
> Broach'd with the steely point of Clifford's lance[1]."

[1] In *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke* it is Warwick's father who is said to be slain, and from whom Richard conveys a dying message,—

3. JOHN NEVILL, who is the "Marquess of Montague," in the *Third Part;* 4. GEORGE NEVILL, alluded to in the next play, as "fell Warwick's brother;" he was Archbishop of York; 5. and 6. Ralph, and Robert Nevill, who died young.

Arms of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, K.G.—Gules a saltier *Argent.*

EARL OF WARWICK.

This great baron, eldest son of the preceding character, and named after him RICHARD NEVILL, was a staunch supporter of the claims of the Duke of York to the throne. Having married the daughter of the "Earl of Warwick," of the three preceding plays, Richard Nevill was confirmed in that title in 1449, and though he became, at the death of his father in 1460, second Earl of Salisbury of the name, he is best known in history, as he is called by SHAKSPEARE, as the stout "Earl of Warwick." He was made a Knight of the Garter when the Duke of York became Protector. As he performs a more conspicuous part in the next play, his memoir will be there resumed.

Arms of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, K.G.—Gules, a saltier *Argent,* a label *Argent.*

LORD SCALES.

This famous soldier was THOMAS SCALES, seventh LORD SCALES. His ancestor, Robert de Scales was summoned as a baron, 27 Edward I., 1299, and his descendant, the fifth baron, Robert Scales, married Elizabeth, daughter of William, fourth Lord Bardolph, by whom he had two sons, Richard, sixth lord, who died in 1418, and THOMAS, the character in this play, who succeeded his brother. He was much engaged in the wars of Henry V. in France, serving with Talbot, and Fastolfe, in many victorious fields, but sharing in their defeat at Pataye. He continued his great services in the reign of Henry VI., who made him a K.G., and whose cause he

"Commend me to my valiant sonne, And still he cride *Warwike* revenge my death."

warmly espoused against the House of York. Lord Scales took a prominent part in putting down Jack Cade's rebellion in 1450; and ten years later having thrown himself again into the Tower, when it was assailed by the Yorkists under the Earl of Salisbury, in attempting to escape to sanctuary when the fortress was surrendered for want of provisions, Lord Scales was discovered by some watermen belonging to the Earl of Warwick, and slain by them, July 13, 1460.

Middleton, co. Norfolk, a few miles from Lynn Regis, "was long the property and residence of the family of Scales; a part of the ancient hall, which is called Middleton Castle, still remains, consisting of the gateway, with a tower flanked by a turret at each end. This edifice was erected by Thomas Lord Scales, Knight of the Garter, in the time of Henry VI., in which, as well as in the preceding reign, he distinguished himself in the French wars." GORTON, *Topog. Dict.*

By his wife, Emma, eldest daughter of Sir John Wales-borough, Knight, Sheriff co. Cornwall, 37 Henry VI., Lord Scales had a son Thomas, who died in his father's life-time, and an only daughter, his great heiress, Elizabeth Scales, who married first, Sir Henry Bourchier, and secondly, Anthony Woodvile, the "Lord Rivers," in *King Richard III.*, and who became Lord Scales *jure uxoris.* Lord Scales is called, in many editions, "Governor of the Tower;" he was entrusted with the defence of that important fortress when the king left for Kenilworth, but he did not hold the post of Constable of the Tower.

Arms of Thomas Scales, Lord Scales, K.G.—Gules six escallops *Argent*, three, two, and one.

LORD SAY.

This nobleman was JAMES FIENNES, summoned as Lord SAY and SELE, 25 Henry VI., 1446; his grandfather, Sir William Fiennes married Joan, third daughter and co-heir of Geoffrey de Say, second Baron Say. The personage in this play was Constable of Dover Castle, Warden of the Cinque Ports, "to him and his heirs for ever," and Lord Treasurer. He married Emmeline, daughter of Sir William Cromer, of Willingham, co. Kent, who is called by some writers Sheriff

of that county, in the year of Jack Cade's rebellion, and being taken prisoner by that insurgent, was committed to the Fleet, and afterwards beheaded, as was Lord Say, who had been dragged out of the Tower, and their heads were set on London-bridge, by the rebels. SHAKSPEARE, following Hall, calls the fellow-victim of Lord Say, "Sir James Cromer," and his "son-in-law." There is great discrepancy in the statements of authors respecting the connection between the families of Say and Cromer. Dugdale says that "Sir James Fiennes married Emmeline, daughter of.....Cromer, and had three daughters, Elizabeth, Emelye, and Jane." The first of these became the wife of Alexander Iden, who is said by Hasted and other writers to have married the widow of his predecessor, the sheriff, who certainly could not be Sir William Cromer above-mentioned. Fuller states that the son-in-law of Lord Say was William Cromer of Tunstall, co. Kent, who, according to him and Hasted, was Sheriff, 23 Henry VI., which answers to the year 1445, and his brother Henry Cromer was Sheriff, 28 Henry VI., 1450, which is the year of Cade's rebellion, Iden therefore was the immediate successor of Henry, not of William, Cromer. The pedigree in CLUTTERBUCK'S *Hertfordshire* makes out that Elizabeth Fiennes, widow of William Cromer, of Tunstall, married secondly, Laurence Rainsforth. Lord Say and Sele's eldest son and successor, William Fiennes, second lord, was killed at the battle of Barnet, 1471; his great granddaughter, Elizabeth Fiennes, married Sir John Twisleton, and their descendant, the Rev. Frederick Twistleton Wykeham Fiennes, is the present Lord Say and Sele, 1865.

Arms of Fiennes.—Azure three lions rampant *Or.*

SIR HUMPHREY STAFFORD, and WILLIAM, his Brother.

These brothers were members of the great House of Stafford, which had produced many eminent soldiers. The founder of the family was one of the Conqueror's favourite captains, Robert, son of Duke William's standard-bearer at Hastings, Roger de Toeni, and to whom the successful Norman confided the custody of the castle which he erected at

Stafford, and from which place the family took their surname and title. A descendant, Ralph Stafford, who held high commands at Cressy and Poitiers, was selected by Edward the Third to be one of the "First Founders" of the Order of the Garter, and was by him created Earl of Stafford; this valiant noble married a descendant of Edward the First, Margaret de Audley, by whom he had several children, of whom his second son and successor, Hugh Stafford, is an ancestor of the immortal NELSON; and from his third daughter, Joan Stafford, married to John, Lord Cherlton, is descended the illustrious WELLINGTON[1]; and from the fourth daughter, Margaret Stafford, who married her kinsman, Sir John Stafford, knight, are derived the two characters in this play, her great grandsons.

They were the sons of Sir Humphrey Stafford, of Grafton (ob. 7 Henry VI.), by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Sir John Burdett, of Huncote. The elder of the brothers, Sir Humphrey, was sheriff of the county of Gloucester, 2 and 9 Henry VI. Fuller, classing him among "the Worthies" of that shire, says of him,—"Being afterwards knighted he was by King Henry the Sixth made Governour of Callice, and coming over in England was slain by Jack Cade; but God hath blessing for those whom rebels curse, Sir Humphrey Stafford, his grandchild, fixed himself at Blatherwick, in Northamptonshire, where his posterity doth flourish to this day." Sir Humphrey (of this play) married Eleanor, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, knight, of Blatherwick, and their son, Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton and Blatherwick, for taking part with Richard III. at Bosworth, was attainted and beheaded, 1 Henry VII. His second son, Sir William Stafford, was grandfather of Sir Francis Stafford, of Portglenone, and Governor of Ulster, whose great grandson, the Right Hon. Edmund Francis Stafford, one of the defenders of Londonderry, was father of Anne Stafford, who married Arthur Hill Trevor, Viscount Dungannon, and their daughter Anne married Garret Colley Wellesley, first Earl of Mornington, one of whose sons was Field-Marshal Arthur, Duke of Wellington, K.G.

[1] These descents are given, in full, in Tables IV, VIII, and X, in *The Royal Descent of Nelson and Wellington*. G. R. French. 1855.

Sir Humphrey Stafford, the character in this play, was buried at Bromsgrove, co. Worcester, under a raised tomb in the chancel, whereon are the effigies in alabaster, of himself, in a complete suit of plate-armour, and of his wife Eleanor. NASH'S *Worcestershire.*

Arms of Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton.—Or a chevron *Gules* and canton *Ermine,* as carved on the tomb at Bromsgrove.

Jack Cade calls the two valiant Staffords "silken-coated slaves," evidently in allusion to their emblazoned surcoats, with which therefore they should appear on the stage in Act IV. Scenes 2 and 3.

SIR JOHN STANLEY.

This is the first mention in SHAKSPEARE'S plays of a family, as illustrious for descent as for personal merit, and which derives its name from Stanlegh, co. Chester; William de Audley, seated there in the time of Henry I., assuming with the lordship the name of Stanley. Sixth in descent from him was Sir John Stanley, a K.G. in 1405, in the reign of Henry IV., who gave him the Isle of Man in 1406, made him Steward of his household, and twice Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where he died, Jan. 6, 1414, leaving by his wife Isabel, daughter of Sir Thomas Lathom, a son, Sir John Stanley, who was Governor of Carnarvon Castle, and married Isabel, daughter of Sir Robert Harrington, of Hornby, by whom he had a son, Sir Thomas Stanley, who was created 9 Henry VI. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for six years; and 28 Henry VI. Lord Chamberlain; afterwards Chief Justice of Chester; in 1456 created Baron Stanley, and a K.G. in 1457; he died in 1458, leaving issue by his wife, Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Goushill, and the Lady Elizabeth Fitz-alan, descended from Edward I., three sons, all Shakspearean characters, namely, 1. THOMAS STANLEY, the "Lord Stanley," in *King Richard III.;* 2. SIR WILLIAM STANLEY, a character in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.;* 3. SIR JOHN STANLEY, the personage in this play, to whom was confided the custody of the disgraced Duchess of Gloucester, Eleanor Cobham, who was "adjudged to perpetuall prisone in the Isle of Man,

under the kepyng of Sir Jhon Stanley, Knight." HALL. Sir John Stanley, who married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Weever, of Weever, co. Chester, is the ancestor of the present Lord Stanley of Alderley, and of Dr Stanley, Dean of Westminster; as his brother Thomas is of the Earl of Derby.

Arms of Sir John Stanley.—*Argent* on a bend *Azure* three bucks' heads caboshed *Or*, a mullet for difference.

VAUX.

This character was SIR WILLIAM VAUX, of a family seated in Normandy, in the eighth century, and of which several members accompanied Duke William to England; one of them, Hubert de Vaux, acquired the barony of Gillesland, co. Cumberland, and his brother Robert is ancestor of the present Lord Vaux of Harrowden. One of the descendants of Robert was Sir William Vaux of Harrowden, who married Matilda, daughter of Sir Walter Lucy, Knight; by whom he had a son, the character in this play, of whom Dugdale says; —"William Vaux in the time of those great and sharp contests between the Houses of York and Lancaster lost all for his adherence to King Henry the Sixth; but at length, Henry Earl of Richmond obtaining the crown, Nicholas his Son and Heir had restitution thereof." That son is a character in *King Henry VIII.* Sir William was killed at Tewksbury, 1471.

Under *Tewksbury Monastery*, among the list of the slain in the fatal field, is found,—"Gul. Vaulz miles occisus campo et ibidem sepultus." MONASTICON, Vol. II.

Arms of Vaux.—Chequy *Or* and *Gules* on a chevron *Azure* three roses *Or*.

MATTHEW GOUGH.

The name of this valiant captain does not usually appear in the lists of the *dramatis personæ*, though he is brought on the stage in Act IV. Scene 7. Lord Scales, then guarding the Tower, in Scene 5, tells the citizens, who had applied to him for aid against the rebels:—

"Get you to Smithfield and gather head,
And thither I will send you Matthew Goffe."

In Scene 7, in many modern editions the stage direction is, "*Enter on one side Cade and his company, on the other Citizens, and the King's Forces headed by Matthew Gough. They fight, the Citizens are routed, and Matthew Gough is slain.*" This eminent soldier, who was really killed by the rebels on London-bridge, had served in France with Talbot, Scales, Willoughby, Fastolfe, and other leaders of fame, and he is constantly mentioned in conjunction with those worthies, by the French historians, who write his name, "Matago," being the nearest approach they could make in spelling a name which they could not pronounce.

Sir Matthew Gough, this character, was the second son of Innerth Goch, or John Gough, of Wales, and his son Richard Gough became a citizen of London, and merchant of the staple; from him descended Sir Henry Gough, of Egbaston, co. Warwick, M.P. for Totness, who was created a Baronet in 1728, and married Barbara, only daughter of Reynolds Calthorpe, and their son, Henry Gough was created Baron Calthorpe in 1796, taking the name of Calthorpe in addition to that of Gough. SHAW'S *Staffordshire.*

"Matthew Gough and Fulk Eyton, Esquires," are named in a writ, 26 Hen. VI., 1448, as Commissioners in the King's service. RYMER'S *Fœdera.* The learned antiquary, Richard Gough was descended from Sir Matthew Gough.

Arms of Sir Matthew Gough, Knight.—Gules on a fesse *Argent* between three boars' heads couped *Or* a lion passant *Azure.* These arms are borne by his lineal descendant, the present Lord Calthorpe, quarterly with those of Calthorpe.

ALEXANDER IDEN, a Kentish Gentleman.

In his *History of Kent,* Mr Hasted under *Ripley,* says—"The Idens were a family of great antiquity and good estate about Iden, in the county of Sussex, and Rolveden in this county, and in them it continued down to Alexander Iden, who resided here in the 28th year of K. Henry VI., the latter half of which year he was Sheriff of this county, being appointed to that office on the death of William Crowmer, esq.

who had been put to death by the rebel Cade and his followers." Under *Hothfield*, the same writer says,—"Jack Cade, deserted by his followers, concealed himself in the woods near this place, belonging to Ripley manor, in Westwell, soon after which he was discovered by Alexander Iden, esq., Sheriff of this county, *as some say*, in a field belonging to that manor in Westwell parish, *but by others* in a field of this parish, still named from that circumstance *Jack Cade's field*." Holinshed states that Cade was slain by Iden at Hothfield in Sussex.

The father of the Sheriff was William Iden, Justice of the Peace, seated at Ripley (Phillipott); the Sheriff received the price set on Jack Cade's head according to proclamation, and as noticed in the play,—

> "We give thee for reward a thousand marks."

In RYMER'S *Fœdera* is given the writ 28 Henry VI., dated 15 July, 1450, "The reward of mil. marc. paid to Alexander Iden, Sheriff of our said co. of Kent."

He was also, according to Weever, appointed for his good service Governor of Rochester Castle; he was Sheriff of Kent again 35 Henry VI., 1456-7. He married the widow of his predecessor in that office, who is said by several authorities to be Elizabeth Fiennes, daughter of the Lord Say in this play, by whom he left a son, William Iden of Westwell, whose son, Thomas Iden, of that place, was Sheriff 16 Henry VII., 1500; and the manor remained in the family until it was alienated to the Darells of Calehill. A branch of the Idens settled at Stoke, in Kent; and in Penshurst Church there is a memorial to Pavie Iden, son of Thomas Iden and Agnes his wife, 1564.

Arms of Alexander Iden.—Azure a fesse between three close helmets *Or*. *College of Arms*. The Idens of Stoke had a chevron instead of a fesse.

WALTER WHITMORE.

Mrs Lennox says,—"Shakspeare probably borrowed his story from the same tale that furnished him with the loves of Suffolk and the Queen;" and Mr T. P. Courtenay remarks,—"the truth is that Shakspeare's version and that of more

authentic history are equally mysterious." The account in Act IV. Scene 1, of the Duke of Suffolk's capture and death is from Hall;—"when he shipped into Suffolke, intendynge to be transported into France, he was encountered with a shippe of warre appertayning to the Duke of Excester, the Constable of the Towre of London, called the Nicholas of the Towre[1]. The captain of the same bark with small fight entered into the duke's shyppe, and perceyving his person present brought him to Dover rode, and there on the one syde of a cocke-bote caused his head to be stryken off, and left his body with the head upon the sandes of Dover." In the play Walter Whitmore claims to be a gentleman, as bearing arms;—

> "Therefore when merchant-like I sell revenge,
> Broke be my sword, my arms torn and defac'd."

The Whitmores of Cheshire and Shropshire were a very ancient family; they bore for *Arms*, *Vert* fretty *Or*. The Compiler has not succeeded in identifying Walter Whitmore.

A HERALD.

In Act II. Scene 4, the sad interview between the Duke of Gloucester and his "punished duchess," is interrupted by the entrance of a herald;—"I summon your grace to his majesty's parliament, holden at Bury, the first of this next month." This parliament, however, did not meet until Feb. 11, 1447, some years after the disgrace of the Duchess Eleanor.

HUME and SOUTHWELL, Priests.
BOLINGBROKE, a Conjuror.
MARGARET JOURDAIN, a Witch[2].

It will save repetition to class these persons together.

[1] *The Nicholas of the Tower* was the name of one of the ships of war which accompanied Henry V. from Southampton to Harfleur.

[2] This woman was an old offender; Rymer states that in the tenth year of Henry VI, May 9, 1433, *Margery Jourdemayn*, with two others, a clerk and a friar, was accused of sorcery before the lords of council; she was discharged on her husband's finding security for her good behaviour.

Speaking of Eleanor Cobham's arrest, Hall says in continuation,—"At the same season were arrested as ayders and counsailers to the sayd duchesse, Thomas Southwel, prieste and chanon of S^t^. Stephen's in Westmynster, Jhon Hum prieste, Roger Bolyngbroke a conyng nÿcromancier, and Margerie Jourdayne, surnamed the witche of Eye, to whose charge it was laied y^t^ thei at the request of the duchesse had devised an image of waxe representing the kyng, which by their sorcerie a litle and litle consumed, intendyng therby in conclusion to waist and destroy the kynges person, and so to bryng hym to death; for the which treison they wer adjudged to dye, and so Margery Jordayne was brent in Smithfelde, and Roger Bolyngbroke was drawn and quartered at Tiborne, takyng upon his death that there was never no such thing by theim ymagined; Jhon Hum had his pardon, and Southwel died in the Towre before execution." This scene took place, 19 Henry VI., 1441. Sir E. L. Bulwer Lytton calls Bolingbroke, "the greatest clerk of his age;" and his learning is highly commended by a contemporary writer, William Wycestre.

THOMAS HORNER, an Armourer.
PETER, his Man.

SHAKSPEARE, following Grafton and Holinshed, has missed the real names of these combatants, which are known. "William Catur, an armourer, was accused of high treason by his own servant, John David, who for want of other proof offered to make good his charge by combat. The defendant's friends, knowing his timorous nature, fortified his spirits with plenty of wine. Catur, on entering the lists intoxicated, was killed by his servant, who, being afterwards convicted of felony, confessed the falsehood of the charge against his unhappy master." NORTHOUCK'S *History of London.* STOW, giving the story with the same names, adds,—"myself have had the like servant, that likewise accused me of many articles, he liveth yet, but hath hardly escaped hanging since."

The incident so quaintly recorded in the play took place in Smithfield, in 1446, and the whole of the expenses incurred by the sheriffs, Robert Horne, and Geoffrey Boleyn, are

printed in *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Ancient Times in England, in the 15th, 16th and 17th Centuries. Printed for John Nichols, 1797.*" It appears by the list of charges that after "ye battail was doon," the armourer's body was treated as that of a traitor,—

"Also paid for 1 pole and naylis and for settyng up of ye said mannys hed on London Brigge, v^d^."

MAYOR OF ST ALBAN'S.

This town, in reality, was not incorporated until the reign of Edward the Sixth, in 1552, when John Locky was appointed the first mayor. "The year 1459 was rendered memorable by a visit from the King (Henry VI.) to the Abbey, who came hither to pass the Easter holidays, and at his departure ordered the keeper of his robes to deliver to the Prior his best robe, which he had only worn one day." CLUTTERBUCK'S *Hertfordshire.* At this date probably the chief official of the town would be a bailiff, in the service of the Prior. In Dooms-day Survey St Alban's was part of the possessions of the Abbot and Convent of St Alban's, who held it of the king *in capite;* it then contained forty-six burgesses, who were the demesne men of the Abbot.

SIMCOX, an Impostor.
Wife to Simcox.

Grafton, quoting Sir Thomas More, gives the story of the blind man and his wife. "In the time of King Henry the sixt as he roade in progresse there came to the towne of Saint Albons a certaine begger with hys wyfe, and there walking about the towne begging five or sixe dayes before the kinges comming thether, saying that he was borne blinde, and never sawe in all his life, and was warned in his dreame that he should come out of Berwicke, where he sayd that he had ever dwelled, to seeke Saint Albon, and that he had been at his Shrine and was not holpen, and therefore he would go seeke him at some other place; for he had heard some saye since he came that Saint Albons body was at Colyn.....But to tell you foorth, when the king was come, and the towne

full of people, sodainly this blind man at Saint Albones shryne had his sight, and the same was solempnly song for a miracle." Duke Humphrey however placed Simcox in the stocks as a "faytour," or vagabond. It will be seen how the dry account of the old chronicler has been expanded into a humourous scene by the Dramatist. The "Good Duke's" detection of the blind man's imposture was deemed worthy of being recorded; for on the wall, near his vault in St Alban's Abbey, is an inscription, which begins:—

"Memoriæ V. Opt.
Sacrum.
Hic jacet Umphredus Dux ille Glocestrius olim,
Henrici Regis Protector, fraudis ineptæ detector,
Dum ficta notat miracula coeci."

BUSWELL'S *Knights of the Garter.*

CLERK OF CHATHAM.

In the Folio of 1623 this person is called, "the Clearke of Chartam," and there seems to be no reason why the name should be altered to "Chatham," as in modern editions, since CHARTHAM is the name of a place between Canterbury and Ashford, and formerly of some importance, from having in it the residence of the Priors of Christ Church, and which was afterwards that of the Deans of Canterbury. "It still exists under the name of the Deanery, but greatly altered and enlarged." GORTON. Chartham would be well known to Cade, an Ashford man, and to some of his followers, as "men of Kent." But it is possible that SHAKSPEARE had in view another place, for in Act IV. Scene 2, where the seizure of the unlucky penman is recorded, one of Cade's followers tells his leader,—

"We took him setting of boys' copies;"

from which passage it may be inferred that the clerk, who from his "pen and ink-horn" was without doubt a schoolmaster, pursued his calling near Blackheath, where Cade's army was encamped; and a name similar to Chartham suggests itself as a still more likely locality, namely, CHARLTON, a parish adjoining the scene of the rebels' gathering on the heath.

JACK CADE, a Rebel.

Hall says of him,—"A certaine young man, of a goodly stature and pregnant wit, was induced to take upon him the name of John Mortimer, although his name was John Cade." Mr Carte observes,—"Jack Cade called himself John Mortimer, pretending perhaps to be a son of Sir John Mortimer, who had been put to death about twenty-five years before, at least to be a near relation of Richard, Duke of York." Rymer states that he sometimes styled himself "Sir John Amend-all," and continues, "now am I master of London, said Cade, striking his staff on London stone. This turbulent mob-leader had been a dependent on Sir Thomas Dacre in Sussex, but having murdered a woman and child, and in consequence having abjured the realm, he had served in the French army." Alluding to his success over the royal troops at Blackheath, given in Act IV. Scene 3, Hall says,—"When the Kentish captain, or the covetous Cade, had thus obtained victory, and slain the two valiant Staffords, he apparelled himself in their rich armour, and so with pomp and glory returned again towards London." The king's proclamation of pardon being accepted by the rebels, their leader was fain to seek his safety in flight, having been proscribed; and hiding in the woods of his native county, Kent, was discovered by the sheriff Iden, and slain.

Several of Jack Cade's followers are mentioned by name, or craft; thus we find, George Bevis; John Holland; Dick the Butcher of Ashford, where Cade was born; Smith the Weaver; a Sawyer; Michael Best's son the Tanner of Wingham, a town between Canterbury and Ashford. Cade was "a clothier," or "dyer."

"London Stone," sitting on which ancient relic of bygone ages the rebel captain issued his absurd commands as "Lord Mortimer," formerly stood on the south side of the street, but was removed to the opposite side, in Cannon-street, some years ago; it is probably as old as the time of the Roman Londinium. In a book given by Athelstan, King of the West Saxons, some lands belonging to Christ-Church, Canterbury, are described to "lye near unto London Stone." STOW.

MARGARET, Queen to King Henry.

The character of this high-minded woman, as drawn by SHAKSPEARE, agrees in many respects with her description by English and French writers. "Queen Margaret excelled all others as well in beauty and favour, as in wit and policy, and was in stomach and courage more like to a man than to a woman." HALL. Miss Strickland quotes from the French historian, Orleans,—"No woman surpassed her in beauty, and few men equalled her in courage." Another French writer, Barante, observes,—"there was no princess in Christendom more accomplished than my lady Margaret of Anjou." Michael Drayton has a neat allusion to the delicate homage paid to this princess, under the guise of the humble flower which bears her name;—

> "Of either sex who does not now delight
> To wear the daisy for Queen Marguerite?"

Before the terrible "War of the Roses" broke out, which called forth the energies of the intrepid queen in so striking a manner, as to deserve the title of "Captain Margaret," which Clarence bestows upon her in scorn, she founded, in 1448, the splendid institution in Cambridge University, called after her, "Queen's College," following the example of her meek and pious husband, who in 1441 had erected the great pride of Cambridge, the noble "King's College," of which the Chapel is the most beautiful specimen of its style in England. "King's College Chapel, the greatest beauty of Cambridge, and in many respects of its age." RICKMAN.

ELEANOR, Duchess of Gloucester.

As Queen Margaret did not arrive in England until 1445, and the Duchess of Gloucester was arraigned and disgraced in 1441, the angry interview betwen them, in Act I. Scene 3, is quite out of place. This unfortunate lady was the third daughter of Sir Reginald Cobham, of Sterborough, co. Surrey, eldest son of Reginald, second Lord Cobham, who is alluded to in *King Richard II.* as one of the companions of Bolingbroke when he returned from exile. This second lord was son of Sir Reginald Cobham, who commanded the van of the

English both at Cressy and Poitiers; made by Edward III. a banneret, with a grant of £500 *per annum* to support the dignity; summoned in 1342 to Parliament as Baron Cobham of Sterborough; elected a K.G. in 1352; and with other posts held the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports. This great warrior died of the plague in 1361, leaving by his wife Joan, daughter of Thomas, first Lord Berkeley (by writ), a son, the second Lord Cobham, who by his first wife, Elizabeth Stafford, widow of Sir Fulke Strange, and daughter of Ralph, Earl of Stafford, K.G., was father of the third Sir Reginald, who is usually styled third Lord Cobham, though he does not appear to have been summoned to Parliament. This personage by his first wife, Eleanor, daughter of Sir Thomas Culpeper, Knight, had two sons, and four daughters. Of the latter, the third, ELEANOR COBHAM, is the character in this play, who was married to the good Duke Humphrey in 1428. Although her trial, upon the absurd charges brought against her through the malignity of her husband's enemies, took place in 1441, the "Hall of Justice," in the play, being St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, the duchess was not immediately sent to her place of banishment, the Isle of Man, but was first imprisoned in the Castles of Chester and Kenilworth, and finally was removed to Peel Castle, in Man, where she died in 1454. Her confinement there seems to have been of a rigorous nature, the miserable pittance of 100 marks yearly being all that was allowed for the maintenance of one who was the second lady in the kingdom, a very different treatment to that promised in the play,—Act II. Scene 4;—

> "Like to a duchess, and Duke Humphrey's lady;
> According to that state you shall be used."

There was no issue of the marriage of the Duke of Gloucester and Eleanor Cobham, who both fell victims to the unrelenting hatred of Cardinal Beaufort.

In *The First Part of the Contention*, is the stage direction; "Enter Dame *Elnor Cobham*, bare-foote, and a white sheete about her, with a waxe candle in her hand, and verses written on her backe, and pind on, and accompanied with the Sheriffes of London, and Sir *John Standley*, and Officers, with billes and holberds."

In Act II. Scene 4, of the play, "a Sheriff and officers" are

in attendance on Eleanor Cobham, who is represented as performing penance. The precise locality is not defined, being merely termed "a Street." As the duchess had to perform "three days' open penance," it may be taken for granted that this scene represents the last of the series, as the sheriff states that his commission is at an end, when on Friday, Nov. 17, 1441, "she landed at Queen Hive, and so went through Cheap to St Michael's, Cornhill, at which time the Maior, Sheriffs, and Crafts of London received her and accompanied her:" STOW, who however says nothing about the white sheet, the bare feet, or the papers pinned upon her back, mentioned in this play, though to be found in *The First Part of the Contention*, as above quoted.

The Lord Mayor from October 28, 1441, to October 28, 1442, was SIR JOHN PADDESLEY, and the Sheriffs were JOHN SUTTON, and WILLIAM WETYNGHALE. GRAFTON. The Arms of Sir John Paddesley were, *Argent* three fleurs-de-lis *Azure*, each charged with an Annulet *Or*. He was a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, and held the office of Master of the Mint. Stow, however, places Sir John Paddesley and the above-named Sheriffs one year earlier, and makes the officials for 1441-2 to be Robert Clopton, Mayor, *Gules* a fesse Ermine between six mascles *Or*, and the Sheriffs, William Combie and Richard Rich.

Some interesting particulars have been recently published (1868, *Kent* and *Sussex Archæological Transactions*) by Mr W. Durrant Cooper, F.S.A., respecting "Cade's Rising in 1450," from which it appears that his followers were not merely "the filth and scum of Kent," but included persons of good position in that county and in Sussex, whose names, with those of inferior rank, are given to the amount of several hundreds, taken from the Patent Roll, 28 Hen. VI.

THIRD PART OF KING HENRY VI.

Time of Action, from A.D. 1460 *to* 1471.

KING HENRY THE SIXTH.

Nothing but the untiring energy of his queen could have maintained Henry on a throne for which he was quite unfitted, but which her dauntless courage so long upheld. The king himself was almost a helpless spectator of passing events, whether he was in the hands of his queen, of the Duke of York, of the Earl of Warwick, or of his young and successful rival, Edward the Fourth. Having been placed, when Edward obtained possession of London, in the Tower, the unhappy king is supposed to have been killed twelve days after the death of his son at Tewksbury. The Poet follows Holinshed, —"Poor King Henry VI. a little before deprived (as we have heard) of his realm and imperial crown, was now in the Tower spoiled of his life by Richard Duke of Gloster, as the constant fame ran." This deed is placed to the date of May 22, 1471. Fleetwood attributes Henry's death to grief. "No sovereign seems to have possessed purer feelings, or more upright intentions than the meek and gentle Henry." SHARON TURNER.

Arms of King Henry VI.—As given in the *First Part.*

EDWARD, Prince of Wales.

This unfortunate heir to a throne was born at Westminster, Oct. 13, 1453; he possessed much of his mother's bold spirit as well as her beauty, and was regarded as a prince of great promise. The Poet's description of the young

prince's personal merits quite agrees with the account given by historians;—

> "A sweeter and a lovelier gentleman,
> Fram'd in the prodigality of nature,
> Young, valiant, wise, and, no doubt, right royal,
> The spacious world cannot again afford."
>
> *King Richard III. Act I. Scene 2.*

Habyngton says, "the composition of his body being guilty of no fault but a too feminine beauty." Some writers consider that he was only affianced, not actually married to Anne of Warwick. According to the Burgundian historian, George Chastellain, the marriage was suggested by Louis XI., who had a great esteem for the Earl of Warwick; and by that king's persuasion Queen Margaret was induced, though after a long entreaty, to consent to a reconciliation with the great earl, and to the union of his youngest daughter to her son, which took place at Amboise in July, 1470.

After the great and decisive battle of Tewksbury, where the hopes of the Lancastrians were finally crushed, the queen and her son, according to the old chroniclers, were brought before the conquering Edward, and SHAKSPEARE in his account of the prince's death follows Holinshed; after Edward struck him with his gauntlet, "incontinently George, Duke of Clarence, Richard, Duke of Gloster, Thomas Grey, Marquis Dorset, and William Lord Hastings, that stood by, suddenly murthered." George Bucke, the historian of Richard III., and whose grandfather, Sir John Bucke fought for that king at Bosworth, maintains that Gloster, though standing by, did not strike the young prince, who had in reality been taken prisoner by Sir Richard Croft, who only gave him up on the repeated promise that his life should be spared. Sir Richard Croft was the grandson and heir of Sir John Croft of Croft Castle, who married Janet, one of the daughters of Owen Glendower. SHAKSPEARE alludes to the promise held out by Edward IV. of safety for the prince;—

> "Is proclamation made—that who finds Edward,
> Shall have a high reward, and he his life?"

The death of this young prince is generally dated May 11, 1471; he was the last *legitimate* male descendant of the House of Lancaster, and was buried at Tewksbury Abbey.

Mr Sharon Turner inclines to the version of Bernard Andreas (1509) that Prince Edward was slain in fight during the battle of May 4. De Comines is apparently of the same opinion; "he was killed on the spot," alluding to the fight.

Arms of Edward Prince of Wales.—Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND, a label *Argent.*

LOUIS XI., King of France.

This subtle prince succeeded his father Charles VII., July 22, 1461, and as he died August 30, 1483, his reign ran parallel with that of Edward IV. Although Louis supported Warwick when he quarrelled with Edward, who in turn was assisted by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, yet when the White Rose triumphed, and Edward marched at the head of a splendid army into France, with the avowed intention of claiming that kingdom, Louis contrived in the interview which he had with his rival king at Perquigny, 1475, not only to conclude a peace with him, but to lessen Edward's friendship for Burgundy. The assistance promised by Louis XI. to Henry VI. and Queen Margaret, to each of whom he was nearly related[1], had as might be expected from his politic character an object of ulterior benefit to himself, or, as he expressed it to one of his ministers, showed that he "meant to play the game to some purpose." A deed is in the Archives of France, drawn up between Louis and Margaret, dated at Chinon, Juin... 1460, by which Margaret acknowledged the sum of 20,000 livres lent by Louis, for which she engaged that as soon as her husband should recover the town of Calais, then held for Edward IV., he will appoint either Jaspar Tudor, or Jean de Foix, as its Captain, who should surrender the town to Louis, within one year, or pay double the sum lent.

The character of Louis XI. is drawn with a master's hand in *Quentin Durward*, by Sir Walter Scott. By his second wife, Charlotte of Savoy, Louis had three children, namely, a son, who succeeded him as Charles VIII.; and two daughters, 1. ANNE, who married Pierre de Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu;

[1] Louis XI. was first cousin, on the father's side, to Henry VI., and stood in the same relationship, on his mother's side, to Queen Margaret.

and 2. JEANNE, who was married to Louis, Duke of Orleans, who on his accession to the throne, as Louis XII., obtained a divorce from the unhappy princess in order to espouse the great heiress, Anne of Bretagne, the widow of his predecessor Charles VIII. The first wife of Louis XI., when he was Dauphin, was the Princess Margaret, daughter of James I., King of Scots.

Arms of Louis XI.—*Azure* three fleurs-de-lis *Or.*

DUKE OF SOMERSET.

This personage must be EDMUND BEAUFORT, fourth and last Duke of Somerset, brother of Henry, third Duke, who was taken prisoner at Hexham, 1464, and beheaded by the Yorkists the day after the battle. The character in this play commanded the archers of the Lancastrian army at Barnet, April 14, 1471; after their defeat he joined Queen Margaret's forces, and held a high command at the disastrous battle of Tewksbury, fought May 4, 1471; and being taken prisoner was beheaded by order of Edward IV., Act v. Scene 5,—

"For Somerset, off with his guilty head."

Somerset, always faithful to the House of Lancaster, is quite out of place in Act IV. Scene 1, where he appears at the court of Edward IV.

Arms of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.—Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND, a border compony *Argent* and *Azure.*

DUKE OF EXETER.

This noble was HENRY HOLLAND, son of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, who is noticed in *King Henry V.*, as present at Troyes, and was created Duke of Exeter, 1445, Constable of the Tower, Lord High Admiral, K.G.; he died in 1446, leaving by his first wife, widow of Edmund Mortimer, the last Earl of March, Anne Stafford, an only son, the character in this play, second Duke of Exeter. Although he married ANNE PLANTAGENET, sister to Edward IV., Henry

Holland always remained faithful to Henry VI., sharing his triumph at Wakefield, but also his defeats at Towton, and Barnet; at the latter place he was severely wounded, and left for dead until discovered by a retainer. He was attainted by Edward IV. and fell into the deepest poverty; De Comines the historian records that he saw the Duke of Exeter begging for a morsel of bread. He died in 1473; his only daughter, Anne Holland was contracted to Thomas Grey, first Marquess of Dorset, but died before marriage. The duke's widow married secondly, Sir Thomas St Leger, knight, and their daughter Anne married Sir George Manners, ancestor of the Dukes of Rutland, &c.

Arms of Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, K.G.—ENGLAND and a border of FRANCE.

EARL OF OXFORD.

This nobleman was JOHN DE VERE, thirteenth Earl of Oxford, hereditary Lord Chamberlain of England, an office which had been held by his ancestors since the time that Henry I. appointed Alberic de Vere to that high post, to himself and his heirs; and that person's son, Aubrey de Vere was created Earl of Oxford in 1135, by Henry II. Several members of this family filled a distinguished rank in history; John, seventh earl, was one of the heroes of Cressy and Poitiers; Robert, ninth earl, was the chief favourite of Richard II., who created him Marquess of Dublin, and Duke of Ireland; and the eleventh earl, Richard, who served at Agincourt, was father of John, twelfth earl, who by Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of Sir John Howard, knight, had five sons, and three daughters. His eldest son, Aubrey de Vere, was beheaded with him, and the second son, John, is the earl in this play; a third son, Sir George de Vere, married Margaret, daughter of William Stafford of Frome, and their second son, John, became fourteenth earl. The father of the character in this play was attainted on the accession of Edward IV. and with his eldest son, was beheaded on Tower Hill, in 1461. The earl in this play alludes to their fate, when he is required by Warwick to acknowledge Edward as his king; Act III. Scene 3;—

"Call him my king, by whose injurious doom,
My elder brother, the Lord Aubrey Vere,
Was done to death? and more than so, my father,
Even in the downfall of his mellow'd years,
When nature brought him to the door of death?"

The thirteenth earl, a most able captain, and a man of high character, commanded a wing of King Henry's army at Barnet; he afterwards defended Saint Michael's Mount, and upon its surrender was sent as a prisoner to the castle of Hammes, or Ham, in Picardy; this is alluded to in Act v. Scene 5, though somewhat out of date; King Edward directs—

"Away with Oxford to Hammes' Castle straight."

The earl escaped from his prison in 1484, and joined the Earl of Richmond; and as he will be found in the next play his memoir will be then resumed. This excellent nobleman, truly called by Queen Margaret "another anchor" of her husband's cause, is introduced by Sir Walter Scott, in *Anne of Gierstein*, under the assumed name of Philipson; his only son, John de Vere, is in the novel called Arthur.

The stately castle at Castle Hedingham, co. Essex, was erected by the first Aubrey de Vere, and remained in possession of the family until 1625. The massive keep only remains; it is 62 feet by 55 feet, and 100 feet high, and the walls are nearly 12 feet thick. Mr Rickman speaks of it as "one of the finest and best preserved of the Norman keeps, in which there are many fine Norman enrichments, and the building generally deserves attentive examination." The same great authority highly commends St Nicholas' Church, no doubt erected by one of the family of De Vere, many of whom are there buried.

Arms of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford.—Quarterly *Gules* and *Or*, in the first quarter a mullet *Argent.* GLOVER.

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

This character, HENRY PERCY, grandson of "Hotspur," is the third earl, whose father Henry, the second earl, fell at the first battle of St Alban's, May 22, 1455, fighting for the House of Lancaster. His death is alluded to in the opening

scene of this play, by the Duke of York, and also by King Henry, who reminds the son,—

"Earl of Northumberland, he slew thy father."

The second earl's wife was Eleanor Nevill, daughter of Ralph the great Earl of Westmoreland, by his second countess, Joan Beaufort, and by whom he had nine sons, and three daughters; of the former the character in this play was the eldest. He led the van of the Lancastrians at the battle of Towton, March 29, 1461, and fell sword in hand at that fatal field, leaving an only son, Henry Percy, who became fourth earl, and a K. G. and whose mother, Eleanor, sole daughter and heir of Richard Poynings, brought the baronies of Poynings, Bryan, and Fitz-Payne, to the House of Percy. King Edward, in Act v. Scene 7, nobly alludes to the deaths of this character and his father, his "valiant foemen,"—

"And two Northumberlands; two braver men
Ne'er spurr'd their coursers at the trumpet's sound."

Arms of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.—*Azure* five fusils in fesse *Or.*

EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

This personage was the second earl, who succeeded his grandfather in 1425, the character in the *First and Second Parts of King Henry VI.*, and also in *King Henry V.* His father John Lord Nevill died in the great earl's lifetime, in 1423, leaving by his wife, Elizabeth Holland, daughter of Thomas second Earl of Kent, three sons, RALPH, Sir John Nevill, killed at Towton, and Thomas. Of these the eldest, RALPH NEVILL, is the character in this play; his first wife was Elizabeth Percy, widow of Lord Clifford, and daughter of "Hotspur," by whom he had a son, John Nevill, who died in his father's life-time. The second earl died in 1485, and leaving no issue by his second wife, Margaret daughter of Sir Reginald Cobham, was succeeded as third earl by his nephew, Ralph Nevill, who was son of Sir John Nevill, slain at Towton.

Arms of Nevill.—As given in *King Henry V.*

LORD CLIFFORD.

This is the "Young Clifford" of the preceding play, JOHN, ninth lord, the relentless foe of the House of York. After the battle of Wakefield, he slew in cold blood, the Earl of Rutland, for which cruel deed he was ever after called "the Butcher," a title to which Richard, afterwards Duke of Gloster, alludes in Act II. Scene 2,—

"Are you there, butcher?"

Clifford was slain *before* the battle of Towton, namely, near Ferry-bridge, where he had defeated the Yorkists under Lord Fitz-walter, but was in turn routed by Lord Fauconberg, uncle to Warwick, in 1461. John, Lord Clifford, married Margaret Bromflete, daughter and heir of Henry, Lord Vescy, by whom he left a son, Henry, tenth Lord Clifford, who from the romantic nature of his early life was ever afterwards called the "Shepherd lord;" he was father of Henry Clifford, created Earl of Cumberland, in 1525, K. G. whose last male descendant, Henry Clifford, fifth earl, died in 1643.

Lord Clifford's widow, Margaret Bromflete, married secondly a Northern knight, Sir Launcelot Threlkeld, of Threlkeld, co. Cumberland, by whom she had three daughters.

Arms of Clifford.—Chequy *Or* and *Azure* a fesse *Gules.*

RICHARD PLANTAGENET, Duke of York.

This great prince, worthy of the throne to which he was entitled, closes his career in this part. The opening scene wherein he occupies "the regal seat," occurred three days after the meeting of Parliament, held Oct. 7, 1460. Queen Margaret was in the North when she heard that the Duke of York was named to succeed to the throne to the exclusion of her son, and assembling a large army she was opposed with a much smaller force by the duke, who instead of defending himself in Sandal castle, and waiting for the expected reinforcements under his son Edward, as strongly urged by his friends, with a rash contempt of the queen descended into the plain, at Wakefield, where his army was routed, and he was slain, Dec. 24, 1460. His head was placed on the top

of Mickle-gate bar, York; Queen Margaret in the play gives order to that effect, Act I. Scene 4,—

> "Off with his head, and set it on York gates;
> So York may overlook the town of York."

The heads of the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Ralph Stanley, and other eminent Yorkists, were set up in the same ghastly manner. DRAKE'S *Eboracum.* The body of the Duke of York was re-buried (from Pontefract) at his principal seat, Fotheringay, July 29, 1466, his sons Edward and Richard being chief mourners at the stately funeral ceremony.

At Wakefield, on the eastern side of the handsome stone bridge of Edward the Third's time, is a Gothic chapel, small but highly enriched, built by Edward IV., in memory of his noble father and followers slain in the battle. The relative numbers of the Queen's army and York's forces are correctly stated in Act I. Scene 2.—Gabriel reports:—

> "The queen . . .
> . . . is hard by with twenty thousand men;"

and York says to Sir John Mortimer;—

> "Five men to twenty!—though the odds be great,
> I doubt not, uncle, of our victory."

Sandal castle, two miles from Wakefield, was built, circa 1320, by John Warren, Earl of Warren and Surrey; it was besieged by the Parliamentary forces acting against Charles I., and dismantled in 1645; a few remains exist. The compiler cannot identify the messenger, called in the Folio, of 1623, "Gabriel."

Arms of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, K. G.— Quarterly FRANCE *modern* and ENGLAND, a label *Gules*, charged with nine torteauxes.

EDWARD, Earl of March, afterwards King Edward IV.

This prince was born April 29, 1442; under his title of March, derived from the Mortimers, he displayed not only the highest personal courage, but also the qualities of a consummate general; he was not twenty years of age when he

seconded Warwick to defeat the Lancastrians at Northampton, July 10, 1460. At the death of his "princely father" he succeeded to the great title of his House;—

"No longer Earl of March, but Duke of York."

Having defeated Jaspar Tudor at Mortimer's Cross, Feb. 2, 1461[1], he rapidly advanced on London, despite the issue of the second battle of St Alban's, gained this time by Queen Margaret over the Earl of Warwick, Feb. 17, as alluded to in Act II. Scene 1, by that great baron himself, and Edward, received with great joy by the citizens, was conducted on the 4th of March to Westminster Hall, where "being set in the kinges seate with St Edward's scepter in his hande," he was saluted as king. But he still had to do battle for the throne, and having gained a decided victory at Towton, March 29, he returned to London in triumph, and was crowned in Westminster Abbey, June 29, 1461. In Act II. the battle of Towton is given, and in Scene 6, Warwick, then his friend, says to the conquering Edward,—

"And now to London with triumphant march,
There to be crownèd England's royal king."

In Act IV. Scene 1, Edward's marriage with the beautiful widow, Elizabeth Grey, is announced; it was first publicly declared at Reading, Sept. 29, 1464, having taken place in a private manner at Grafton on the first of May. Queen Elizabeth was crowned May 26, 1465, and the play closes soon after the birth of her eldest son, the Prince of Wales, Nov. 11, 1470, who is brought in the arms of his Nurse on the scene.

Arms of Edward Plantagenet.—In the earlier part of the

[1] This battle is given in Act II. Scene 1, "A plain near Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire," and a messenger enters with tidings to Edward of the Duke of York's defeat and death, at Wakefield. But in the previous scene York is made to speak of his eldest son as having thrice assisted him in the battle:—

"And full as oft came Edward to my side,
With purple falchion, painted to the hilt," &c.

But Edward was then levying forces in the borders of Wales, and after her victory Queen Margaret sent one division of her army against him under Jaspar Tudor, who encountered the new Duke of York not far from Wigmore Castle, and where a stone records the memorable battle of Mortimer's Cross.

play the Earl of March would bear the arms of the House of York, and in the latter scenes the royal arms of ENGLAND.

EDMUND, Earl of Rutland.

This unfortunate young prince, third son of the Duke of York, was seventeen years old when he was slain by the ruthless Lord Clifford, having been born May 17, 1443. Nearly all writers follow Hall, who says that he was "scarce of the age of XII. yeares." Carte gives his age correctly,—"Edmund Plantagenet, a youth but of 17 years old, was killed upon Wakefield-Bridge, in cold blood, after the battle was over, by the lord Clifford." He was buried by the side of his princely father at Fotheringay.

In the opening scene of *The True Tragedie*, "the yong *Earle* of *Rutland*" accompanies his father and brothers, to the Parliament House, "with White Roses in their hats."

Arms of Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Rutland.—Quarterly FRANCE *modern* and ENGLAND, a label of five points of LEON and YORK.

GEORGE, afterwards Duke of Clarence.

This prince was born Oct. 21, 1449, at Dublin castle, when his father was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; he was the sixth, though usually called the third son of the Duke of York. He was really too young to take the part assigned to him in the earlier scenes of this play. He was created Duke of Clarence by his brother, Edward IV., in 1461, and a K.G. lord lieutenant of Ireland. After fighting for his brother he turned to Henry VI.; again joined his brother, and was present with him at Tewksbury. He married Isabel Nevill, eldest daughter and co-heir of the great Earl of Warwick in this play, by whom he had a son and daughter, who will be noticed in the next play, where Clarence also will be found.

Arms of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, K.G.—Quarterly FRANCE *modern* and ENGLAND, a label charged on each point with a canton *Gules*.

RICHARD, afterwards Duke of Gloucester.

He was the eighth though generally said to be the fourth son of the Duke of York, and was born at Fotheringay castle, the noble seat of the family, Oct. 2, 1452; his introduction therefore in the preceding play, which closes with the first battle of St Alban's, fought May 22, 1455, is premature, as it is in the earlier scenes of this Part, the battle of Wakefield dating in 1460, of Mortimer's Cross in 1461, and that of Towton in the same year. In fact the young princes, George and Richard, had been taken by their widowed mother, the Duchess Cicely, after the battle of Wakefield to the court of Philip *the Good*, Duke of Burgundy, where they remained until after the accession of their brother Edward to the throne. In 1461 Richard was created, by his brother, Duke of Gloucester, the ominous title to which he objects in the play, Act II. Scene 6,—

> "Let me be Duke of Clarence, George of Gloucester,
> For Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous;"

alluding to the fate of the former holders of the dignity, Thomas of *Woodstock*, and the "good Duke Humphrey," both smothered in their beds. Richard, made a K.G. in 1465, commanded Edward's left wing at Barnet, and led his van at Tewksbury, and on each occasion behaved with great skill and valour. In the next play Gloster appears as Protector to his nephews, and finishes his blood-stained career, having obtained the object of his deep-laid schemes, hinted at by him in this Part, as "England's royal king."

Arms of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, K.G.— Quarterly FRANCE *modern* and ENGLAND, a label *Ermine* charged on each point with a canton *Gules*. *Garter Plate.*

DUKE OF NORFOLK.

At the date of the opening scene, Oct. 10, 1460, this title was held by John Mowbray, third duke, but as he died in 1461, it would be his son by Eleanor Bourchier, daughter of William Lord Bourchier, who is the personage intended, JOHN MOWBRAY, fourth duke, much employed in France by Edward IV. who made him a K.G. He died in 1475, the

last male descendant of the ancient race of Mowbray, and by his wife, Elizabeth Talbot, daughter of John, second Earl of Shrewsbury, had an only child, Anne Mowbray, who was affianced in early infancy, January 15, 1477, to the second son of Edward IV., Richard, Duke of York, who was also created Duke of Norfolk. After the deaths of this young prince and his infant bride, the former in 1483, the latter in 1482, MARGARET MOWBRAY, eldest daughter of the Duke of Norfolk in *King Richard II.*, having become eldest co-heir to the ancient honours of the family, her son, by Sir Robert Howard, Knight, JOHN HOWARD, was created Duke of Norfolk in 1483, and under that title he is a character in the next play.

Arms of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, K.G.—Gules a lion rampant *Argent.*

MARQUESS OF MONTAGUE.

This nobleman, Sir JOHN NEVILL, was third son of Richard, the Earl of Salisbury in the preceding play. He was summoned to Parliament in 1460, as Baron Nevill of Montague; and in 1470 was created by Edward IV., Marquess of Montague; he had been made a K.G. in 1462. At first he supported the cause of the House of York, and defeated the Lancastrians at Hexham, 1463, but he went over to the latter party, when the indignity was offered to his brother, the Earl of Warwick, by Edward IV., and he shared the fate of that great baron at Barnet, April 14, 1471. In Act v. Scene 2, his death is related by Somerset,—

> "Ah, Warwick! Montague hath breath'd his last;
> And to the latest gasp cried out for Warwick.
> And said, 'Commend me to my valiant brother.'"

The bodies of the two great brothers, after having been exposed to public view in St Paul's Cathedral, were removed to the ancient burial-place of the Montacutes, Bisham Priory, co. Berks, founded in 1338 by William de Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury, and where Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, father of Warwick and Montague, was buried.

The Marquess of Montague married Isabel, daughter of

Sir Edmund Ingoldsthorp, Knight, whose wife, Johanna Tibetoft, was descended from Edward III. by whom he had two sons, and five daughters; the eldest son, GEORGE NEVILL, to whom Edward IV. had promised his eldest daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, and created by him, in 1469, Duke of Bedford, was degraded from his rank at his father's attainder, and died in 1483.

Arms of John Nevill, Marquess of Montague, K.G.— Quarterly, 1, and 4, MONTACUTE and MONTHERMER; 2, and 3, NEVILL with a label; the whole being charged with two annulets interlaced, for difference. *Garter Plate.*

EARL OF WARWICK.

This is the powerful nobleman called by Sir E. L. Bulwer Lytton, "The last of the Barons," in the historical romance of that title,—"a man who stood colossal amidst the iron images of the age,—the greatest and the last of the old Norman chivalry,—kinglier in pride, in state, in possessions, and in renown than the king himself, Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury and Warwick." The real cause of this potent baron falling away from Edward IV. is stated by most of the old chroniclers to have arisen from some insult offered by that amorous monarch to a female member of Warwick's family[1]; the Poet makes him say, no doubt in allusion to this rumour, in Act III. Scene 3,—

"Did I let pass the abuse done to my niece,"—

it is however supposed, as his nieces were quite children, that the insulted lady was one of his own daughters; Mr Carte says Isabel, but Sir E. L. Bulwer Lytton suggests that, as Isabel was then the wife of Clarence, it was Warwick's youngest daughter, Anne Nevill, "then in the flower of her youth."

In Act II. Scene 3, of the *Third Part*, where the scene is—"A field of battle between Towton and Saxton in Yorkshire," the Earl of Warwick says,—

"I'll kill my horse, because I will not fly."

At a place called Tysoe, in the county of Warwick, "on the

[1] "The certainty was not for both their honours openly known." HALL.

side of a hill, opposite the church, is cut the figure of a horse which from the colour of the soil is termed the Red Horse, and the adjacent lowlands are called the Red Horse Vale. It is supposed that this figure was designed in commemoration of the well-known act of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, who killed his horse at the battle of Towton, fought on Palm Sunday, 1461, on which day it has been customary for the people to assemble for the purpose of 'scouring the horse,' or clearing it from the encumbrances of vegetation." GORTON, *Topog. Dict.* The great earl also killed his horse at Barnet Field, and fought on foot to encourage his soldiers.

The great earl, who was a K.G., and died at Barnet Field, April 14, 1471, married the heiress of the Earl of Warwick, in *Parts I.* and *II.*, ANNE BEAUCHAMP, and by her had two daughters, the eldest ISABEL NEVILL, born 1451, became the wife of George, Duke of Clarence; and the second is the "Lady Anne" of the next play. From the attainder of the Earl of Warwick his vast estates were seized by the crown, and his countess lived in distress and obscurity until the reign of Henry VII., who restored to that great heiress her family possessions, which she afterwards transferred to him and his heirs male.

Arms of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, K.G.—Gules a saltier *Argent.* His well-known cognizance,—

> "The rampant bear chain'd to the ragged staff,—"

came to him from the Beauchamps, although in the play, Warwick says of it, Act V. Scene 1, in *Part II.*,—

> "Now, by my father's badge, old Nevill's crest."

But the crest of the Nevills was a dun bull's head.

EARL OF PEMBROKE.

Two persons at this time enjoyed the title; one was Jaspar Tudor, created Earl of Pembroke by his half-brother, Henry VI. in 1452; the other was WILLIAM HERBERT, Lord Herbert, upon whom Edward IV. conferred the title, May 27, 1468. As Jaspar Tudor was always a staunch Lancastrian, it must be William Herbert who is introduced in Act IV.

Scene 1, in the suite of Edward IV. to whose cause he was strongly attached. He was taken prisoner after the battle of Danesmoor, co. Northampton, where he was defeated by the Lancastrians, and beheaded at Northampton, July 26, 1469, leaving by his wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Walter Devereux, his eldest son, William Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke, three other sons, of whom Sir WALTER HERBERT is a character in the next play, and six daughters, to one of whom it was in contemplation that Henry Tudor should be married.

Arms of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.—Per pale *Azure* and *Gules* three lions rampant *Argent*, a border compony *Or* and of the *second* bezantée.

LORD HASTINGS.

This eminent person, WILLIAM HASTINGS, K.G., the faithful Chamberlain of Edward IV., and the firm adherent of his children, belongs chiefly to the next play, wherein his memoir will be resumed. He held high commands in Edward's great battles, was much in his confidence, and is well styled in this play,—

"The Lord Hastings, the king's chiefest friend."

Arms of William, Lord Hastings, K.G.—*Argent* a maunch *Sable.*

LORD STAFFORD.

This nobleman was Sir HUMPHREY STAFFORD of Suthwyck, a cousin of the two valiant Staffords, slain in Jack Cade's rebellion, and was son of William Stafford and Catherine, daughter of Sir John Chidiock, Knight. Sir Humphrey was summoned to Parliament as a baron in 1464, and created Lord Stafford of Suthwyck, April 24, 1464, and Earl of Devon, May 7, 1469; but soon after deserting the royal banner under the Earl of Pembroke, and thereby causing his defeat at Danesmoor, Edward IV. enraged at his defection gave orders for the attainder and arrest of Stafford, who being taken near Bridgewater was there beheaded, August 17, 1469. He married Isabel, daughter of Sir John Barre,

Knight, but had no issue. In the play, Stafford, like Pembroke, is a silent spectator in the only scene wherein they appear, Act IV. Scene I; and were it not that they are addressed by King Edward, they might be omitted;—

> "Pembroke, and Stafford, you in our behalf,
> Go, levy men, and make prepare for war."

In *The True Tragedie of Richard, Duke of Yorke*, Lord Stafford is not introduced, and the king merely says to the other noble,—

> "*Pembrooke*, go raise an armie presentlie."

This order had in reality reference to the northern insurrection under Robin of Riddesdale, who confronted the Earl of Pembroke at Danesmoor, and defeated him, owing to the desertion of Stafford.

An air of romance and mystery surrounds the name of Robin of Riddesdale, who is considered by Wotton and other genealogists to be the son of Sir Robert Hildyard, a knight of ancient family in the county of York. Robin, in revenge for some personal wrongs, became a leader of the people; he figures largely in Sir E. Bulwer Lytton's *Last of the Barons*. Sir James Mackintosh styles him "a hero among the moss-troopers of the borders."

Arms of Lord Stafford of Southwyk.—*Or* a chevron within a border engrailed *Sable*.

SIR JOHN MORTIMER,
SIR HUGH MORTIMER, } *Uncles to the Duke of York.*

Mr T. P. Courtenay says of these worthies, "these were two bastard uncles by the mother's side," the Duke of York being the son of Anne Mortimer, but it does not appear who was the father of these characters, who both fell at Wakefield, Dec. 30, 1460. The legitimate male issue of the Mortimers, Earls of March, ceased with Edmund, fifth earl in 1424.

Arms.—These characters would bear the arms of MORTIMER, as before given, debruised with a *baton sinister*.

HENRY, Earl of Richmond, a Youth.

The future King of England is here introduced no doubt for the sake of bringing in the prophecy of Henry VI. respecting his destined greatness. Speaking of Jaspar Tudor, Dugdale quoting from Polydore Vergil says,—"Finding Henry Earl of Richmond in the custody of William Herbert's widow, he brought him from her, and carried him to King Henry, who looking upon him prophetically said, *This is he who shall quietly possess what we and our adversaries do now contend for.*" It will be seen that in the play, Act IV. Scene 6, the Earl of Richmond appears under the "tender care" of the Duke of Somerset, his near kinsman, the last male of the Beauforts, through whom Henry Tudor founded his pretensions to the throne. Lord Bacon says of Henry VII. coming to the throne,—"he rested on the title of Lancaster in the main, using the marriage and victory as supporters." It is very significant that Henry VII. adopted for one of his chief badges the cognizance of the Beauforts, a portcullis, with the addition of a motto, "Altera securitas."

Arms of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond.—Quarterly FRANCE *modern* and ENGLAND, in a border *Azure* eight martlets *Or.*

LORD RIVERS, Brother to Lady Grey.

This character was Sir ANTHONY WOODVILE, eldest son of the "Woodvile, Lieutenant of the Tower," in the *First Part of King Henry VI.*, at whose death in 1469, the character in this play succeeded as second Earl Rivers, but until then he was known as "Lord Scales," by which title he was summoned to Parliament in 1462, having married the rich heiress, Elizabeth Scales, daughter of the "Lord Scales" of the preceding play. This marriage is bitterly alluded to by Gloster, who upbraids his brother, Edward IV. in Act IV. Scene 1;—

> "And yet, methinks, your grace hath not done well,
> To give the heir and daughter of Lord Scales
> Unto the brother of your loving bride,
> She better would have fitted me, or Clarence."

Anthony, Lord Scales, who was made a K.G. by Edward IV.,

fills an important part in the next play, under the style of "Earl Rivers." Gloster taunts the Woodvile family as if they were of mean origin, applying to them the expressions;—

> "And the queen's kindred are become gentlefolks."
>
> "Since every Jack became a gentleman,
> There's many a gentle person made a Jack;"

but on the mother's side their ancestry justifies the language of Queen Elizabeth Woodvile;—

> "Do me but right, and you must all confess
> That I was not ignoble of descent."

The Duchess Jacqueline, mother of the Woodviles, was daughter of Peter, Count of St Pol, son of Guy of Luxemburg, whose ancestor Waleran, Count of Luxemburg, married Maud, daughter of Guy de Chatillon, Count of St Pol, by Mary, second daughter of John de Dreux, Duke of Britany, whose wife was Beatrice, second daughter of Henry III. King of England.

Arms of Anthony Woodvile, K.G.—Argent a fesse and canton *Gules*, for WOODVILE, impaling *Gules* six escallops *Argent* three two and one, for SCALES.

SIR WILLIAM STANLEY.

This personage is brother of "Sir John Stanley," in the preceding *Part*, and also of "Lord Stanley," in the next play. He obtained in 1460 from Edward IV. the lordship and castle of Skipton, co. York, on the attainder of Lord Clifford. The only scene wherein he figures agrees with the relation of some chroniclers, by whom it is said that Sir William Stanley and Sir Thomas Borough rescued Edward IV. from Middleham Castle; other writers state that his escape was really made from the More, in Hertfordshire, a seat of Archbishop Nevill, to which the king had been removed from Middleham. Tradition is chiefly in favour of Middleham Castle, being the place whence Edward made his escape; in the scene he asks whither his friends propose to take him, to which Lord Hastings replies,—

> "To Lynn, my lord,
> And ship from thence to Flanders."

Lynn (Regis) would be a convenient port for Edward to take ship in route from Yorkshire, whereas he would hardly go northwards for a place of embarkation if his escape had been from Hertfordshire. Hume, however, makes Edward's escape to Lynn to have been effected through the advice of Lord Hastings, when Warwick's brother Montague surprised their quarters near Nottingham. This answers to Act IV. Scene 3, where Edward is seized by the king-maker, and sent to Middleham, a story which the historian treats as a fiction.

Sir William Stanley is named in the next play, as among the persons of "great fame and worth," who joined the Earl of Richmond, and his opportune arrival at Bosworth with his 3000 tall men of Cheshire turned the tide of battle against Richard III. Well might Richmond when he became king reward Sir William with many honours, making him a K.G. and Lord Chamberlain; but joining the conspiracy of Perkin Warbeck, Sir William Stanley, accused of high treason, was beheaded on Tower Hill, Feb. 16, 1495, and his large estates, rich plate, and valuable possessions were seized by the avaricious king. A few months after the death of Sir William Stanley, Henry VII. paid a visit to Lathom House, co. Lancaster, a seat of the Earl of Derby, his step-father, who conducted the king to view the extensive prospect from the leads of the mansion; these were unprotected by parapets, and the earl's jester, who had been warmly attached to Sir William, came behind his master, and with a menacing gesture towards the king muttered, "TOM, *remember* WILL!" Henry overheard the ominous suggestion, and quitted rapidly the dangerous spot. *Memoirs of the* HOUSE *of* STANLEY.

Sir William Stanley married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hopton, and had a son, Sir William Stanley, whose only child, Jane, by his wife Jane, daughter and heir of Sir Geoffrey Massy of Tatton, married Sir Richard Brereton of Malpas. ORMEROD'S *Cheshire.*

Arms of Sir William Stanley, K.G.—Argent on a bend *Azure* three bucks' heads caboshed *Or*, a crescent for difference.

SIR JOHN MONTGOMERY.

The name of this knight, who has been mistaken for his

brother, should be THOMAS MONTGOMERY, who joined King Edward IV. at Nottingham with a considerable force, and was also with him at the battle of Barnet[1]. The declaration of this character in Act IV. Scene 7,—

"I came to serve a king, and not a duke,"—

is recorded in history as his language on the occasion, as it was also of Sir James Harrington, and Sir Thomas Borough, at the same time.

Sir THOMAS MONTGOMERY was the second son of Sir John Montgomery, K.B. of Falkbourn, co. Essex, by Elizabeth his wife, sister of Ralph Boteler, Lord Sudely, by whom he had two sons, Sir John, beheaded 3 Edward IV., and Sir Thomas, the character intended in this play, who had been "esquire of the body" to Henry VI.[2]; he was Sheriff of Hants. 23 Henry VI., and of Norfolk, 2, 3, and 7 Edward IV. and 6 Henry VII. He became one of the most intimate councillors of Edward IV., and De Comines speaks of him as "un Chivalier fort privé de luy." That king appointed him Steward of Hadley for life, Treasurer of Ireland for life, Captain of Carnarvon; he accompanied Edward to France, and was afterwards his Ambassador to Louis XI. Sir Thomas was selected to escort Queen Margaret to France, when she left England for ever in 1475, although her departure, in the last scene, is made to take place much earlier,—

"Away with her, and waft her hence to France."

Edward IV. made Sir Thomas Montgomery a K.G. April 22, 1475, and appointed him one of the executors to his will. He attended the coronation of Richard III. to whom he was one of the "knights of the body," and he died 9 Henry VII., Jan. 11, 1495. ANSTIS. Sir Thomas Montgomery married first, Philippa, daughter and heir of John Helion, of Bumsted-Helion, co. Essex; and secondly, Lora, relict of John Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and daughter of Sir Edward Berkeley, of Beverston, but had no issue by either of his wives; and his sister Alice, wife of Robert Langley, became his heir.

[1] This knight is called "Sir Thomas Montgomerie" by Holinshed.

[2] Henry VI., in his 25th year, gave forty pounds "to his well-beloved squier, Thomas Montgomery, son of the mareschal of his hall, for his entendance upon the Duke of Norfolke, at Killingworth." ANSTIS.

Arms of Sir Thomas Montgomery, K.G.—Gules a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis *Or.*

SIR JOHN SOMERVILLE.

This knight probably belonged to the ancient family of Somerville, seated at Wichnor, co. Stafford, and at Aston-Somerville in the county of Gloucester, soon after the Conquest. The latter manor was purchased in 1742 by James, thirteenth Lord Somerville, from the then owner, the Poet, William Somerville, author of *The Chase.* An ancestor, in common, Sir Philip Somerville, who died 29 Edward III., 1355, was obliged by his tenure to give a flitch of bacon, in his hall at Wichnor, to all couples who had been married a year, and would make oath that they had not quarrelled, or repented of their union, &c. A similar custom prevailed at Little Dunmow, Essex. A Robert Somerville was Sheriff co. Gloucester in 1401, he was son of a Sir John Somerville.

In early editions no Christian name is assigned to the character in this play. In *The True Tragedie* he is simply styled "Summerfield," and in the Folio of 1623, "Somervile." It may be remarked that if Somerville brought up his retainers from Aston-Somerville, which is four miles south of Evesham, he would probably pass very near Stratford-upon-Avon, and cross the Roman Foss Way to Southam, thus avoiding the town of Warwick, and reaching Coventry before the Duke of Clarence, who in his belief was following to the assistance of his noble father-in-law; thus he tells the Earl of Warwick,—

> "At Southam I did leave him with his forces,
> And do expect him here some two hours hence"

It is the Compiler's impression that "Somerville," in the play, was Sir Thomas, who died 16 Henry VII., 1500, a descendant of Robert, the Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1401.

Arms of Somerville, of Aston-Somerville.—Argent on a fesse between three annulets *Gules* as many leopards' heads *Or.* In the Chancel window of Aston-Somerville Church.

TUTOR TO RUTLAND.

"Whilst this battail was fighting, a priest, called Sir Robert Aspall, chapellaine and scholemaster to the yonge erle of Rutlande, ii sone to the above-named duke of York, scarce of the age of xii yeres, a fair gentleman, and mayden-like person, perceyving that flyght was more safe-guard than tarrying both for hym and his master, secretly conveyed the erle out of the felde," &c. HALL. The Aspalls were of an old family, and well allied; John Lord Tiptoft's second wife Elizabeth was daughter of Sir Robert Aspall, Knight, time of Edward III. The Aspalls of Norfolk bore for Arms, *Azure* three chevrons *Or*. These Arms are seen on the tomb of Sir Humphrey Bourchier in Westminster Abbey. The family seated in Northamptonshire had the chevrons *Argent*.

MAYOR OF YORK.

This official was THOMAS BEVERLEY, Merchant of the Staple; he was Sheriff of the City of York in 1451, and Lord Mayor in 1460, and again in 1471, the date of King Edward's visit. DRAKE'S *Eboracum*. The Mayor at first was inclined to resist his entrance, but he obtained admittance on the plea set forth in the drama, Act IV. Scene 7,—

> "I challenge nothing but my dukedom,
> As being well content with that alone."

The title of "Lord Mayor" was first bestowed on the chief magistrate by Richard II., at his visit to York in 1389, on which occasion he gave his own sword to the Mayor. In *The True Tragedie* this official has his proper title applied, "Enter the Lord Maire of *Yorke* upon the walls," and Edward and Hastings address him,—"My lord Maire," but in the usual editions they style him—"Master Mayor."

MAYOR OF COVENTRY.

In Act V. Scene 1, where the action is laid at Coventry, a town much devoted to the interests of Henry and his Queen, the stage direction is, "*Enter upon the walls* WARWICK, *the*

Mayor *of* Coventry, *two* Messengers, *and others*." As this occurs, as we learn from the context, just before the battle of Barnet, April 14, 1471, it may be concluded that the Mayor was JOHN BRETT, who served 1470-1, and who for his adherence to Henry VI. was deprived of his sword of state by Edward IV., and the citizens had to pay a fine of 500 marks to recover the sword, and their franchise. Four years later Edward IV. kept the festival of St George at Coventry, and became sponsor to the infant child of the Mayor.

LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER.

The two chief officers of this important place, which was a royal residence, a fortress, a state prison, and containing an armoury, and the Royal Mint, were the Constable, and his Lieutenant; the former was generally a person of very high rank, and the latter was usually of knightly degree. Unfortunately the records of the Tower are defective, and at this period the names of the "lieutenants" are rarely mentioned. John Chauncey was lieutenant under Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, 31 Henry VI. 1452, but for how long after does not appear. From the language used in Act IV. Scene 6, by "master lieutenant," and the reply of Henry VI. to his apology, we may infer that this officer is intended for John Tibetoft, first Earl of Worcester, of that name, who was appointed "Constable of the Tower," by Edward IV. at his accession; the Earl, who was a zealous Yorkist, was beheaded in 1471, when the Lancastrians were in power for a brief space. His successor was John Sutton, Lord Dudley, K.G., who will be "the Lieutenant," attending in Act V. Scene 6, when he is ordered by Gloucester to leave him alone with the ill-fated Henry VI.—

> "Sirrah, leave us to ourselves; we must confer."

In this century the post of "Constable of the Tower" has been filled by the most eminent soldiers of the day, having been held in succession by the Marquess Cornwallis, the Marquess of Hastings, the Duke of Wellington, and Viscount Combermere. The present Constable is Field Marshal Gene-

ral Sir John F. Burgoyne, G.C.B.; and the Lieutenant is Lt.-Gen. Lord de Ros, Premier Baron.

A NOBLEMAN.

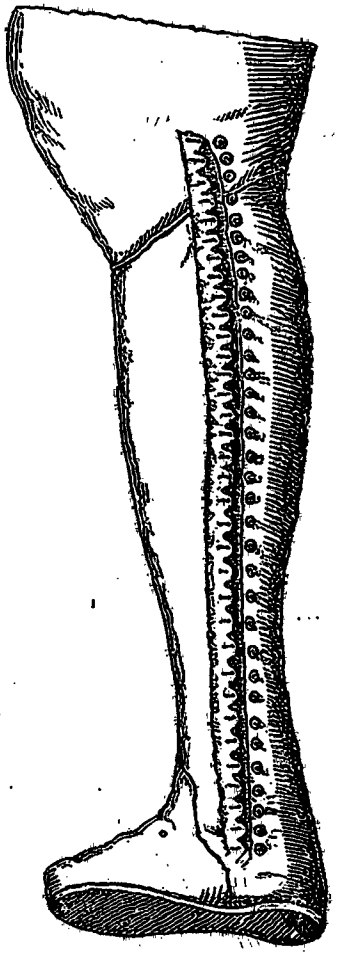
The title of "Nobleman," in the sixteenth century would not be confined to a member of the peerage, and in these plays SHAKSPEARE applies the term to knights; thus in 1 *King Henry IV.*, Act II. Scene 4, Mrs Quickly tells Prince Hal, "My lord, there is a nobleman of the court at door, would speak with you;" this person, as we afterwards learn from Falstaff, was "Sir John Bracy." In his *Accidence of Armorie*, Gerard Leigh classes as *Nobiles*, "Gentleman, Esquire, Knight, Baron, Lorde," 1597. And by other heraldic authorities a knight was accounted one among the "Nobiles Minores."

By the person introduced in Act III. Scene 2, where he tells King Edward,—

> "My gracious lord, Henry your foe is taken,
> And brought your prisoner to your palace gate;"

we may probably understand Sir James Harrington, whose servants captured the unhappy monarch during his retreat in the North, at Waddington Hall. Edward IV. bestowed on "Sir James Haryngton, Knight, for taking his great rebel Henry lately called Henry the Sixth, the castle, manor, and lordship of Thurland, and other lands in the counties of Lancaster, York and Westmoreland, which belonged to Richard Tunstall." The writ is dated July 29, 1465. RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

In the previous scene the "two keepers," who take the king, are mentioned by name, in the edition of 1623,—"*Enter Sinclo and Humfrey, with crosse-bowes in their hands;*" Holinshed, speaking of King Henry's arrest, says,—"he was taken of one Cantlow;" and in the *Paston Letters*, one of the persons who were with Queen Margaret in Scotland is mentioned as "Giles Senclowe." Sir William Cantlow was Sheriff of London in 1448, and died in 1462. WEEVER. SHAKSPEARE therefore seems to have had authority for one name at least of Henry's captors. Many critics however consider that "Sinclo



Boot of King Henry VI.

and Humfrey" are the names of actors belonging to SHAKSPEARE'S company.

The boots and gloves worn by Henry VI. during his retreat in the North were left by him at Bolton Hall, co. York, the seat of Sir Ralph Pudsey, when the ill-fated king, fearing detection, fled onwards to Waddington Hall. These relics, of tanned leather lined with deer-skin, are still preserved by Captain Pudsey Dawson, a descendant of Sir Ralph Pudsey. The king's leather pen-case was left behind at Waddington Hall, a seat of the Tempest family, and the relic now belongs to the Hon. Robert Curzon.

QUEEN MARGARET.

Probably no female ever passed through such scenes of alternate splendour and misery as Margaret of Anjou; but her joys may be said to have been exceeded in intensity by her griefs, and thus Voltaire speaks of her, as "the most unhappy wife, mother, and queen in Europe." George Chastellain, the Burgundian historian, who was personally known to Margaret in her exile, tells us,—"the sufferings she endured from hunger, cold, and poverty, had many times, she said, endangered her life quite as much as if she had fallen into the hands of her foes." She assured the Duchess of Bourbon that, "on one occasion King Henry, the little prince, and herself, were reduced to such abject misery and destitution, that for five days they had but one herring between the three, and not more bread than would have sufficed for one day's nourishment:"—CHASTELLAIN, who relates the incident of the robber affording protection to the fugitive queen and her son, as it was told to the historian by Margaret herself. SHAKSPEARE continues her in the next play, although she had left England for the last time before the death of Edward the Fourth.

LADY GREY, afterwards Queen to Edward IV.

ELIZABETH WOODVILE was the first subject raised to the throne of England, as the wife of the reigning sovereign. She was the eldest daughter of Richard Woodvile, Earl Rivers, and Jacqueline, widow of the Duke of Bedford, and

was born in 1437, at the family seat, Grafton, co. Northampton. Although Elizabeth Woodvile was some years older than Edward IV., it is evident that those writers who place her birth in 1431, forget that her mother's first husband, the Duke of Bedford, did not die until Sept. 14, 1435; and at her second marriage in the following year the Duchess Jacqueline was little more than seventeen years of age.

Elizabeth Woodvile was appointed a maid of honour to Queen Margaret, and married Sir John Grey, eldest son and heir of Edward, Lord Grey of Groby, by whom she had, with a daughter, ...two sons, who are characters in the next play. In this *Part* King Edward enquires of his future queen,—

"How many children hast thou, widow? tell me;"—

to which she replies,—

"Three, my most gracious lord."

The daughter probably died young, as no genealogist, within the Compiler's search, records anything of her.

Sir John Grey died Feb. 28, 1461, of wounds received in the second battle of St Alban's, Feb. 17; where he had the leading of Queen Margaret's cavalry; in the play however it is wrongly stated by King Edward,—

"in quarrel of the house of York
The worthy gentleman did lose his life."

This is so stated in *The True Tragedie*, where the knight is called "Sir Richard Gray," as he is, unfortunately, in many editions; Pope very correctly suggested his right style, "Sir John Grey."

Miss Strickland gives an interesting account of the first interview between the widow Grey and Edward IV. in Whittlebury Forest, near Grafton, where she waited with her two young sons, under a noble tree, still known as "the Queen's Oak," to urge the restitution of their father's lands at Bradgate. Elizabeth not only obtained her request, but also the hand of the King; their marriage was strongly opposed by his mother, the Duchess Cicely, "who letted it as much as in her lay" (HALL); and it gave great offence not only to the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, but also to Warwick, who deemed that if Edward intended to marry a subject, his eldest

daughter Isabel would have been a fitter choice. Edward did not declare his marriage publicly until Michaelmas day, 1464; his queen was crowned May 26, 1465. Miss Strickland says of her,—"the advancement of her own relations, and the depreciation of her husband's friends and family, were her chief objects." SHAKSPEARE, in this and the next play, describes the ill-will arising from her partiality, which in the end wrought so much evil to her race.

BONA, Sister to the French Queen.

The PRINCESS BONA, or Bonne of Savoy, was the third daughter of Louis, first Duke of Savoy; her eldest sister, Charlotte was the Queen of Louis XI. Mr T. P. Courtenay says,—"With one exception, however, of doubtful authority, there is no ground in contemporary historians, French or English, for Edward's suit to the lady Bona. It was probably taken from Polydore Vergil[1]." Dr Lingard rejects the story of Warwick being sent to ask for the hand of the Lady Bona, and says,—"to me the whole story appears a fiction." De Comines is silent on the subject, but SHAKSPEARE would find the hints for Warwick's mission in Grafton. In the play, Act III. Scene 3, lady Bona, in return for the scorn put upon her by Edward's marriage to Lady Grey, sends a message to that king,—

> "Tell him, in hope he'll prove a widower shortly,
> I'll wear the willow garland for his sake."

She however in 1468 married Galeazzo-Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, and died in 1485; one of their daughters, Mary, became the second wife of the Emperor Maximilian the First.

Among the persons mentioned in the course of this play, though not taking part in the action, is in the first scene the "Earl of Wiltshire," who was wounded by Montague. This nobleman was JAMES BUTLER, eldest son of James, fourth

[1] Polydore Vergil's history was commenced in 1505, and finished in 1517. This foreigner received letters of naturalization, 2 Henry VIII. Oct. 2, 1510, "sit indigena et ligeus noster." RYMER'S *Fœdera.*

Earl of Ormonde, whom he succeeded as fifth earl in 1452, but was created, in his father's lifetime, Earl of Wiltshire, 1449; he was also Lord Treasurer, and a K.G. A staunch Lancastrian, he was wounded at St Alban's, 1455, and being taken prisoner by the Yorkists at Towton, was beheaded May 1st, 1460.

The noble house of Butler has an illustrious pedigree. Henry the Second, in 1177, conferred the office, since hereditary in the family, of Chief Butler of Ireland, upon Theobald le Boteler, whose descendant Edmund was created Earl of Carrick in 1315, and his eldest son, James Butler, created Earl of Ormonde in 1328, married Eleanor, eldest daughter and co-heir of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, whose wife was the Princess Elizabeth, seventh daughter of Edward the First. The present Marquess of Ormonde is descended from the third Earl of Ormonde through his second son, Sir Richard Butler, who is an ancestor of the Duke of Wellington.

In the same scene Queen Margaret says,—

"Stern Falconbridge commands the narrow seas."

This would be meant for WILLIAM NEVILL, second son of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, by his second wife, Joan Beaufort, and created by Henry VI., in 1439, Baron Fauconberg, and a K.G. He was a great commander, and for his services at Towton, Edward IV. created him Earl of Kent, and Admiral of England; he died in 1462. Some commentators think that the person here intended is Thomas Nevill, base son of Lord Fauconberg, and who figures in history as one of the last adherents of the Lancastrian cause, under the name of the "Bastard Fauconberg," but it is evident that Queen Margaret speaks of one who did not belong to King Henry's side, as in the preceding line she also says, alluding to the opposite faction,—

"Warwick is chancellor, and the lord of Calais;"

that great noble being the nephew of Lord Fauconberg, and Calais, the important gate by which to enter France, was then held by Warwick as its captain, who being also Constable of Dover Castle, had thus the command of "the narrow seas," the Channel, his uncle being Admiral, and a Yorkist.

In the second scene the Duke of York directs his son,—

> "You, Edward, shall unto my Lord Cobham,
> With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise."

That nobleman was SIR EDWARD BROOKE, summoned to Parliament as Lord Cobham of Kent, from 1445 to 1460. He supported the cause of the house of York at St Alban's, and commanded their left wing at Northampton, 1469.

In Act III. Scene 3, a stage direction is found in the edition of 1623, which should be retained in all modern editions;—"*Enter Lewis the French King, his Sister Bona, his Admirall* call'd *Bourbon*," &c.; and this latter person is addressed by the French monarch as present,—

> "These soldiers shall be levied,
> And thou, Lord Bourbon, our high admiral,
> Shall waft them over with our royal fleet."

This personage was LOUIS, COUNT of ROUSSILLON, a natural son of Charles, Duke of Bourbon, whose father is the character in *King Henry V.*, John, Duke of Bourbon, taken prisoner at Agincourt. The Admiral Bourbon, who married Joan, natural daughter of Louis XI., bore for arms, France, a baton raguly *Gules*, debruised with a *bend sinister*.

In Act IV. Scene 3, King Edward, taken prisoner by Warwick, then in arms against him, is sent to Middleham Castle,—

> "See that forthwith Duke Edward be convey'd
> Unto my brother, Archbishop of York."

This prelate was GEORGE NEVILL, fourth son of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, to whom the castle belonged. At the attainder of the great Earl of Warwick, to whom the castle came, Edward IV. bestowed it upon his brother, Richard of Gloucester, whose son, Edward Prince of Wales was born there. The ruins of the place attest its former grandeur, the massive keep being still very fine, and commanding an extensive view.

KING RICHARD III.

Time of Action, from A.D. 1471 *to* 1485.

KING EDWARD THE FOURTH.

Although the death of Henry VI. did not take place till 1471, the reign of his fortunate rival has always dated from March 4, 1461, and no parliaments were summoned in the name of Henry VI. after that of Oct. 7, 1460.

By his queen, Elizabeth Woodvile, to whom he was married May 1, 1464, Edward the Fourth had three sons and seven daughters; the former were, 1. EDWARD, Prince of Wales, born Nov. 4, 1470; 2. RICHARD, Duke of York, born August 17, 1472; 3. GEORGE, Duke of Bedford, died an infant[1]. The daughters were, 1. ELIZABETH, afterwards queen to Henry VII., born Feb. 11, 1466; 2. MARY, born in 1467, died unmarried in 1482; 3. CICELY, born in 1468, who married first, John, Viscount Welles, K.G., and secondly, Sir John Kyme, but died without issue; 4. ANNE, born 1474, married Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, K.G., but left no surviving issue; 5. CATHERINE, born 1479, who married William Courtenay, Earl of Devon, their line ended in 1556; 6. BRIDGET, born 1480, took the veil, and became Abbess of Barking, she died in 1517; 7. MARGARET, born and died in 1482. The only descendants of Edward the

[1] The princes, Richard and George, were born at Shrewsbury, a town well affected to Edward IV.

Fourth and his queen Elizabeth Woodvile, spring from the marriage of their daughter Elizabeth of York with Henry the Seventh.

One of the artifices by which Gloster sought to prejudice the claims of his nephews was to urge their father's "contract with the Lady Lucy." George Bucke says that Elizabeth Lucy was the daughter of "one Wyat, of Southampton, a mean gentleman, if he were one," and the wife of "one Lucy, as mean a man as Wyat." By Elizabeth Lucy Edward IV. had a son, Arthur Plantagenet, who was created by Henry VII. in 1538, Viscount Lisle, and a K.G. about 1524. He died in 1541, a date which would make him 77 years old, supposing that his mother had really married the king before he became acquainted with Elizabeth Woodvile; but Lord Lisle is always called Edward's base son, and his royal arms were borne with the *baton sinister.*

The alleged marriage of Edward IV. to the Lady Eleanor Boteler, daughter of John Talbot, third Earl of Shrewsbury, rests only on the very suspicious evidence of Bishop Stillington (Bath and Wells), who stated that he performed the ceremony, "no person being present but they twain and he." But the Earl of Shrewsbury's only daughter was Anne Talbot, who married Thomas Boteler, Lord Sudeley, and she did not become a widow until his death in 1473, or nine years after Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Woodvile. Moreover Bishop Stillington did not speak of this secret marriage, until the death of Edward IV., or twenty years after its presumed occurrence. "This malicious prelate smothered his revenge in his heart near twenty years together." DE COMINES. His motive for making the assertion evidently was prompted by revenge, for he had been disgraced by Edward; he had also ambitious views, for he is said to have bargained with the Protector Gloster, that the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, when she should be reduced to the grade of a private gentlewoman, was to be given to his own base-born son, who perished miserably in France, according to De Comines.

King Edward IV. died April 9, 1483. In stature he resembled his ancestor, Lionel of Clarence, being nearly seven feet high, and De Comines says of his personal appearance,—"he was the most beautiful prince my eyes ever beheld."

Arms of Edward IV.—Quarterly *France* and *England.*

EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, afterwards King Edward V.
RICHARD DUKE OF YORK.

SHAKSPEARE follows the old chroniclers in describing the short career of these hapless young princes, after they fell into the hands of their uncle Gloster. In spite of the doubts entertained by Bucke, Carte, Horace Walpole, and some other modern writers, against the testimony of contemporaneous and powerful authorities, there is too much reason to believe that the young princes were—

> "by their uncle cozen'd
> Of comfort, kingdom, kindred, freedom, life."

Fabyan, who was Sheriff of London in 1493, speaking on the subject, says,—"In which passe tyme the prynce, or of ryght kynge Edwarde the V., with his broder the duke of Yorke, were put under suer kepynge within the Tower, in such wyse that they never came abrode after." No one ever ventured to personate the Prince of Wales, in after time, and the attempt of Perkin Warbeck to pass himself off as the Duke of York, was by his own confession an imposture, as it is regarded by Sir Thomas More, Lord Bacon, Fuller, Dugdale, and the older chroniclers, and among modern writers by Hume, Gibbon, Lingard, Sharon Turner, Nicolas, &c. Sir Walter Scott's opinion may be gathered from his lines in *Marmion*;—

> "James back'd the cause of that mock prince,
> Warbeck, that Flemish counterfeit,
> Who on the gibbet paid the cheat."

The death of the two princes is considered to have occurred June 22, 1483. Abroad the opinion also prevailed that they met their fate as described by SHAKSPEARE. The great contemporary chronicler, Philip de Comines, then attached to the Court of Louis XI., says—"Our king was presently informed of King Edward's death, but he still kept it secret, and expressed no manner of joy upon hearing the news of it. Not long after he received letters from the duke of Gloucester, who was made king, styled himself Richard III., and had barbarously murdered his two nephews." Collins, Gray, and Mason, the poets, men of great learning, and varied informa-

tion, held a similar belief as to the deaths of the princes. The testimony of Gray is very valuable; his brother-poet and biographer, Mason, says of him—"Perhaps he was the most learned man in Europe, he knew every branch of history..... and was a great antiquarian." It is also to be remarked that Gray was the intimate friend of Horace Walpole, whose "historic doubts" he did not share, at all events respecting the mode of deaths of Edward's sons.

The beautiful line in Tyrrell's description of the "gentle babes" in their last slumber—

"A book of prayers on their pillow lay,"—

is finely echoed by Thomas Heywood in his drama, *King Edward IV.*, where he makes the elder prince say to his brother—

"Then let us to our prayers, and go to bed."

This play, written in 1599, only two years after SHAKSPEARE'S *King Richard III.*, is another witness against that king.

But perhaps the strongest evidence of his crime is the fact that all the agents employed in it received great rewards, according to their station, for "the tyrannous and bloody deed;" Tyrrell was made Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall, and Sheriff of that county, Governor of Glamorganshire, and had several rich wardships. Brakenbury was "bribed to silence" by numerous manors belonging to Earl Rivers, and the Cheneys, and was made Steward of all the forests in Essex, Constable of Tonbridge Castle, &c. Even Tyrrell's brother had a grant of £40 *per annum*. SHARON TURNER. The rewards to the subordinates will be noticed hereafter.

GEORGE, DUKE OF CLARENCE.
A YOUNG SON OF CLARENCE.

GEORGE PLANTAGENET, Duke of Clarence, by his marriage, July 11, 1469, with the great co-heiress of the potent Earl of Warwick, ISABEL NEVILL, had a prospect of sharing a throne with her, as her father, the

"Setter-up and puller-down of kings,"

at one time avowed his intention of proclaiming his son-in-law

in place of Edward IV. The eldest child of this marriage, the "young son of Clarence," was EDWARD PLANTAGENET, the unfortunate Earl of Warwick, imprisoned by Henry VII., and beheaded, through his jealous fear, Nov. 21, 1499: he was born in 1470, on board ship, whilst off the coast of France; a second child, the "young daughter of Clarence," MARGARET PLANTAGENET, will be noticed hereafter. According to Sandford, two other children, a son and a daughter, died in their infancy. This son, Richard, was born in Tewkesbury monastery.

The Duke of Clarence lost his wife Isabel, Dec. 12, 1476, and her death had a great effect upon his mind. Miss Strickland states that he gave way to intemperance to drown his grief, and suggests that "he was the victim of his own frailty," when the butt of his favourite malmsey was placed in his prison-cell. His death is supposed to have occurred Feb. 18, 1477. DUGDALE. In the play, Act I. Scene 4, Clarence is made to allude to the Duchess Isabel as if she survived him, when just before his death he offers up a prayer to heaven—

"O spare my guiltless wife, and my poor children!"

Arms of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, K.G.— Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND, a label *Argent*, on each point a canton *Gules*. *Garter Plate.*

RICHARD, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, afterwards King Richard III.

SHAKSPEARE has been accused of having drawn the character of this remarkable prince under the influence of Lancastrian prejudices. Such a charge might be worth something if the Poet stood alone, whereas he has only followed the universal opinion, formed both at home and abroad, long before his time, of the character of the Usurper, for even his modern apologists must yield him that title. SHAKSPEARE also had the advantage of having been able to consult a contemporary authority, who drew Richard in person as well as in mind. John Rous, antiquary, painter, and chronicler, who was a chauntry priest in the household of the great Earl of Warwick, has given us Richard's actual portrait, and has also

described his person in Latin; "the Rous Roll" is preserved in the College of Arms[1]. In it he says of Richard, "he was of small stature, having a short face, shoulders of unequal height, the right being the higher." Sir Thomas More, who seems to have gained his information from Cardinal Morton, in whose household he was brought up, describes Richard—"his face was hard-favoured, or warly." Hall says of him—"He was little of stature, evil-featured of limbs, crook-backed," &c. In the two early portraits of Richard III. belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, he is depicted as a harsh-featured man, with a forbidding countenance.

But if the Poet, in his masterly sketch, has shown Richard as entirely without scruples in clearing away all obstacles which stood between him and a crown, he has done ample justice to his subtle wit, his great eloquence, his vigorous intellect, and his intrepid courage; and the description of his conduct at Bosworth Field,—

> "The king enacts more wonders than a man,
> Daring an opposite to every danger,"—

agrees with what Speed says of him—"he obtained more honour in this his two hours' fight than he had gained by all the actions of his whole life." His personal encounter with his rival—

> "Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death,"

is given by Hall, who also states that Richard slew Sir William Brandon.

The language of Sir Thomas More, that Richard, after the murder of his nephews, "never had quiet in his mind,"—and also of the old writers, Polydore Vergil, Croyland Chronicle, Hall, &c., that the night before the battle, "he had a dreadful and terrible dream," has been expanded by SHAKSPEARE into the magnificent tent scene, wherein the ghosts of Richard's many victims appear to him and to his rival, bidding one to "despair and die," but speaking of "success and happy victory" to the other.

[1] Fuller says of John Rous,—"He was as good with the *Pensill* as the *Pen*, and could *draw* persons as well as *describe* them, as appears by lively *Pictures* limned with his own hand. He died a very aged man, anno Domini 1491." *Worthies.*

Besides the Prince of Wales, his son by Anne of Warwick, Richard III. had two, if not three illegitimate children. John of *Gloucester*, or as he was sometimes called, John of *Pomfret*, was knighted by him at his second coronation at York, 1483, and was appointed Governor of Calais, Captain of Guisnes and Hammes Castles, under the style of "our beloved son, John of Gloucester;" writ dated March 11, 1485. RYMER'S *Fœdera*. Nothing certain is known of him after his father's death, and it is presumed that he changed his name for safety.

Richard's only daughter is styled "Dame Katherine Plantagenet" in a deed of settlement by which he agreed to defray the expenses of her marriage with William Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke, and to endow her with 400 marks a year. She however died before the union could take place. SANDFORD.

Another son, called Richard Plantagenet, is the subject of the romantic story of his working as a mason's labourer when Eastwell House, in Kent, was being built by Sir Thomas Moyle, whose eldest daughter Katherine married Sir Thomas Finch, ancestor of the present Earl of Winchelsea, of Eastwell Park. Young Richard confided to Sir Thomas Moyle the secret of his birth, stating that after the battle of Bosworth, which he had witnessed at a distance, he hastened to London, and apprenticed himself to a mason. In the parish Register of Eastwell the entry still exists,—"*sub anno Domini* 1550 Rychard Plantagenet was buried the XXII day of Decembre anno dī supra."

Arms of King Richard III.—In the early scenes he would have the arms, as already given, as Duke of Gloucester; afterwards, when king, Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND.

HENRY, EARL OF RICHMOND, afterwards King Henry VII.

This "pretty lad" of the preceding play, born July 26, 1456[1], in Pembroke Castle, was about fourteen years of age

[1] This date, as given by his mother, answers to St Anne's Day, and is so stated as that of Henry's birth in Howard's Collection of Letters; other authorities make him a posthumous child, stating that he was born January 21, 1457. BERNARD ANDREAS. The latter date is St Agnes' Day, which may have

when he took refuge with his uncle Jaspar Tudor at the court of Francis II., Duke of Bretagne, where he remained for nearly fourteen years. King Richard speaks of him as—

"A paltry fellow,
Long kept in Bretagne at our mother's cost[1];"

probably the text should be at "his mother's cost," as it is not likely that it would be at that of the Duchess Cicely.

Although it was through the avowed prospect of his union with Elizabeth of York that Richmond was chiefly indebted to obtaining the throne, he took care to be crowned, Oct. 30, 1485, before his marriage, which was solemnized January 18, 1486, Cardinal Bourchier, a lineal descendant of Edward III., joining the hands of the heirs of the White and Red Roses, or as the Poet calls them,

"The true succeeders of each royal house,"

and thus putting an end to the desolating war, which had been carried on under those innocent emblems for thirty years, and had made—

"poor England weep in streams of blood."

The children of this auspicious marriage were three sons, and four daughters: 1. ARTHUR, born Sept. 20, 1486, died April 2, 1502; 2. HENRY, afterwards king, born June 28, 1491; 3. EDMUND, born in 1499, died in 1500. The daughters were: 1. MARGARET TUDOR, who became the queen of James IV., King of Scots; from which union descended James the First of Great Britain; 2. ELIZABETH, born 1492, died 1495; 3. MARY TUDOR, born May 1498, who married first, in 1514, Louis XII., King of France, and secondly Charles Brandon, the "Duke of Suffolk" in the next

been by mistake set down instead of St Anne's Day. As, however, Henry Tudor is generally said to have been about fifteen weeks old when his father died, Nov. 4, 1456, St Anne's Day best agrees with that reckoning, whilst his mother's evidence must be taken as conclusive.

[1] Mr Capell's suggestion to read "at our brother's cost," is justified by the fact that Edward IV. paid a pension to the Duke of Bretagne to detain the Earl of Richmond in safe custody. It should, however, be stated, that Holinshed's language agrees with the usual reading, for he makes Richard call his rival "a Welch milk-sop..... brought up by my mother's means and mine, like a captive in a close cage, in the court of Francis, duke of Britain."

play; 4. CATHERINE, born Feb. 2, 1502, died an infant. Nine days after the birth of this last daughter, the Queen herself expired on her birthday, Feb. 11, 1502. Henry VII. died April 21, 1509, and was buried with his consort in the magnificent Chapel, which bears his name, attached to the east end of Westminster Abbey.

Arms of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond.—Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND, a border of *Azure* charged with eight martlets *Or*.

CARDINAL BOURCHIER, Archbishop of Canterbury.

This prelate was THOMAS BOURCHIER, second son of William Bourchier, Earl of Eu, by his wife ANNE PLANTAGENET, daughter and eventually sole heir of Thomas of *Woodstock*, youngest son of Edward the Third. The lady Anne Plantagenet was the widow of Edmund Stafford, fifth Earl of Stafford, K.G., who was slain at Shrewsbury. Her mother, Eleanor de Bohun, is the "Duchess of Gloucester" in *King Richard II.* Thomas Bourchier was appointed to the see of Worcester in 1434, translated to Ely in 1443, and promoted to Canterbury in 1454. He was Lord Chancellor in 1445, and again in 1460; Cardinal of St Cyriacus in 1464. He died in 1486, very soon after he had united Henry VII. to Elizabeth of York. He had crowned three kings, namely, Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., and the queens of the two first named kings.

Arms of Cardinal Bourchier.—Quarterly, 1 and 4, *Argent* a cross engrailed *Gules* between four water-budgets *Sable*, for BOURCHIER; 2 and 3, *Gules* semée of billets a fesse *Or*, for LOUVAIN; the prelate's grandfather, William Bourchier, having married Alianor, daughter and heir of Sir John Louvain, Knight.

THOMAS ROTHERAM, Archbishop of York.

According to some writers the real name of this prelate was SCOT, but being born in 1423 at Rotheram, co. York, where he afterwards founded a College, he is said to have

assumed the name of his birth-place, in lieu of his own patronymic. But in Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* he is called "the son of Sir Thomas Rotheram, Knight, and Alice his wife." Thomas Rotheram was "a lance" in the retinue of Lord Ros at Agincourt (NICOLAS), and he was probably the bishop's father. The prelate, by his will, bequeathed to his brother's eldest son, Sir Thomas Rotheram, several manors in the counties of Bedford, Herts, and Bucks. This prelate was at first Rector of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, Provost of Beverley, Bishop of Rochester in 1460, translated to Lincoln in 1472, and promoted to York in 1480. He was made Lord Chancellor in 1475, and is considered by Lord Campbell to have been "the greatest equity lawyer of the day." The Pope made him "Cardinal of St^e^ Cecilia" about 1480. He died at Cawood Castle, co. York, May 29, 1500, at the age of 76.

Arms of the Archbishop of York.—Some writers describe them, *Argent* three Catherine-wheels *Sable*, within a border engrailed *Gules*, which are those of SCOT. But in the Public Library, at Cambridge University, of which he was for several years chancellor, and a great benefactor, his ARMS, placed inside the book-covers, are, *Vert* three Roebucks trippant *Or*, which are those of ROTHERAM.

JOHN MORTON, Bishop of Ely.

This eminent person, though known to some readers of SHAKSPEARE chiefly for the "good strawberries" in his garden in Holborn, asked for by Gloster, bore a very prominent part in the events of five reigns. He was the eldest son of Richard Morton, a gentleman of good family, at Milborne St Andrew, co. Dorset, where he was born in 1410; he became in succession a Prebendary of Salisbury, Lincoln, St. Paul's, and York; Bishop of Ely in 1478, and translated to Canterbury in 1486. He was afterwards Master of the Rolls, and Lord Chancellor in 1487. He was made "Cardinal of St Anastasius" in 1493, and died in October 1500, at the age of ninety years. His highest honours in Church and State were the rewards of the important services he had rendered to Henry VII., to whose marriage with the heiress of the House

of York he was so greatly instrumental[1]. King Richard alludes to the dread he had of the bishop's influence, when he learns of his flight to his rival—

> "Ely with Richmond troubles me more near,
> Than Buckingham and his rash-levied strength."

Some writers consider that Cardinal Morton is the author of the History of Richard III., written in Latin, and which was translated by Sir Thomas More. It is from this work that the account of Richard has been taken by succeeding chroniclers, to whom the Poet is indebted for the materials of his grand drama, which has furnished the popular notion of Richard's character, down to the present day, despite the "historic doubts" of later authors. Bishop Morton had been held in great esteem by Henry VI., and went into exile with Queen Margaret; yet notwithstanding his well-known Lancastrian inclinations he was much respected by Edward IV., who appointed him to be one of the executors to his will; and even Gloster, when Lord Protector, was anxious to conciliate his good-will. Sir Thomas More, who was twenty years old at the Cardinal's death, says of him, "the excellent talents with which nature had furnished him were improved by study and discipline." Fuller describes him as "magnificent in his buildings." In conjunction with Prior Goldstone, Archbishop Morton erected the noble central tower of his cathedral at Canterbury, whereon is sculptured the rebus of his name, the letters "M O R" and "a tun." He built largely at the mansions of the see, at Charing, in Kent, and Lambeth.

The descendants of the Archbishop's brother, Richard Morton, Sheriff co. Dorset, 22 Edward IV., became baronets, and continued to reside at Milborne St Andrew, until the death of Sir John Morton, Bart. in 1698, when the estates came to the family of Pleydell, by the marriage of his only daughter and heir, Ann Morton, to Edmund Pleydell, M.P.

Arms of John Morton, Bishop of Ely.—Quarterly *Gules* and *Ermine*, in the sinister chief and dexter base a goat's head erased *Argent*, attired *Or*.

[1] Two other persons were active agents in promoting this alliance, namely, Reginald Bray, afterwards a K.G., steward to the Countess of Richmond, and Dr Lewis, a Welch physician, who carried the proposals to Queen Elizabeth Woodvile.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

This character is HENRY STAFFORD, who became second duke at the death of his grandfather in 1460, his father Humphrey Stafford having died *vitâ patris*. Devoting himself to the interests of the Duke of Gloster, it was mainly by Buckingham's aid that the Protector was raised to the throne, as his ghost says in the tent-scene,—

> "The first was I that help'd thee to the crown."

Richard rewarded his "Cousin of Buckingham" for his important service by making him Constable of England, and Chamberlain of North and South Wales; he had become a K.G. in the reign of Edward IV. As the direct descendant of Humphrey de Bohun, Buckingham reminds King Richard to bestow upon him,—

> "The earldom of Hereford, and the moveables,
> Which you have promisèd I shall possess."

But though he obtained the earldom and other honours, it does not appear that he enjoyed "the moveables," which were of great value; and displeased at not being better rewarded, and becoming, through the fate of Hastings, fearful for his own head, he resolved to join the Earl of Richmond's enterprize; but deserted by his "rash-levied strength," and his disguise betrayed by his servant, the duke was delivered up to Richard, by whose orders he was beheaded at Salisbury, on "All-Souls' day," Nov. 1, 1483[1]. The "wretch," as he is called in the next play, who betrayed his noble master, was rewarded by "usurping Richard," out of the duke's estates;—the manor and lordship of Yalding, in Kent, "late belonging to our great rebel and traitor, the Duke of Buckingham," were granted by the king, as he states in the writ, "to our well-beloved Raufe Banastre." HARLEIAN MSS.

By his wife, Catherine Woodvile, sixth daughter of Richard, Earl Rivers, the duke had two sons, and two daughters; the eldest son, EDWARD STAFFORD, is the "Duke of Buckingham" in the next play; the second son, Henry Stafford, was created Earl of Wiltshire by Henry VIII. in 1509, but died

[1] Under "Brecknockshire," Fuller, in his *Worthies*, says,—"The sheriff seized this Duke in Shropshire, where he was digging a ditch in disguise."

without issue in 1523. Of the daughters, Elizabeth Stafford married Robert Ratcliffe, second Lord Fitzwalter of that name; and Anne Stafford was the wife, first of Sir Walter Herbert, and secondly of George Hastings, first Earl of Huntingdon. Grafton states that it was agreed between Gloster, when Protector, and Buckingham, that the former's son, afterwards Prince of Wales, should espouse one of the duke's daughters. Through his mother, a Margaret Beaufort, Buckingham, as well as Henry Tudor, son of another Margaret Beaufort, represented the claims, such as they were, of the House of Lancaster, and this descent probably excited the king's jealous suspicion of "high-reaching Buckingham," who moreover was the lineal representative of Thomas of *Woodstock*.

Arms of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, K.G.—Or a chevron *Gules*.

DUKE OF NORFOLK.

This is the first time that a member of the house of Howard, destined to take the highest rank next to princes of the blood, is brought upon the scene in one of SHAKSPEARE'S plays. The father of this character was Sir Robert Howard, a zealous Lancastrian, who married the great heiress, Margaret Mowbray, eldest daughter of the banished Duke of Norfolk in *King Richard II.* The male line of the ancient Mowbrays having become extinct in 1475, King Richard III. rewarded the services of JOHN HOWARD, the character in this play, only son of Sir Robert and Margaret Howard, by creating him Duke of Norfolk, June 28, 1483[1], and Earl Marshal of England, honours which have remained in the family of Howard to the present day. John Howard had been summoned, for his support of the House of York, to Parliament, as Baron Howard, in 1470, by Edward IV., who made him a K.G., Treasurer of his household, Constable of the Tower,

[1] This date is well worthy of remark, as it was only six days after the time which is usually given for the death (with his brother) of Edward the Fourth's second son, Richard, Duke of York, who was also Duke of Norfolk. Was not King Richard therefore certain that his nephew was no more before he raised his own friend to that young prince's dignity? Richard was founder of the Heralds' College.

and Admiral of England. He commanded the van of Richard's army at Bosworth, where he was killed by an arrow from one of Richmond's archers. In the battle Norfolk and the Earl of Oxford fought hand to hand; the latter was wounded in the left arm, but in return cleft the beaver from Norfolk's helmet, whose face being thus exposed was struck by an arrow, as before stated. In his poem, *Bosworth Field*, Sir John Beaumont says,—

> "Here valiant Oxford and fierce Norfolke meete,
> And with their speares each other rudely greete."

The noble Howard thus shared the fate of his royal master, whom he would not desert, despite the warning notice placed on his gate, the night before the battle,—

> "Jacke of Norffolke, be not so bolde,
> For Dykon thy maister is bought and solde."

The Duke of Norfolk was twice married; by his first wife, CATHARINE MOLINES, daughter of William, fourth Lord Molines, he had one son, the next character, and four daughters, viz. 1. Anne Howard, wife of Sir Edmund Gorges, Knight; 2. Isabel Howard, married to Sir Robert Stonor, Knight; 3. Jane Howard, to John Timperley, of Kintlesham, co. Suffolk; 4. Margaret Howard, to Sir John Wyndham, of Felbrigg, ancestor of the Earls of Egremont.

The duke's second wife was Margaret, daughter of Sir John Chedworth, Knight, by whom he had a daughter, Catherine Howard, who married John Bourchier, second Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, and their descendant is the present Lord Berners, Henry William Wilson, 1865, who in virtue of his royal and noble ancestry bears for Arms, Quarterly of six, viz. 1. WILSON; 2. KNEVET; 3. BOURCHIER; 4. FRANCE and ENGLAND, for Thomas of *Woodstock;* 5. BERNERS; 6. WILSON.

Arms of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, K.G.—Gules a bend between six cross-croslets fitchée *Argent.*

EARL OF SURREY.

This personage is the celebrated THOMAS HOWARD, who was created by Richard III. Earl of Surrey, on the day that

his father was made Duke of Norfolk. He held one of the chief commands of Richard's army, with his noble father; the king says,—

> "John Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Earl of Surrey,
> Shall have the leading of the foot and horse."

Surrey behaved with signal gallantry; thus Sir John Beaumont records his valour, in his *Bosworth Field*,—

> "Young Howard single with an army fights."

Attempting to avenge his father's death Surrey was hemmed in by his foes; in coming to his rescue, Sir Richard Clarendon, and Sir William Conyers, Knights, were slain, and Surrey, after fighting until he was faint, yielded his sword to a noble enemy, Sir Gilbert Talbot[1]. He was attainted by Henry VII., and imprisoned in the Tower for three years, but was then released, and restored to his title of Surrey in 1489. His great renown arises from his achievement at Flodden, Sept. 9, 1513, where he commanded the English forces against James IV., the chivalrous King of Scots, who lost his life on that disastrous field, with the flower of his nobility. For this important victory Henry VIII. restored Surrey to his father's rank, as Duke of Norfolk, Feb. 1, 1514, and gave him the honourable augmentation to his paternal coat, which has been ever since borne by his descendants. Surrey, who was made a K.G. by King Richard, is a character in the next play as "Duke of Norfolk."

Arms of Thomas Howard, K.G.—Gules on a bend between six cross-croslets fitchée *Argent, an escutcheon charged with a demi-lion rampant pierced through the mouth with an arrow, within a double tressure flory counter-flory.* These Arms are herein described as Thomas Howard became duke before the next play begins, but in this drama he would only bear his father's arms with a label.

[1] Sir Gilbert Talbot, afterwards a K.G., led the right wing of Richmond's army; the left was commanded by Sir John Savage, also a K.G. in the reign of Henry VII. The van-guard of archers was under the Earl of Oxford, and the Earl of Richmond was in the main body with his experienced general, his uncle, Jaspar Tudor.

EARL RIVERS.

This most accomplished knight, and learned nobleman, under whose auspices Caxton produced the first book printed in England, *The Game of Chess*[1], was ANTHONY WOODVILE, eldest brother to the queen of Edward IV., who made him a K.G., gave him a grant *in tail* of the Isle of Wight, appointed him Chief Butler of England, and Governor to his son, the Prince of Wales. As one of the faithful friends, as also being uncle to the young princes, Earl Rivers was looked upon with great dislike by the Duke of Gloster, who scornfully styles him "that good man of worship;" and at the death of King Edward, Rivers was seized at Northampton, according to some writers, by Richard's orders, and beheaded at Pontefract, as noticed in Act III. Scene 3, June 13th, 1483. Anthony Woodvile's first wife was the heiress of Lord Scales, as mentioned in the last play; and he married secondly, Mary, daughter and heir of Henry Fitz-Lewis; but had no issue by either wife.

A line occurs in some early copies, Act II. Scene 1, which is very properly omitted in modern editions;—the Duke of Gloucester, desiring "true peace" of his supposed enemies, says,—

> "Of you, Lord Rivers, and Lord Grey, of you,
> *Of you, Lord Woodvill, and Lord Scales of you;*"—

but the last two names belong to the Lord Rivers of the preceding line.

Arms of Anthony Woodvile, Earl Rivers, Lord Scales, K.G.—As given in the preceding play.

MARQUIS OF DORSET.

This personage was THOMAS GREY, eldest son of Elizabeth Woodvile's first marriage, and created by Edward IV. in 1471, Earl of Huntingdon, and in 1475, Marquess of Dorset, and K.G. After the death of King Edward, Dorset, attainted by Richard III., escaped to the Earl of Richmond, and assist-

[1] The second work printed by Caxton was, *The Dictes and Sayeings of the Philosophers, translated out of French by Antone Erle Ryvyers.* Folio, 1477.

ed in raising him to the throne. He died in 1501, having had by his wife, Cicely, daughter and heir of William Bonvile, Lord Harington, three sons, and seven daughters. This marriage is alluded to in the preceding play, where Clarence reproaches Edward IV. with lack of brotherhood ;—

> "Or else you would not have bestow'd the heir
> Of the Lord Bonville on your new wife's son,
> And leave your brothers to go speed elsewhere."

The eldest son was Thomas Grey, second Marquess of Dorset (died 1530), whose son Henry Grey, made Duke of Suffolk in 1551, married the lady Frances Brandon, a granddaughter of Henry VII., and their daughter, the amiable Lady JANE GREY, was Queen of England for a few days, in pursuance of the patent of succession, obtained from Edward VI., in his last hours of illness, by her father-in-law, Dudley. Several legal documents are dated "in the first year of Jane, Queen of England," who was proclaimed on the 10th of July, 1553.

Arms of Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, K.G.—Barry of six *Argent* and *Azure* three torteauxes in chief, a label *Ermine.* GREY OF GROBY.

LORD GREY.

This character, sometimes styled the "Lord Richard Grey," was strictly speaking only of knightly degree, Sir RICHARD GREY, youngest son of Elizabeth Woodvile and Sir John Grey. After the death of Edward IV. it was decided that his eldest son, who was immediately proclaimed as Edward V. at Ludlow Castle, where he then was, should be brought to London, Buckingham advising—

> "that with some little train
> Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fetch'd,
> Hither to London, to be crown'd our king."

On their arrival at Northampton, Lord Rivers sent forward the young prince under the care of Sir Richard Grey, but being overtaken at Stony-Stratford[1] by the Protector, that

[1] In Act II. Scene 4, Archbishop Rotheram says,—

> "Last night, I hear, they lay at Northampton,
> At Stony-Stratford will they be to-night,
> To-morrow, or next day, they will be here."

hypocritical personage, after supping in apparent friendship with Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan, had them arrested, and sent to prison, for no fault but their fidelity to their late master's children, a heinous crime in Richard's eyes. Ratcliffe soon after received his orders to have them executed without process or judgment, and they were beheaded at Pontefract,—

"Fatal and ominous to noble peers,"

Ratcliffe carrying out the sentence with equal promptitude and rudeness, June 13th, 1483.

"The Duke of Gloster sent the Lord Rivers, the Lord Richard (Grey), Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawte, into the north parts, into divers prisons; but at last all came to Pomfret, where they all four were beheaded without judgment." HALL. Sir Richard Hawte had been Lieutenant of the Tower, and Sheriff 18 and 22 Edward IV., of Kent, where, at Waddenhall, his family had been seated from the time of Richard II.

Arms of Sir Richard Grey.—Those of his brother, the Marquess of Dorset, a crescent for difference.

EARL OF OXFORD.

This is the character in the preceding play, JOHN DE VERE, thirteenth Earl of Oxford. After a captivity of twelve years in Hammes Castle, Picardy, that place was delivered up by its captain, Sir James Blount, to the Earl of Richmond, with whom Oxford returned to England, becoming his most important adherent and general, commanding his vanguard at Bosworth. Henry VII. rewarded his eminent services with many honours; among them was the post of Constable of the Tower, and the distinction of K.G. He commanded in the same reign against the rebels under Lambert Simnel, and defeated Lord Audley at Blackheath.

This reading, which agrees with history, is that of the quartos, and has been adopted by many editors; in the folio of 1623 the young king is said to have arrived first at Stony-Stratford, intending to rest the next night at Northampton, quite confounding the relative situation of the two places towards London.

"Oxford was the most important adherent whom Richmond could possibly have obtained, not only because of his high nobility, and experience in war, but because of his character, and constant fidelity to the House of Lancaster." SOUTHEY.

The Earl of Oxford married Margaret Nevill, sixth daughter of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, by whom he had a son, John de Vere, who died young, in his father's life-time. The earl died in 1513, without surviving issue, and was succeeded in the hereditary honours of the family by his nephew, John de Vere, as fourteenth Earl of Oxford, son of Sir George de Vere, by his wife Margaret, daughter of William Stafford.

Arms of John Vere, Earl of Oxford, K.G.—Quarterly *Gules* and *Or*, in the first quarter a mullet *Argent.*

LORD HASTINGS.

Sir WILLIAM HASTINGS, called by Stow "a good knight and gentle, but somewhat dissolute of living," was the son of Sir Leonard Hastings, Knight, [whose ancestor took the name, soon after the Conquest, from one of the Cinque Ports], by his wife, Alice, daughter of Lord Camoys. William Hastings was created Lord Hastings of Ashby de-la-Zouch, co. Leicester, 1 Edward IV., 1461, who made him in the next year Master of the Mint; appointed him Steward of several royal manors, Captain of Calais, Chamberlain of North Wales, and Chester, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household, K.G. Although Hastings was a bitter foe to the Woodviles, a feeling which is shown in the play, by the dying king insisting upon a reconciliation,—

> "Rivers, and Hastings, take each other's hand,
> Dissemble not your hatred, swear your love[1],"

he was firmly attached to the children of Edward IV., and Gloucester sought in vain to shake his fidelity; thus when sounded by Catesby to sanction Richard's wearing "the garland of the realm," he loyally answers,—

[1] In the folio of 1623 the text reads,—

"Dorset and Rivers, take each other's hand,"—

but there was no enmity between these noble kinsmen, and in answer to the king's request it is Hastings who proffers his love to Rivers, as we find in modern readings.

" But, that I'll give my voice on Richard's side,
To bar my master's heirs in true descent,
God knows, I will not do it, to the death."

Gloucester therefore determined to remove him as an obstacle to his designs, and SHAKSPEARE closely follows history in the scenes in which Hastings appears; and the chronicler, Hall, relates that "he made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered." This great noble was beheaded on Tower Hill, June 13, 1483, and was buried at Windsor, by the side of his royal friend, Edward IV.

In most editions the stage direction in Act III. Scene 5, is—"*Enter Lovell and Ratcliffe with Hastings' head.*" Mr Theobald properly remarks, that on the very same day Ratcliffe was carrying out at Pontefract the execution of Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey, to whose fate Lord Hastings himself alludes, telling his herald,—

" This day those enemies are put to death."

The first Quarto has,—"*Enter Catesby with Hast. head.*" This agrees with the ungrateful conduct of that man towards his early benefactor, and with his whole language in the play, as well as with Gloster's peremptory order for the beheading of Hastings,—

" Lovel, and Catesby, look that it be done;"

as in the Quarto and some modern editions.

By his wife, Catherine Nevill, relict of William Lord Bonvile of Harington, K.G., fifth daughter of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Hastings left a son, Edward, who became second Lord Hastings of Ashby de-la-Zouch, and married Mary, only daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Hungerford, fourth Lord Hungerford, and their eldest son, George Hastings, third baron, was created Earl of Huntingdon, in 1529, and is ancestor of the present earl, and also of the Marquess of Hastings, who holds the baronies of Hungerford, Botreaux, and Molines, by virtue of his descent from Mary Hungerford and Edward Hastings. SHAKSPEARE has been misled in ascribing the marriage of this great heiress to the father instead of the son; when after a patriotic sentiment uttered by Lord Hastings, Clarence observes, 3 *King Henry VI.*, Act IV. Scene 1;—

"For this one speech Lord Hastings well deserves,
To have the heir of the Lord Hungerford."

Robert, third Lord Hungerford, the faithful adherent of Henry VI., married Alianor, daughter and heir of William, fifth and last Lord Molines, and his father, Robert, second Lord Hungerford, married a great heiress, Mary, only daughter of William Lord Botreaux, and thus three baronies with their estates centred in the wife of Edward Hastings.

William, Lord Hastings, "better known as one of Shakspeare's characters than by his historical fame," rebuilt the magnificent Castle of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, "of which the stately ruins still interest the traveller." Sir WALTER SCOTT, *Ivanhoe.* Like other great nobles, Lord Hastings had "a poursuivant of his own, called Hastings:" HALL, who describes the meeting, which is given in Act III. Scene 2; and also that with the "Priest," who is addressed by Hastings as "good Sir John," and who was probably his chaplain, from the expression,—

"I am in debt for your last exercise."

Arms of William, Lord Hastings, K.G.—Argent a maunch *Sable.*

LORD STANLEY.

This eminent person, THOMAS STANLEY, is the elder brother of Sir John Stanley in the *Second Part of King Henry VI.* (where a memoir of the ancestry of the family will be found), and also of Sir William Stanley, K.G., who figures in the *Third Part.* Thomas Stanley succeeded his father, in 1458, as second baron; he was Steward of the Household to Edward IV., and also to Richard III., who made him a K.G. and Constable of England. Lord Stanley was present at the council held in the Tower, on the memorable Friday, June 13, 1483, given in Act III. Scene 4, where Hastings was seized, and in the tumult Stanley narrowly escaped death. "One let flie at the lord Stanley, which shronke at the stroke, and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth, for so shortlie as he shranke, yet ranne the bloud about his eares." Sir THOMAS MORE. On this occasion Stanley was imprisoned in the Tower, together with the Bishops

Rotheram and Morton, but was released on his son, George Stanley, being given up as a hostage for his fidelity to King Richard. This captivity is alluded to in the play more than once, and the fear lest his son might be beheaded, according to Richard's threat, kept back the father from openly declaring for Richmond until the latest moment, at Bosworth, when his brother, Sir William Stanley, coming in opportunely with his tall men of Cheshire, turned the tide of battle, which had been well nigh won by the desperate valour of the intrepid Richard, whose crown, *full of dents*, found in a hawthorn-bush, after the fight, was set on the Earl of Richmond's head, by Lord Stanley, who was created, a few weeks after the victory, by Henry VII., Oct. 27, 1485, Earl of Derby, and Lord High Steward. In the play, SHAKSPEARE, who like other writers was not particular in applying correct terms of relationship, makes Richmond speak of Stanley as his "noble father-in-law," whereas he was step-son to him, and became son-in-law to Edward IV. at his marriage with Elizabeth of York. The "crown in a hawthorn-bush," was adopted as a cognizance by Henry VII.

By his first wife, Eleanor Nevill, sister, not daughter, as sometimes stated, of the great king-making Warwick, Thomas Stanley had a daughter, Margaret, married to Sir John Osbaldeston, and three sons, 1. GEORGE STANLEY; 2. Sir Edward Stanley, and 3. James Stanley, Bishop of Ely in 1506. The second son, Sir Edward, commanded the left wing of Lord Surrey's army at Flodden, where the day had been nearly lost to the English but for the vigorous assault of Stanley with his archers against the Scots,—

> "Let Stanley charge with spur of fire,
> With Chester charge, and Lancashire."
>
> *Marmion*, Canto VI. St. XXIX.

For this well-timed service Sir Edward Stanley was created by Henry VIII. in 1415, Lord Monteagle, and a K.G.

The eldest son, alluded to in the play as "tender George," and who narrowly escaped the axe, was a K.B. in the reign of Edward IV. and became a K.G. in that of Henry VII. He distinguished himself at the battle of Stoke, 1487, and having married Joan le Strange, only daughter and heir of John, eighth Lord Strange of Knockyn (a barony by writ, of

1299), was in her right summoned to Parliament as Lord Strange; he died before his father, viz. Nov. 9, 1504, leaving a son, Thomas, who became second Earl of Derby; but it is from Lord Strange's second son, Sir James Stanley, that the present Lord Derby is descended, the male line of the second earl having ceased in James, tenth earl, in 1735.

The character in this play married secondly the mother of Henry VII., Margaret Beaufort, the celebrated Countess of Richmond, then the widow of Sir Henry Stafford. She survived the Earl of Derby, who died Nov. 9, 1505, and also her royal son, her death taking place July 3, 1509. She was buried in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, where is her effigy, carved by Torregiano, on a raised tomb of black marble, with a Latin epitaph from the pen of Erasmus. This noble and pious lady is but slightly alluded to by SHAKSPEARE, but her name will always be kept in remembrance through her endowments of Christ's College, and St John's College, Cambridge, and the "Lady Margaret Professorship," established by her munificence at each University.

Arms of Thomas, Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, K.G.—Argent on a bend *Azure* three bucks' heads caboshed *Or.*

LORD LOVEL.

This staunch supporter of King Richard was Sir FRANCIS LOVEL, ninth and last Baron Lovel of Tichmersh, co. Northampton, and created Viscount Lovel, Jan. 4, 1483. King Richard made him his Chamberlain, Constable of Wallingford Castle, Chief Butler of England, and a K.G. He escaped from the field of Bosworth, and taking part in Lambert Simnel's affair was present at the battle of Stoke, 1487; and while some writers assert that he was there slain, others state that he made his escape, and took refuge in a secret vault at his manor-house, Minster-Lovel, co. Oxford, where a skeleton, presumed to be his, was found about the year 1708, with remnants of jars, &c. as if he had been starved to death.

He is one of the persons alluded to in the lines which William Collingbourne, a gentleman of family, sheriff co. Dorset, 16 Edward IV., posted on the church-door of Colling-

bourne-Ducis, co. Wilts. He was executed for the lampoon by Gloster.

"The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel our Dog,
Doe rule all England, under the Hog.
The crooke backt boare the way hath found
To root our roses from our ground;
Both flower and bud will he confound,
Till king of beasts the same be crown'd:
And then the dog, the cat, and rat,
Shall in his trough feed and be fat."

The satirist himself explains the allusions, in some lines composed before his execution, and called "Collingbourne's Complaint;"—

"Catesbye was one whom I call'd a cat,
A craftie lawyer, catching all he could;
The second Ratcliffe, whom I nam'd a rat,
A cruel beast to gnaw on whom he should;
Lord Lovel barkt and byt whom Richard would,
Whom I therfore did rightly terme a dog,
Wherwith to ryme I call'd the king a hog."

Lord Lovel left no issue by his wife Anne, daughter of Henry, fifth Lord Fitz-hugh; his eldest sister and co-heir, Joan Lovel, married Sir Brian Stapleton, ancestor of the present Lord Beaumont, Henry Stapleton, 1868. His second sister, Fridiswide Lovel, married Sir Edward Norris, Knight.

Arms of Francis Lovel, Lord Lovel of Tichmersh, K.G.—Barry nebuly of six *Or* and *Gules*.

SIR THOMAS VAUGHAN.

Miss Strickland, alluding to this character says, "This faithful Chamberlain, who carried the prince in his infancy everywhere after his father's steps, is the same Sir Richard Vaughan who testified his fidelity to his beloved charge in the bloody tower of Pontefract, during the usurpation of Richard of Gloucester. He belonged to a very fierce and hardy clan of Welch Marchmen." SHAKSPEARE, however, is correct in calling this knight Sir THOMAS VAUGHAN, as witness his monument in Westminster Abbey, where his effigy is engraved on a brass, in plate-armour, the hands joined in prayer, and having the following remains of the original inscription:....Thomas Vaughan—et Thesaur. Camer. Edwardi

quarti ac Camerara Principis et primogeniti dicti regis: requiescat in pace. Amen.

On the only remaining shield is a coat of Arms;—Quarterly 1 and 4, *Argent* a Saltire *Sable*.....2 and 3, *Sable* a bend engrailed between three fleurs-de-lis *Argent*.....HARDING'S *Westminster Abbey.*

The character in this play was the son of Sir Roger Vaughan, Knight, of Tretower, co. Brecon, by his second wife, Dennis, daughter of Thomas *ap* Philip Vaughan, Knight, of Tyloglas. Sir Thomas Vaughan, the Chamberlain, also of Tretower, married Cicely, daughter of Morgan *ap* Jenkin *ap* Phillip, and had three sons, of whom Henry carried on the line of Tretower, and two daughters, viz. Katherine Vaughan, married to Richard Harley; and Elizabeth Vaughan, who married first John, Lord Grey of Wilton, and secondly, Sir Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle, K.G. *Harleian MSS.*, British Museum, 1140, 1142. The name of "Thomas Vaughan, Squier" is found with those of the Duke of York, his sons, and "other rebels" of note, proclaimed traitors by Henry VI. on his short resumption of power, dated March 17, 1460. RYMER'S *Fœdera.* Sir Thomas Vaughan was sent, in 1462, as Ambassador to the Duke of Burgundy, Philip *the Good;* and in 1470 Edward IV. sent him, with Sir John Scot, to invest his brother-in-law, Charles *the Bold,* Duke of Burgundy, with the Order of the Garter. Sir Thomas was beheaded, June 13, 1483.

From Richard Harley and Katherine Vaughan was descended, in the sixth generation, Sir Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, K.G.

Arms of Vaughan, of Pedwardine, Tretower, and Tyloglas. —*Sable* three children's heads couped at the shoulders *Argent,* enwrapped about the necks with as many snakes *proper.* BRIT. MUS.

SIR RICHARD RATCLIFFE.

Of this ready minister of King Richard's cruel designs Sir Thomas More says,—"A man that had been long secrete with hym, havynge experience of the world, and a shrewde wyt, short and rude in speeche, rough and boysterous of behaviour, both in mischiefe as farre from pittie as from alle

feare of God." He was slain at Bosworth Field in the cause of his master, who had made him a K.G. From his coat of arms he must have belonged to a branch of the family who became Earls of Sussex; and he is most probably identical with Richard, younger son of Sir John Ratcliffe (qui obiit 20 Hen. VI.), of Worsall, by his wife Clemence, daughter of Hugh Standish of Duxbury. BERRY'S *Herts.*

With all their faults Richard's minions behaved like true knights on the field of battle. Lovel, Ratcliffe, Catesby, and Brakenbury, together with Lord Ferrers, and Sir Gervas Clifton, followed their master in his last desperate charge. Brakenbury was killed by Sir Walter Hungerford, and of the devoted band Lovel alone lived to after-time. But for the treason and desertion of the Stanleys, and other sworn subjects of Richard, the fate of Bosworth Field might have been very different.

Arms of Sir Richard Ratcliffe, K.G.—Argent a bend engrailed *Sable.* Of the seven Knights of the Garter made by Richard III. four are characters in this play.

In defiance of time and space Ratcliffe is introduced, Act III. Scene 4, as present at the Council held in the Tower, June 13, 1483, the very day when he was carrying out the execution of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan at Pontefract Castle, of which he was Governor. In some modern editions this violation of truth has been corrected by placing the name of Catesby for Ratcliffe, who in fact was engaged in looking after his master's interests in the North, whilst Catesby was Richard's agent in all his dealings with Lord Hastings; and, by this change of name, everything will read consistently with the facts. Moreover had Ratcliffe been in London Richard would not have needed to employ Tyrrell to perform his behest on the young princes, who perished nine days after the fate of their faithful relatives and friends.

SIR WILLIAM CATESBY.

Mr T. P. Courtenay says, respecting this character, "I can find nothing of the family of Catesby." FULLER, in his *Worthies,* under *Northamptonshire,* states of him; "Sir William Catesby was born in this county, where his family long flourished in Ashby St Leger. He was first advanced

by William Lord Hastings, by whose countenance he came to the *notice*, then *favour* of Richard the Third, though ill requiting it, when betraying him who caused his preferment."

The family takes its name from a parish in the county of Northampton, about four miles from Daventry, and descends from Simon de Catesby, in the reign of Henry I. In the time of Henry IV. the family was seated at Ashby St Leger; John Catesby of that place, and of Althorp, which he purchased, was father of Sir William Catesby, Knight, sheriff of the county, 21, 30, and 34 Henry VI., and knight of the shire 27 and 31 of that reign; he died in 1470, leaving by his wife Philippa, daughter and co-heir of Sir William Bishopton, Knight, of Bishopton, co. Warwick[1], a son and heir, who is the character in this play. He was sheriff of the county 18 Edward IV.; esquire of the body to Richard III., who appointed him Chancellor of the Exchequer *for life*, and, as he was "learned in the law," his Attorney-general[2]. He was taken prisoner at Bosworth, and beheaded three days after the battle, August 25, 1485, at Leicester. He married Margaret, second daughter of William, seventh Lord Zouch of Harringworth, by whom he had a son, George Catesby, to whom his father's forfeited estates were restored, by Henry VII., probably through the interest of that king's minister, Sir Richard Empson, whose daughter Elizabeth was George Catesby's wife. After his death, she married secondly, Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, and their grandson is the Justice Shallow of Shakspeare's time. George Catesby's descendant in the fourth generation was Robert Catesby, the prime mover in the Gunpowder Plot with Guido Fawkes, and other conspirators.

There is a very fine monumental brass in the church at Ashby St Leger, with the effigies of Sir William Catesby and his wife Margaret Zouch; and it is singular that the time of his death is placed two days *before* the date of the battle of

[1] Bishopton, or Bishopston, is 1½ mile N.W. from Stratford-upon-Avon, and is mentioned in Shakspeare's will; half the tithes of the place had been purchased by him in 1605, and he seems also to have possessed other property there. Sir William Bishopton was sheriff co. Warwick, 5 Henry V.

[2] According to Haydn (*Book of Dignities*), Catesby was not Attorney-general to Richard III., but Speaker of the House of Commons in his first year, 1483.

Bosworth; which was fought August 22, 1485: the inscription is—"obiit vicesimo die mens' Augusto anno D'ni mill'mo CCCC octogesimo quinto."

Arms of Sir William Catesby.—Azure two lions passant *Sable,* crowned *Or.*

SIR JAMES TYRRELL.

Sir Thomas More thus describes him;—"He was a brave handsome man, who deserved a better master, and would have merited the esteeme of alle men had his vertues been as greate as his valour;" adding that Tyrrel "sawe with regret Sir Richard Ratcliff soare above him in his master's favour." Mr T. P. Courtenay says,—"I do not find a Sir James in that family (Tyrrell of Springfield), unless he was one of the many sons of Sir Thomas Tyrrell, who married Constance, daughter of John Blount, Lord Mountjoy." The excellent authority Vincent, however, in the pedigree he gives of the family, shows that the Tyrrells of Springfield were descended from Thomas, *eldest* son of Sir John Tyrrell of Heron, Treasurer of the Household to Henry VI., whilst the *second* son, William Tyrrell, of Gipping, co. Suffolk, of which he was Sheriff, 24 Henry VI., by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert D'Arcy, was father of the character in this play, and of Thomas Tyrrell, who acted as Master of the horse at the coronation of Richard III. The account which the Poet gives of the share which James Tyrrell had in the death of the young princes in the Tower, is taken from Hall, who derived it from Sir Thomas More, who relates that when, many years after, Sir James Tyrrell, for taking part in Perkin Warbeck's imposture, was committed to the Tower for high treason, both he and his surviving accomplice, Dighton, "were examined, and confessed the above murder." Tyrrell was beheaded May 6, 1502. Stow records his interment, in the Church of Augustin Friars, "Sir James Tirell, beheaded, 1502."

By his wife, Anne, daughter of Sir John Arundell, Knight, he left a son, Sir Thomas Tyrrell of Gipping, who was restored in blood by Henry VII. Sir Thomas Tyrrell, of Gipping, married Margaret, daughter of Christopher, Lord Willoughby, and had a son, Sir John Tyrrell, who married Elizabeth,

daughter of Sir John Munday. VINCENT. The Tyrrells of Springfield, Gipping, and Boreham (Baronets), are supposed to derive their descent from the Walter Tyrrell, whose arrow is said to have slain William Rufus in the New Forest.

Arms of Sir James Tyrrell.—*Argent* two chevronels *Azure*, within a border engrailed *Gules*.

SIR JAMES BLOUNT.

This knight, who was the captain of Hammes Castle[1], seems to be the same person as the "James Blount Esquire," whose name is on the list of the friends of William, the Lord Hastings in this play, pledged to defend him against all persons, the king excepted, his enemies. DUGDALE. He was third son, by Helena, daughter of Sir John Byron, of Sir Walter Blount, first Lord Mountjoy, K.G., whose father, Sir Thomas Blount, Treasurer of Normandy, was son of the brave Sir Walter Blount, slain at Shrewsbury. Sir James Blount was made a knight banneret by Henry VIII., after the battle of Newark, 1510. At the attainder of Sir William Catesby, Blount received a grant of his manor of Ashley St Leger. He does not appear to have been married.

Arms of Sir James Blount.—Barry nebuly of six, *Or* and *Sable*, a mullet for difference.

SIR WALTER HERBERT.

Sir Thomas More speaks of this knight as a person of great influence with the Welch, and hints that the Earl of Richmond had an intention to marry one of his sisters. This was the Lady Maud Herbert, with whom an attachment sprang up, during the time that young Henry Tudor was living in her father's castle; and this intended union is alluded to in the Earl of Pembroke's will. Lady Maud however became the wife of Henry Percy, "the melancholy Lord North-

[1] The citadel of Hammes, or Ham, in Picardy, now Department of the Somme, 15 miles S.E. of Peronne, was long a state-prison, and is famous in latter days as the place of confinement of Prince Polignac, and of Louis Napoleon, now Emperor of the French.

umberland," as King Richard calls the fourth earl. So convinced was Richmond, for the time, of Richard's determination to marry the Princess Elizabeth, that he once more turned his attentions to a daughter of his early friend, the Lady Katherine Herbert, who was afterwards married to George Grey, Earl of Kent.

Sir WALTER HERBERT was the second son of Sir William Herbert, a staunch Yorkist, created by Edward IV., in 1461, Baron Herbert, and in 1468, Earl of Pembroke, and who is no doubt the nobleman in the preceding play of that title, although some Shakspearean critics make him to be Jaspar Tudor, who would hardly place himself in the power of Edward IV., the enemy of his family, by whose orders his father, Owen Tudor, had been put to death, and he himself had been attainted.

Sir Walter Herbert married Anne Stafford, second daughter of the Duke of Buckingham in this play, but it does not appear that he had any children, and his widow married secondly George Hastings, first Earl of Huntingdon.

Arms of Sir Walter Herbert.—Per pale *Azure* and *Gules*, three lions rampant *Argent*, a crescent for difference.

SIR ROBERT BRAKENBURY.

The family is said to be descended from one of the companions of William the Conqueror. Mr Surtees, however, in his *History of the County of Durham*, only begins with Robert Brakenbury, who died in 1222, whose descendant Nicholas married Agnes daughter and co-heir of Nicholas Denton, of Denton, and their son became Thomas Brakenbury of Denton, co. Durham. He had two sons, the eldest was Thomas of Denton, from whom descended the family seated at Sellaby Hall, represented by the late Lt. Col. Sir Edward Brakenbury, K.T.S., who died June 1, 1864. The second son is the character in this play, who by his wife Joan,.....had only two daughters, of whom the eldest, Joan, married John Penne.

In some biographies the Constable of the Tower has been wrongly described as the ancestor of the Brakenburys of Sellaby. One of the Privy Council to Henry VIII. was John Penne, to whom the King bequeathed "C. marks."

Mr Surtees says,—"It is easy to conceive how a cadet of a good family in the immediate neighbourhood of Barnard Castle, where Richard's cognizance still remains carved on bay-window and buttress, might enter the service and acquire the confidence of Gloucester.....The Tower of London was entrusted to him, and according to the common tale, he refused to be the agent in admitting Dighton and Forrest to do their bloody work, and the keys were delivered over for the night to the less scrupulous Tyrrel. Yet Sir Robert adhered faithfully to Richard, and died with his sovereign on Bosworth field." Brakenbury had command of the rear-guard, consisting of 1500 men. BUCKE. The writ appointing Robert Brakenbury, Constable of the Tower, with a salary of £100 *per annum*, is dated 1 Richard III., March 9, 1484. RYMER'S *Fœdera.* In the play Brakenbury is addressed as "Lieutenant," and SHAKSPEARE probably was led to give him this rank only, as he does in earlier instances, from the fact that during the greater part of Queen Elizabeth's reign the office of "Constable" was not filled up, consequently in the Poet's time the chief guardian of the Tower would be styled the "Lieutenant."

Arms of Sir Robert Brakenbury.—Argent three chevronels interlaced in base *Sable*, a crescent for difference.

CHRISTOPHER URSWICK, a Priest.

Mr Lysons, in his *Environs of London*, says,—"Christopher Urswick, presented to the Rectory of Hackney, by Bishop Hall, anno 1502, was a man of very considerable eminence. His abilities as a statesman which had been evinced in his successful endeavour to promote the union between Henry VII., to whom he was chaplain, and Elizabeth of York, induced the King to employ him in various important negociations and embassies. He was installed Dean of Windsor in 1495, and enjoyed at the same time the archdeaconry of Richmond in Yorkshire. After he became Rector of Hackney he fixed his residence there, and spent the remainder of his days in religious retirement, having resigned his other preferments, and refused a proffered bishopric. By his will he desired to be buried in the church of Hackney, before the

image of St Austin." He was also chaplain to the Countess of Richmond; he died Oct. 21, 1521; on his tomb the Latin epitaph records his refusal of the see of Norwich.

The brother of this character, Sir Thomas Urswick, was Recorder of London in 1454, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer from 1472 to 1484. Robert Urcewyk, as Sheriff of Lancashire, raised 500 foot-archers from that palatine county, and served with them in the retinue of Henry V., in France. Sir NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS.

It will be observed that in Act IV. Scene 5, Lord Stanley greets the priest as "Sir Christopher;" this prefix properly belonged to such ecclesiastics as had taken the University degree of "Bachelor of Arts," or "Dominus," and the title "Sir" is still preserved at Colleges for bachelors. It may be interesting to quote some instances of bye-gone times. On a monumental brass in Stoke D'Abernon Church, Surrey, is the inscription,—

> "This chauntrie foundyt Syr John Norbury,
> The first Prest was Syr John Pynnock truly."

In the will of Eleanor Arundel, Lady Cobham, 1404, she says,—"Also I appoint Sir William Dorvaunt, Vicar of Spertisbury, and John Quynton, my executors," &c. Still earlier, Joan, Lady Cobham, in her will, 1370, speaks of her "chaplain, Sir William de Wrotham." Such notices are numerous even at more remote dates, and we especially find the "Sir," and "Dominus," in the lists of the incumbents, or "parsons," of livings. Thus under the rectors of East Herling we read, "1349, 17 July, Sir John Gonvile, priest." Weever, in his *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, gives the epitaph of "Sir Peter Lacy, priest," at Northfleet, Kent,—"Hic jacet Dominus Petrus de Lacy, quondam Rector istius ecclesiæ...18 Oct. 1327." Sir John Fastolfe's confessor, and executor to his will, was Sir Thomas Howes, Rector of Blofield, Norfolk, and in the windows of that church were inscriptions requesting persons to pray for the souls of Sir John and his wife Milicent, "et domini Thomæ Howes istius ecclesiæ rectoris." At the dissolution of the religious houses, the list of "the chapelyns" of Winchester Monastery contains the names of—"Mr John Hasard, Confessor, Sr John Hylton, Sr Walter

Bayly, Sr Walter Dashwood, Sr Wm Orton." MONASTICON, Vol. 2.

In some of his Comedies SHAKSPEARE introduces clerical, though not very reverend, characters, with the prefix "Sir." Thus we have "Sir Nathaniel, a curate," in *Love's Labour's Lost;* the amusing "Sir Hugh Evans, a Welch Parson," in the *Merry Wives of Windsor;* the flouted "Sir Oliver Mar-text, a Vicar," in *As You Like It;* whilst in *Twelfth Night*, the Clown dons a "beard and gown," to personate "Sir Topas the Curate."

LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

This official, Sir EDMUND SHAA, or SHAW, Citizen and Goldsmith, Sheriff of London 15 Edward IV., was a great partizan of the house of York, as was his brother, Doctor Shaw, mentioned by Gloster, in Act III. Scene 5 ;—

> "Go, Lovel, with all speed, to Doctor Shaw,—
> Go thou (*to Catesby*) to Friar Penker."

Sir Thomas More says of these two famous preachers of the day;—"Raufe Shaa, Clarke, brother to the Maior, and Friar Pynkie, provinciall of the Augustin Friers, both Doctors in divinity, both great preachers, both of more learning then vertue, of more fame then learning, and yet of more learning then truth." According to Heywood, Dr Shaw was chaplain and confessor to Edward IV., whose children he sought to brand with illegitimacy, acting upon their uncle Gloster's suggestion to—

> "Infer the bastardy of Edward's children."

SHAKSPEARE makes Buckingham use much of the very language, in favour of Gloucester, which was employed by Doctor Shaw in his sermon at St. Paul's, when he took for his text, "Bastard slips shall not thrive." This passage is no doubt borrowed from the Apocryphal book, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, ch. iv. 3,—"the multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips, nor lay any fast foundation;" AUTHORIZED VERSION. In the Douay Bible, the passage reads,—"bastard slips shall not take deep root."

Ralph and Edmund Shaw were the sons of John Shaw, of Dronkenfield, co. Chester. Sir Edmund Shaw, in 1482, founded and endowed a free grammar-school at Stockport, co. Chester. He was Lord Mayor 1482-3. In the play the mayor tells Buckingham—

> "the people were not wont
> To be spoke to, but by the recorder;"

that official was Thomas Fitzwilliam, "a sad man and an honest, which had newly come to the office:" June 19, 1483. HALL.

Arms of Sir Edmund Shaw.—Argent a chevron between three lozenges *Ermines*, within a border *Gules*.

SHERIFF OF WILTSHIRE.

This person, introduced in Act V. Scene 1, was HENRY LONG, of Wraxall, co. Wilts., who was Sheriff in 1457, 1476, and lastly in 1 Richard III., 1483. He died in 1490, and having no children by either of his three wives, his nephew, Sir Henry Long, of Draycot, who was present at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," became eventually possessor of Wraxall; from him descended a long line of "Knights and men of great worship." CAMDEN.

Arms of Henry Long of South Wraxall.—Sable a lion rampant between ten cross-crosslets *Argent*, as carved on the shields at South Wraxall Manor-house, an interesting specimen of the domestic architecture of the time of Henry VIII.

The "Page" addressed by King Richard in Act IV. Scene 2,—

> "Know'st thou not any whom corrupting gold
> Would tempt unto a close exploit of death?"

and who introduces James Tyrrell, as—

> "a discontented gentleman,
> Whose humble means match not his haughty mind,"—

is no doubt intended for JOHN GREEN, probably an esquire of the body to Richard, and who for the share he had in the

transactions which led to the murder of the young princes was appointed receiver of the lordship of the Isle of Wight, and of the lordship and castle of Porchester. John Green had been employed to tamper with Brakenbury, "that he should put the two children to death. This John Green did his errand to Brakenbury, kneeling before Our Lady in the Tower, who plainly answered that he would never put them to death." HALL.

SHAKSPEARE has consigned to lasting infamy the names of the two actual assassins, who also received rewards from their royal employer for their deed of "ruthless butchery." JOHN DIGHTON was made bailiff of Aiton in Staffordshire; and MILES FORREST, "a fellow flesh-bred in murther beforetime," (HALL), was appointed keeper of the wardrobe in one of Richard's royal residences, Barnard Castle, and dying soon after, an annuity of five marks was settled on his widow, and her son, Edward Forrest. SHARON TURNER.

The contrivers, performers, and gainers in the dark deed perished by violent or fearful deaths. Forrest, it is said by the old chroniclers, "by piecemeal miserably rotted away;" Tyrrell, and his horse breaker, Dighton, suffered ignominiously on the scaffold; the great arch-plotter Richard, and, the least guilty, Brakenbury, fell more gloriously on the field of battle. An anonymous writer asserts that John Green was *walled up alive* by order of Henry the Seventh.

ELIZABETH, Queen to King Edward IV.

Fuller says of this lady,—"She got more greatness than joy, height than happiness, by her marriage, for she lived to see the death of her husband, murder of her two sons, and restraint of herself and rest of her children." This agrees with her foreboding language in the play;—

"Small joy have I in being England's queen."

Miss Strickland says of her,—"there never was a woman who contrived to make more personal enemies." After Richard's usurpation she was styled by him, "Dame Elizabeth Grey, late calling herself Queen of England." She retired to the Monastery of Bermondsey, where she died in the reign of her

son-in-law, much neglected by him, June 8, 1492. In only one instance has the Compiler met with the time of Elizabeth Woodvile's death, and then it was merely stated to have occurred the Friday before Whitsuntide. As Easter Day in 1492 fell on the 22nd of April, the exact date of her decease was the 8th of June. Her will, dated April 10, 1492, exhibits a touching picture of her maternal affection, and her poverty, having nothing but her blessing to bequeath to her children, for—"I have no worldly goods," is her mournful confession. She was buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor, where on a flat stone, at the foot of her royal husband's tomb, is inscribed :—

King Edward and his Queen Elizabeth Widvile.

Southey's lines would form an appropriate epitaph ;—

"Thou, Elizabeth, art here,
Thou! to whom all griefs were known,
Who wert placed upon the bier,
In happier hour than on a throne."

MARGARET, Widow of King Henry VI.

For the sake of a striking stage effect SHAKSPEARE brings together on the scene—

"Anjou's heroine, and the paler rose,
The rival of her crown, and of her woes,"

as Gray finely terms the two bereaved queens, Margaret and Elizabeth; but the majestic widow of Henry VI. left England for ever in 1475, on the payment of her ransom, by Louis XI, of 50,000 crowns, for which sum, only half its value, King René sold his inheritance, Provence, to redeem his daughter. In the last scene of the preceding play, Clarence is made to say, alluding to Queen Margaret,—

"Reignier, her father, to the king of France
Hath pawn'd the Sicils and Jerusalem,
And hither have they sent it for her ransom."

But Louis XI. was too astute to accept a shadow when he could obtain a substance.

Queen Margaret, since the battle of Tewksbury, had been

kept a prisoner either in the Tower of London, or at the royal castle of Wallingford, under charge of the dowager-duchess of Suffolk, Alice Chaucer; and the high-minded woman, destined to die, using the words she applies to her rival,—

"neither mother, wife, nor England's queen,"—

had descended to the tomb two years before the death of Edward IV. Sir Walter Scott has introduced her in *Anne of Gierstien* in the decline of her age, and in the loss of her power, but not of her intellect; and he speaks of her as one "who, if she occasionally abused victory by cruelty and revenge, had made some atonement by the indomitable resolution with which she had supported the fiercest storms of adversity." After the death of her father, Queen Margaret sold her reversionary interest in some provinces which had still remained to him, her sister and nephew surviving, to Louis XI. for a pension of 6000 livres, but it was badly paid, and she had to find a refuge for her remaining days in the château of Dampièrre, near Saumur, belonging to an old officer of King René's household, François Vignolles, lord of Moreans, under whose roof Margaret of Anjou breathed her last, August 25, 1481.

DUCHESS OF YORK.

This mother of a line of kings, CICELY NEVILL, was as remarkable for pride as for the beauty from which she was called "the Rose of Raby." She had a throne room in her baronial residence, Fotheringay Castle, where she held receptions with the state of a queen, a title which she had at one time a reasonable hope to enjoy, as the consort of her princely husband, who had been declared heir to Henry VI. This great lady survived all her sons, and also outlived all her daughters excepting Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy; and though she had not, at the time of her son Richard's usurpation, in 1483, arrived at the age she ascribes to herself in the play,—

"Eighty odd years of sorrow have I seen,"

the Duchess of York must have reached an advanced period

when twelve years later she died at Berkhampstead, in 1495; her will, made on the first of April in that year, was proved August 27, following. She was buried at Fotheringay beside her husband, and their son Edmund. Horace Walpole admits that she was "a princess of spotless character," thus refuting the slur attempted to be cast upon his mother's reputation by Richard III., who had the effrontery to give out that he alone of all the sons of the Duke of York was legitimate; in the play he tells his friend Buckingham to throw a doubt on his late brother Edward's parentage, adding—

> "Yet touch this sparingly, as 'twere far off;
> Because, my lord, you know, my mother lives."

LADY ANNE.

The popular name given by SHAKSPEARE, will always cling to this unhappy lady, although she had been a Princess of Wales, and a Queen-consort. ANNE NEVILL, youngest daughter and co-heir of the great Earl of Warwick, was born in Warwick Castle, June 11, 1452. She was in her seventeenth year when she visited the court of Louis XI. in company with her father, mother, and Clarence, then married to her sister Isabel; and whilst at the court which was held at Angers, the treaty of marriage was contracted between herself and the Prince of Wales, to whom she was united at Amboise, in July or August, 1470. The introduction of "Lady Anne," as chief mourner in the funeral procession, May 24, 1471, of Henry VI., is a dramatic fiction, as at that time she was placed in hiding by Clarence, for fear of the Duke of Gloucester, who at length discovered her in the disguise of a cook-maid. CONTINUATOR of the CROYLAND CHRONICLE. Richard, who is stated by Bucke and other writers to have been early attached to Anne of Warwick, his cousin and playmate, born in the same year, married her in 1473, and she was crowned with him at Westminster, July 6, 1483; their only child, Edward Prince of Wales, born at Middleham Castle[1] in 1474, died there March 31, 1484, and

[1] Gloster, before he became king, resided chiefly at Middleham Castle, being Governor of the Northern Marches towards Scotland, into which country he made frequent expeditions and conquests.

his mother's death, supposed to arise from a tendency to consumption increased by grief at his loss, occurred March 16, 1485. As if he were not sufficiently burthened with other crimes, some writers attribute to Richard III. his wife's death by poison[1]; but there is good reason to believe that he was sincerely attached to her. SHAKSPEARE does not adopt this suspicion, he merely makes Richard say to Catesby, Act IV. Scene 2,—

> "rumour it abroad,
> That Anne, my wife, is very grievous sick;
> . . . . I say again, give out,
> That Anne, my queen, is sick, and like to die."

After the death of his queen and heir, to whom there is no allusion throughout the play, Richard entertained the idea of marrying his niece, the heir to her murdered brothers;—

> "I must be married to my brother's daughter,
> Or else my kingdom stands on brittle glass."

Richard's apologists, George Bucke, and Horace Walpole, do not deny his intention, but the latter writer suggests that the king only "amused the young princess with the hopes of making her his queen," to prevent her union with his hated rival, Richmond. But it is evident that Ratcliffe and Catesby believed their royal master to be in earnest, for they remonstrated warmly against marrying with his niece.

A YOUNG DAUGHTER OF CLARENCE.

This personage, as illustrious for her misfortunes as for her royal birth, was the last of the Plantagenets, MARGARET, born August 14, 1473, only surviving daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, and Isabel Nevill, and eventually sole heir of her grandfather, Richard Nevill, the famous Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, and in 1513 she was created Countess of Salisbury. She married Sir Richard Pole, K.G. (son of Sir Geoffrey Pole), Chamberlain to Prince Arthur, and had issue, 1. Henry Pole, created Lord Montague, whose

[1] Fuller says of Lady Anne,—"Some think she went her own pace to the grave, while others suspect a *grain* was given her, to quicken her in her journey to her long *home*."

eldest daughter, Katherine Pole, married Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon, ancestor of the present Marquess of Hastings; the second daughter, Winifred Pole, married Sir Thomas Barrington; 2. Sir Geoffrey Pole, arraigned for high treason; 3. Sir Arthur Pole; 4. Reginald, who was the famous Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of his cousin, Queen Mary; 5. URSULA POLE, who married Henry, Lord Stafford, son of the Duke of Buckingham in the next play, and whose male line became extinct in 1640. Several families in the present day can claim a descent from the houses of Plantagenet and York, through George, Duke of Clarence, either by the line of Hastings or Barrington.

Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, having incurred the displeasure of Henry VIII., was to his lasting disgrace beheaded on Tower Hill, May 27, 1541. Her marriage is prematurely alluded to twice in the course of this play, first where Richard instructs his minion Catesby, Act IV. Scene 2,—

> " Inquire me out some mean-born gentleman,
> Whom I will marry straight to Clarence' daughter:"

and again, when the usurping king sums up his dark and unscrupulous deeds against his family, Scene 3,—

> " The son of Clarence have I penn'd up close,
> His daughter meanly have I match'd in marriage;"

but at this date, 1483, Margaret Plantagenet was only ten years old.

In Act IV. Scene 4, several Messengers enter to King Richard, with news of those persons of note who have taken up arms for the Earl of Richmond; the first Messenger mentions—

> " Sir Edward Courtney, and the haughty prelate,
> Bishop of Exeter, his brother there."

These persons, however, were not brothers, but cousins; the first-named, who assisted Richmond at Bosworth, was the eldest son of Sir Hugh Courtenay (slain at Tewksbury), of the ancient family of that name, of whom his ancestor, Hugh

Courtenay, was created Earl of Devon by Edward III. in 1335. Sir EDWARD COURTENAY, the knight named in the text, was created Earl of Devon, by Henry VII. in 1485, and made a K. G., his only son William married the Princess Katherine, youngest daughter of Edward IV. The bishop was PETER COURTENAY, son of Sir Philip Courtenay (ancestor of the present Earl of Devon), who was sixth son of Hugh, second Earl of Devon, by his wife Margaret de Bohun, granddaughter of Edward I. Peter Courtenay, who became Bishop of Exeter in 1478, was a zealous Lancastrian, and had to seek refuge in Britany, whence he returned with the Earl of Richmond.

Another messenger tells the King,—

"In Kent, my liege, the Guildfords are in arms."

This was a family seated at Hemsted, in Kent, soon after the conquest; William de Guldford was Sheriff of the County, 11 Richard II. His great grandson, Sir John Guildford, was Comptroller of the Household to Edward IV., and he and his son, Sir Richard, supported the cause of the Earl of Richmond. The father died in 1493; the son was made by Henry VII., Master of the Ordnance, K. G., and Comptroller of the Household; his third son, Sir Henry Guildford, is a character in the next play.

The last of the Messengers informs King Richard that "Sir Thomas Lovel" is in arms against him. Mr T. P. Courtenay observes—"I do not know who this was;" but it seems tolerably certain that he is the character of that name in the next play.

A most important adherent of Richmond is mentioned among the persons "of great fame and worth," who resorted to him, namely, Sir GILBERT TALBOT, who for his great services at Bosworth, where he commanded the right wing, was rewarded by Henry VII. "with fair lands at Grafton, in Worcestershire, and made Governor of Calais:" FULLER'S *Worthies*. Grafton manor belonged to Sir Humphrey Stafford (son of the knight who was killed in Cade's rebellion), who having fought for Richard III. at Bosworth, was attainted, and his forfeited manor bestowed on Sir Gilbert Talbot, who became also a K. G. He was second son of John Talbot, second Earl of Shrewsbury, and from him descended the

earls of Shrewsbury and the earls Talbot, both titles being now united in Sir Gilbert's lineal descendant, the first Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot, the present premier earl of England, 1867.

"Redoubted Pembroke" is JASPAR TUDOR, uncle of the Earl of Richmond. After the victory at Bosworth, to which he so greatly contributed, he was created Duke of Bedford, Oct. 27, 1485, and obtained from Henry VII. many high appointments, and valuable grants. He married Catherine Woodvile, youngest daughter of Richard, Earl Rivers, widow of the Duke of Buckingham in this play, but had no children by her; he died in 1495.

The poet also speaks of—

"Rice ap Thomas, and a valiant crew,"

among Richmond's supporters. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, says of him,—"*Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, of *Elmelin* in *Carmarthenshire* was never more than a knight, yet little less than a Prince in his Native Country; to King Henry VII., on his landing with contemptible forces at *Milford Haven*[1], Sir Rhys repaired with a considerable accession of choice soldiers, marching with them to *Bosworth Field*, where he right valiantly behaved himself." For this assistance he was made a knight banneret on the field of battle, afterwards a K. G., and Governor of Wales. He married Catherine Howard, fourth daughter of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, by his second wife, Agnes Tilney, and is ancestor of the present Lord Dynevor, George Talbot Rice (1865), who is also descended from Sir Gilbert Talbot, of Grafton, K. G., and therefore quarters the arms of Rice aud Talbot with those of De Cardonell.

SHAKSPEARE introduces on the stage a knight, whose name is not usually placed by editors among the *dramatis personæ*, but Richmond addresses him as present, Act v. Scene 3,—

"Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard."

He was the eldest son of Sir William Brandon, Knt., by his

[1] The earl of Richmond, in reality, landed at a place called Dale, four miles S.W. from Milford, and on the western shore of the magnificent harbour, Milford Haven.

wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Wingfield, Knt. Sir William, the knight in this play, who fell by the hand of Richard III., left by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Bruen, Knt., a son, Charles Brandon, who is the "Duke of Suffolk" in the next play. *Arms of Sir William Brandon*, who might be brought upon the scene, according to the stage direction, Barry of ten, *Argent* and *Gules*, over all a lion rampant *Or*, crowned per pale *Argent*.

In the list of the slain is mentioned "Walter Lord Ferrars;" this was Sir WALTER DEVEREUX, K. G., who married Anne, only daughter and heir of William, sixth Lord Ferrars of Chartley, after whose death his son-in-law was summoned to Parliament, 2 Edward IV., by that title. He is the ancestor of Viscount Hereford, Robert Devereux, 1865[1].

In Act I. Scene 2, Lady Anne is attended by "two gentlemen," whom she addresses as "Tressel and Berkley." The latter person was no doubt meant for one of the noble family of that name, and may be intended for one of the sons of James, sixth Lord Berkley, who were Lancastrians. "Tressel," a name not found, at least by the Compiler of these memoirs, in any county history, is probably a misprint for "Trussel," an eminent and ancient family seated in the county of Warwick in the time of Henry II., when Osbert Trussel held Billesley, and from him descended the Trussels of Cublesdon and Acton-Trussel, in Staffordshire, and of Floore and Gayton, in Northamptonshire. The Trussels were of consequence in the reigns of the three first Edwards; Sir William, much employed abroad by Edward III., was made a baron, and admiral of the fleet; another Sir William Trussel was at Poitiers among the principal commanders; and John Trussel, and "Monsr William Trussel," were at Agincourt. Sir William Trussel was sheriff co. Warwick, 16 Edward IV., and he is probably the same knight who signed the Indenture to aid Lord Hastings against his enemies; he, or his brother, Edmund Trussel, may be the person intended in this play. The

[1] At Llanmaes, co. Glamorgan, "there is an entry in the parish register of the burial of Ivan Yorath, on the 12th of July, 1621, in the 180th year of his age. He had been in the famous battle of Bosworth Field, and resided afterwards at Llantwit Major, where he supported himself by fishing." GORTON, *Topog. Dict.*

Arms borne by the Trussels of Gayton were, *Or*, a cross formy floretty *Gules;* time of Edward III. The Trussels of Cubbles-don bore, *Argent* a fret *Gules* bezantée.

The Compiler entertains the belief that an ancestor of the Poet fought on the side of Richmond at Bosworth Field, grounding his opinion upon the language used in the Confirmation of the Grant of Arms to John Shakspeare, in 1599, wherein Sir William Dethick, Garter, speaks of him as—"John Shakspeare, now of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, gent., whose parent and great-grandfather, late antecessor, for his faithful and approved services (in another document the expression is—"valiant and faithful services") to the late most prudent prince, King Henry VII., of famous memory, was advanced and rewarded with lands and tenements, given to him in those parts of Warwickshire, where they have continued by some descents in good reputation and credit." The crest and arms of the family, although without doubt bearing an allusion to the name, have a martial character about them, suggestive of deeds of military service, and the motto, "Non Sanz Droict," seems to point the claim of the possessor's ancestor to have earned such arms by his prowess in the field.

KING HENRY VIII.

Time of Action, from A.D. 1520 *to* 1533.

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

The heir of the rival Roses, and representative of the united houses of York and Lancaster, succeeded peaceably to a throne for which so much blood had been shed, and Henry was crowned June 24, 1509; he had married his brother's widow, Katherine of Arragon, on the third of the same month; by her he had two sons, who only lived a few days, and a daughter, MARY, born in 1515, who became Queen of England. The question of the king's divorce from his first ill-fated wife, and his second marriage with her "Maid of honour," form the chief features of this drama. Henry VIII. married secondly, in 1532-3, Anne Boleyn, by whom he had a son, still-born, and one daughter, born Sept. 7, 1533, who became the great Queen ELIZABETH, with whose christening, Sept. 10th, the play concludes. The king's third wife was the much-loved Jane Seymour, who died two days after giving birth to a son, born Oct. 12, 1537, who became king, at his father's death, 1547, and is the amiable Edward VI. Henry's fourth queen was the despised Anne of Cleves, married and divorced in 1539; his fifth consort was Catherine Howard, beheaded 1543; and his sixth wife, who survived him, was Katherine Parr, the widow of two former husbands. It is an interesting fact that all the six wives of Henry VIII., were descended, as he was, from Edward the First.

The pen of SHAKSPEARE, and the pencil of Holbein, have combined to make "bluff King Hal" more familiar to us than any other personage of former times. Hall, the chronicler, from whom the Poet derives so much, was Recorder of London, and attended by Henry's command at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," held May 2, 1520. The allusion in the opening scene to this gorgeous meeting in "the Vale of Arde," fixes the date of the commencement of the play, as later in the year 1520, in which also—

> "Charles the emperor,
> Under pretence to see the queen his aunt,
> . . . . here makes visitation,"

as stated by the Duke of Buckingham in this scene. The Poet had the advantage of deriving much of his story from another eye-witness, since George Cavendish, Wolsey's gentleman-usher, and faithful attendant to the last, has given the most minute account of transactions wherein the King, the Cardinal, Queen Katherine, Cranmer, and Anne Boleyn, bore a part, and which are vividly produced in the play.

Although George Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* was not printed until 1641, copies of it are known to have been circulated in manuscript long before that time; thus Stow had one in his possession, bearing the date of 1598, and Shakspeare must have had access to some such copy, for he reproduces the very words of Cavendish. Holinshed also had an imperfect copy of Cavendish. The Poet's *Henry VIII.* was written, according to Malone, in 1601.

By Elizabeth, widow of Sir Gilbert Talbois, and daughter of Sir John Blount, the king had a son, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, to whom he was greatly attached, intending to name him as successor to the crown, to the exclusion of his daughters; this promising youth died in 1536, before the birth of the king's lawful son, Edward. Henry VIII. died January 29, 1547.

Arms of King Henry VIII.—Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

The most influential churchman since the time of Thomas

à Becket, was this character, THOMAS WULSY, or WOLSEY, born at Ipswich in 1471, educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he proved so "ripe a scholar," that he took his degree of B.A. at the age of fourteen. He became Almoner to Henry VII., who gave him the rich deanery of Lincoln in 1507, and he rose rapidly in the favour of Henry VIII., who loaded him with favours; he became Bishop of Lincoln in 1513, Archbishop of York in 1514, Lord Chancellor in 1516; by the Pope he was made "Cardinal of S^te^. Cecilia" in 1515, and also legate *à latere*. He held the revenues of several bishoprics, and of the rich Abbey of St Alban's. His enormous wealth enabled him to live in a style of princely splendour, but his mean extraction, "being not propp'd by ancestry," excited the ill-will of the far-descended nobles; and his quarrels with the Dukes of Buckingham, Norfolk, and Suffolk, given in the play, are matters of history. Charles Brandon used to say,—"it was never merry in England while we had any cardinals amongst us:" CAVENDISH. Wolsey's dislike to Anne Boleyn, "as a spleeny Lutheran," led the way to his downfall, in 1529. Stripped of his honours he retired to his see of York, but was arrested at one of his chief residences, Cawood Castle, by the Earl of Northumberland, on a charge of high treason, and on his way to London to be tried, as he neared Leicester, "he waxed so sicke, that he was almost fallen from his mule;" on his reaching the Abbey he addressed its head, "Father Abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you;" CAVENDISH, who describes him as getting "sicker and sicker," and foretelling the very hour of his death, "by eighte of the clocke shall you lose your master, for my time draweth near, and I must departe this worlde." It will be seen that SHAKSPEARE has adopted the expressions of the cardinal's biographer to the letter. The "great child of honour" died Nov. 30, 1530. In the hands of SHAKSPEARE the "king-cardinal" is one of the grandest characters in dramatic poetry.

Arms of Cardinal Wolsey.—*Sable* on a cross engrailed *Argent* a lion passant *Gules* between four leopards' faces *Azure*, on a chief *Or* a rose *Gules* between two Cornish choughs *proper*. These arms are carved on Wolsey's noble creation, Christ Church College, Oxford, which at first was called "Cardinal College."

CARDINAL CAMPEIUS.

LAURENCE CAMPEGGIO, a native of Bologna, was Professor of Law in the famous University of Padua, Bishop of Feltrio in 1512, a Cardinal in 1517, and appointed Bishop of Salisbury in 1524. Being sent as papal legate to England, he was named co-adjutor to Wolsey to try the case of divorce between Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine. The trial began May 31, 1529, and lasted to July 23, 1530, when the court was prorogued by Campeius. This delay irritated the impatient king, as he says, in the play, Act IV. Scene 1,—

> "I may perceive
> These cardinals trifle with me."

Henry deprived Campeius of his English bishopric, and he returned to Italy, where he died in 1539;—Suffolk says—

> "Cardinal Campeius
> Is stolen away to Rome; hath ta'en no leave."

He was very bitter against Luther, and those who adopted his opinions, and urged the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, "to use fire and sword to eradicate those venemous plants."

CAPUCIUS, Ambassador from the Emperor.

The interview of this personage with Queen Katherine, Act IV. Scene 2, is taken from Holinshed,—"the princess dowager lying at Kimbolton, fell into her last sickness, whereof the king being advertised appointed the emperor's ambassador, that was legier here with him, Eustachius Caputius, to go to visit her, and do his commendations to her, and will her to be of good comfort. The ambassador, with all diligence, did his duty therein, comforting her the best he might, &c." The queen expired in the presence of Caputius, and her faithful friend, Lady Willoughby. The Emperor Charles V., who was Katherine's nephew, came to England in 1520, and paid a second visit to Henry in 1532, when he was personally installed at Windsor, June 19, as a Knight of the Garter.

CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury.

THOMAS CRANMER, son of Thomas and his wife Agnes,

daughter of Lawrence Hatfield, was born at Aslaton, co. Nottingham, in 1489, educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, and took his degree of D.D. in 1532. Being made a chaplain to Henry VIII. Cranmer wrote a treatise in favour of the king's divorce, which so pleased Henry that he appointed the writer to the archdeaconry of Taunton, and in 1530 sent him abroad to collect the opinions of celebrated canonists, in France, Italy, and Germany, favourable to his object. In Act II. Scene 4, the impatient king longs for the coming of his envoy,—

> "My learn'd and well-beloved servant, Cranmer,
> Pr'ythee return! with thy approach, I know,
> My comfort comes along."

At the death of Dr William Warham, in 1532, Cranmer was appointed to succeed him as Archbishop of Canterbury; he set the pope's bull at defiance, and pronounced the decree of divorce between Henry and Katherine. This prelate was burnt at the stake, at Oxford, March 21, 1555.

Arms of Archbishop Cranmer.—Or on a chevron *Azure* between three pelicans *Sable* as many cinquefoils *Or*. The pelicans were granted by Henry VIII. instead of as many cranes, the original bearing of the Cranmer family.

DUKE OF NORFOLK.

This character is THOMAS HOWARD, the "Earl of Surrey," of the preceding play, who became second Duke of Norfolk in 1514. He married first Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Frederick Tilney, the last male of a long succession of knightly ancestors, and had with four daughters, three gallant sons; 1. THOMAS HOWARD, the Earl of Surrey in this play; 2. Sir Edward Howard, Admiral of England; 3. Sir Edmund Howard, father of Catherine, the fifth wife of Henry VIII. The eldest daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, Elizabeth Howard, married Sir Thomas Boleyn, and their daughter Anne is one of the chief characters in this play. The duke married secondly Agnes, daughter of Hugh Tilney, by whom he had two sons, William Howard, ancestor of the Earls of Effingham, and Thomas, who died in the Tower, 1586. The character in this play died in 1524.

Arms of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk.—As given in the preceding play, under his title of Surrey.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Misled by Hall, the Poet makes this character speak of himself as "poor Edward Bohun," whereas he was EDWARD STAFFORD, eldest son of the character in the preceding play, one of the victims of Richard III. He was descended from the de Bohuns, but that name expired in 1372, with Humphrey, the last Earl of Hereford. Edward Stafford was restored by Henry VIII., to his father's dukedom, made Lord High Constable, and a K.G. He attended the king at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, although in the play supposed to have been kept away by illness[1]; and for some time he was high in the royal favour, but incurring the enmity of Wolsey, the duke was arraigned for high treason, and beheaded on Tower Hill, May 17, 1521. By his wife, Alianor Percy, daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Northumberland, he had one son, Henry, who in consequence of his father's attainder, was only styled Lord Stafford, and three daughters, 1. Elizabeth Stafford, married to Thomas Howard, the "Earl of Surrey," in this play; 2. Mary Stafford, who was the wife of George Nevill, the "Lord Abergavenny," in this play; 3. Katharine Stafford, who married Ralph Nevill, fourth Earl of Westmoreland. The present Lord Stafford, Henry Valentine Stafford-Jerningham (1865), is descended from Mary Stafford, great-great granddaughter of Henry, Lord Stafford, and his wife Ursula Pole; she married Sir William Howard (who became Viscount Stafford), and their granddaughter, Mary Howard married Francis Plowden, whose daughter, Mary Plowden married Sir George Jerningham.

Arms of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, K.G.—Over the principal entrance to Thornbury Castle, co. Gloucester, built by this nobleman, are his arms carved on a

[1] Among those who were present at the meeting between Henry VIII. and Francis I., we find the following persons of note, who are characters in this play: "Les noms des Nobles qui chevaucheront avecque le Roy d'Angleterre a l'Embrassement des ditz deux Roys,—le Légat, l'Archevesque de Canterbury, le Duc de Buckyngham, le Duc de Suffolk, le Siegneur de Bergavenny, Messire Nicolas Vaux." Writ 2 Hen. VIII. RYMER'S *Fœdera*.

shield, enclosed in the Garter, namely, Quarterly of Four; 1. FRANCE and ENGLAND, quarterly, for THOMAS of *Woodstock*; 2. *Azure* a bend between two cotises and six lions rampant *Or*, for BOHUN, Earl of Hereford; 3. *Azure* on a bend cotised between six lions rampant *Or*, three martlets *Sable*, for BOHUN, Earl of Northampton; 4. *Or* a chevron *Gules*, for STAFFORD.

DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

This personage, CHARLES BRANDON, is the son of Sir William Brandon, who was slain at Bosworth. He was brought up with Henry VIII., with whom he was a great favourite, and like his royal friend excelled in all manly and knightly accomplishments, and was deemed to be the handsomest man of the age. At the tournament held at Paris, in honour of the Princess Mary Tudor's nuptials with Louis XII. Charles Brandon carried off all the prizes; and Drayton thus makes the princess to compare him with the most renowned knights of France;—

> "Alansan, a fine-timbered man and tall,
> Yet wants the shape thou art adorn'd withal;
> Vendôme's good carriage, and a pleasing eye,
> Yet hath not Suffolk's pleasing majesty;
> Courageous Bourbon, a sweet manly face,
> But yet he wants my Brandon's courtly grace;
> Proud Longavill our court judg'd hath no peer,
> A man scarce made was thought whilst thou wert here;
> Countie St Paul, a peerless man in France,
> Would yield himself a squire to bear thy lance;
> Gallas and Bonnearme, matchless for their might,
> Under thy tow'ring blade have couch'd in fight."

Charles Brandon was created Viscount Lisle in 1513, and Duke of Suffolk in 1514; he married in 1515 the king's sister, Mary, then recently the widow of Louis XII. The following lines were written on what was regarded as an unequal alliance between a Queen Dowager of France, and the son of a simple knight;—

> "Cloth of frieze, be not too bold,
> Though thou art match'd with cloth of gold;
> Cloth of gold, do not despise,
> Though thou art match'd with cloth of frieze."

From this marriage, the last instance of an English princess wedding a subject, some of our most distinguished noble families are descended. By Mary Tudor Charles Brandon had one son, Henry, Earl of Lincoln, who died young; and three daughters,—1. The lady FRANCES BRANDON, who married Henry Grey, afterwards Duke of Suffolk; 2. Lady ELEANOR BRANDON, who married Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and their only surviving child, Margaret Clifford, became the wife of Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby, K.G.; 3. Lady MARY BRANDON, married to Martin Keys.

Henry VIII. left the succession of the crown, in default of his own children having issue, to his niece, Frances Brandon, and her heirs. The third daughter Mary Brandon, who left no issue, is hardly ever named, probably on account of her personal deformity. Mr Froude tells us that Lady Mary Brandon was married in the palace by an old priest in a short gown to Martin Keys, the Serjeant Porter, who was the largest man in the court, as Mary Brandon was the smallest woman. The unfortunate pair were separated, and confined in different prisons.

Charles Brandon had been twice married before the Princess Mary became his wife, and after her death, in 1533, he married fourthly, Queen Katherine's goddaughter, Catherine, only daughter and heir of William Lord Willoughby de Eresby, by whom he had two sons, Henry, who became second duke, and Charles; they both died unmarried. The character in this play, who was a K.G. and held many important appointments, died August 24, 1545.

Arms of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, K.G.—Barry of ten *Argent* and *Gules*, over all a lion rampant *Or* crowned per pale *Argent*.

EARL OF SURREY.

This personage was Sir THOMAS HOWARD, eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk in this play; he commanded the van at Flodden under his father, and he afterwards served in the wars in France, and was appointed Lord Admiral of England 5 Henry VIII., and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 12 Henry VIII.; in the play Surrey accuses Wolsey of having obtained

this post for him to remove him from affording succour to his father-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham, whose daughter, Katherine Stafford, was Surrey's second wife, by whom he was father of the celebrated HENRY HOWARD, Earl of Surrey, the great soldier, scholar, and poet of his age, ancestor of the future dukes of Norfolk. The character in this play became third duke at the death of his father in 1524; he narrowly escaped the fate of his accomplished son, beheaded in 1547, intended also for himself by Henry VIII., whose own death the evening before alone prevented the duke's execution from being carried out. He died, August 25, 1554, and was succeeded by Surrey's son, Thomas Howard, as fourth duke, the friend of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.

Arms of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, K.G.—Quarterly of four, viz. 1. HOWARD; 2. THOMAS of *Brotherton;* 3. WARREN; 4. MOWBRAY.

LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

In the time of the early scenes of this play this high official's post was held *for life*, by Sir CHARLES SOMERSET, who was created Earl of Worcester in 1515, and was a K.G.; he died April 15, 1526. He married Elizabeth Herbert, eldest daughter of William, second Earl of Pembroke, and is ancestor of the Dukes of Beaufort. At his death the appointment was bestowed on Lord Sandys, a character in this play; but probably the Poet only intended to represent the lord chamberlain throughout by the Earl of Worcester.

Arms of Sir Charles Somerset.—Quarterly FRANCE and ENGLAND, a border gobony *Argent* and *Azure*, a *baton sinister*.

LORD CHANCELLOR.

After the disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey, in 1529, his secretary Cromwell tells him, Act III. Scene 2,—

> "Sir Thomas More is chosen
> Lord Chancellor in your place."

This upright judge and learned man, son of Sir John More, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was Speaker of the

House of Commons in 1523, and appointed Lord Chancellor, Oct. 17, 1529; he resigned the Great Seal, May 16, 1532, when he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Audley, at whose death, 1544, Sir Thomas Wriothesley became Chancellor, and he it was who held the Great Seal at the date of the Scene, Act V. Scene 1; he was a bitter enemy of Cranmer, to whom on the contrary More was a fast friend. At the coronation of Anne Boleyn Sir Thomas Audley walked in the procession as Chancellor, though no doubt SHAKSPEARE intended but one person, and that Sir Thomas More, to fill the office, throughout the play, after Wolsey's dismissal. Sir Thomas More was beheaded July 5, 1535; by his first wife, Jane, daughter of John Colt, he had a son, and three daughters, of whom the eldest was the learned and devoted Margaret Roper.

Arms of Sir Thomas More.—Argent a chevron engrailed between three moor-cocks *Sable*, quartering *Argent*, on a chevron between three unicorns' heads erased *Sable* as many *bezants*.

GARDINER, Bishop of Winchester.

This prelate, STEPHEN GARDINER, is called by some writers a natural son of Richard Woodvile, third and last Earl Rivers; by others a son of the earl's brother, Lionel, Bishop of Salisbury. But most authors consider him to be the son of a citizen of London, William Gardiner, and his wife Helen, natural daughter of Jaspar Tudor. He was well versed in the canon and civil law, and was sent to Rome by Henry VIII., to obtain the Pope's consent to the divorce from Queen Katherine, and he wrote a *treatise* in defence of the measure. He became Bishop of Winchester in 1531; his strong dislike to Cranmer as "a most arch-heretic," and his harshness of disposition, are shown in the play. In the reign of the pious Edward VI., Gardiner was sent to prison as an enemy to the Reformed Faith, but released by Queen Mary, who was crowned by him in 1553, in which year she appointed him Lord Chancellor, and by him she was united to Philip of Spain. Gardiner died Sept. 2, 1555; on his death-bed he is stated by Bishop Burnet to have exclaimed, "Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro."

Arms of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.—He assumed the coat of GARDINER of Glemsford, co. Suffolk; namely, Per fesse *Or* and *Sable* a pale counterchanged, and three griffins' heads erased *Sable.*

BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

This prelate was JOHN LONGLAND, born at Henley, co. Oxford, in 1476; he became a canon of Windsor in 1519. He was confessor to Henry VIII., and Bishop of Lincoln from 1528 to his death in 1547. He is said to have first suggested Henry's divorce; in the play the King says, Act II. Scene 4:—

> "First I began in private
> With you, my lord of Lincoln."

The bishop, who was Chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1532, was a great lover of architecture, and designed the beautiful chapel, called after him, in his noble cathedral; he assisted Wolsey greatly in planning his splendid foundations at "those twins of learning," Oxford and Ipswich.

Arms of Bishop Longland.—Argent a chevron *Gules*, between three pellets, on a chief *Azure* a pellet between two leopards' faces. These appear in the "Longland Chapel," Lincoln Cathedral.

LORD ABERGAVENNY.

Sir Edward Nevill, fourth son of Ralph, first Earl of Westmoreland (by his second wife Joan Beaufort), married Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of Richard Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny, and was summoned by that title in 1450. His grandson, GEORGE NEVILL, is the character in this play; he was summoned from 1497 to 1534, and was a K.G. in 1513; Constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports. He died in 1535, and by his wife Mary Stafford, daughter of the Duke of Buckingham in this play, had, with another son who died without issue, a second son, Sir Edward Nevill, ancestor of the present Earl of Abergavenny. George Nevill was present at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," and in the first scene alludes to the profuse extravagance of the nobles there.

Arms of Lord Abergavenny, K.G.—Gules on a saltire *Argent* a rose of the *first.* But his Garter Plate has Quarterly, 1. NEVILL; 2. WARREN; 3. Quarterly CLARE and SPENCER; 4. BEAUCHAMP.

LORD SANDS.

Descended from an ancient family, of whom many were Sheriffs of Hampshire from the time of Richard II., this personage, Sir WILLIAM SANDYS[1], who had highly distinguished himself in the French wars of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., was created Baron Sandys of the Vine (near Basingstoke), in 1523, according to Dugdale; he was also a K.G. and treasurer of Calais. George Cavendish, in his account of the Masque given by Wolsey at York Place, shows that this character, and not the Earl of Worcester, was the Lord Chamberlain at the time;—"All which order and device was done by lorde Sandes, chamberlaine to the king, and by Sir Henry Guildforde, controller to the king's majestie's household." In Act I. Scene 2, the Lord Chamberlain tells Sir Thomas Lovell, in allusion to this entertainment,—

> "I was spoke to with Sir Henry Guildford,
> This night to be comptrollers."

Lord Sandys died in 1542, leaving by his wife, Margaret, only daughter and heir of John Bray, a son, Thomas, second Lord Sandys[2], whose male line ceased in Edwin, the eighth lord, in 1700, whose sisters, Margaret, and Margery, married Sir John Mill, Bart., and Sir Edmund Fortescue, Bart.

Arms of Lord Sandys, of the Vine, K.G.—Argent a cross raguly *Sable.*

[1] This character is wrongly called "Sir Walter Sands," in Act II. Scene 1, where he is mentioned as one who accompanied the Duke of Buckingham "from his arraignment." Theobald correctly proposed, "Sir William Sands."

[2] Thomas, second Lord Sandys, married Elizabeth Manners, daughter of George Lord de Ros, leaving a son, Henry Sandys, *ob. vitâ patris*, who by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of William, Lord Windsor, had a son William, who became third Lord Sandys.

SIR HENRY GUILDFORD.

Sir John Guldeford, of a family seated in Kent soon after the Conquest, was Comptroller of the Household to Edward IV., an office held by his son Richard in the reign of Henry VII., who made him a K.G.; and by his second wife, Joan, sister of Sir Nicholas Vaux, a character in this play, Sir Richard was father of the above-named Sir Henry Guildford, Master of the Horse to Henry VIII., Standard-Bearer for England for life, and a K.G. He was an eminent soldier in the wars against the Moors in Spain; he was twice married, but died s. p. 1533.

Sir Henry's elder brother, son of a first marriage, Sir Edward Guildford, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, was father of Jane, who married John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and their fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley became the husband of the amiable Lady Jane Grey, who was proclaimed Queen of England by her ambitious father-in-law, for which all three perished on the scaffold.

Arms of Sir Henry Guildford, K.G.—Or a saltire between four martlets *Sable,* on a canton *Argent* a pomegranate slipped *proper;* this augmentation was granted by King Ferdinand of Spain, for Sir Thomas's services in Grenada. In his Garter Plate his coat is quartered with HALDON.

SIR THOMAS LOVELL.

This knight, fifth son of Sir Ralph Lovell of Burton-Bendish, co. Norfolk, was esquire of the body to Henry VII., who made him Chancellor of the Exchequer for life, in 1485; knighted him after the battle of Stoke, 1487; made him Treasurer of the Household in 1502; one of the Privy Council, a K.G., and named him one of his executors. He was Marshal of the House to Henry VIII., Surveyor of the Court of Wards, and Constable of the Tower[1], and was held by that king in

[1] At the Duke of Buckingham's arrest Sir Thomas Lovell was the constable, with Sir Richard Cholmondeley as his lieutenant. In Act II. Scene I, Sir Thomas appears in the discharge of his high office, but Sir Nicholas Vaux seems to act as his subordinate officer: Lovell says,—

> "To the water-side I must conduct your grace;
> Then give my charge up to Sir Nicholas Vaux,
> Who undertakes you to your end."

the highest esteem for his valour and wisdom. He married Isabel, daughter and co-heir of Edward, Lord Ros, of Hamlake, but does not appear to have left any issue at his death, May 25, 1524, as he bequeathed his mansion at Haliwell (Shoreditch), Middlesex, and divers manors to his nephew and heir, Sir Francis Lovell. He was a great benefactor to the Priory at Haliwell, "which he endowed with fayre lands, and was there buried in a large chapell by him builded for that purpose." STOW. Blomefield says that the following lines were inscribed on the walls;—

> "All ye nunns of Haliwell,
> Praye ye both day and night,
> For the soul of Sir Thomas Lovell,
> Whom Harry the Seventh made knight."

His funeral was on a splendid scale, being attended by the Lord Mayor, all the Aldermen, and certain of the crafts of London, and celebrated with all the gorgeous ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church, of which Sir Thomas Lovell was a member. In the play, Bishop Gardiner alludes to this faith, as common to them both,—

> "Sir Thomas, you are a gentleman
> Of mine own way."

Arms of Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G.—Argent a chevron *Azure* between three squirrels sejant *Gules;* carved on the Gateway of Lincoln's Inn, London, built by Sir Thomas Lovell.

SIR ANTHONY DENNY.

He was, according to some authorities, fourth son by Mary, daughter and heir of Robert Troutbeck, of Sir Edmond Denny of Cheshunt, Baron of the Exchequer in the reign of Henry VII., whilst Clutterbuck (*History of Herts.*) calls him grandson of Sir Edmund[1]. Sir Anthony Denny became Groom of the Stole to Henry VIII., and one of his Privy

[1] According to Clutterbuck Sir Edmond Denny's son, Thomas, married Elizabeth, daughter of George Mannock, of Gifford's Hall, co. Suffolk, and their son was Sir Anthony Denny, of this play.

Council. He alone of the courtiers ventured to warn the king of his approaching death. Sir Anthony, who died Sept. 10, 1547, by his wife Joan, daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun, had a son, Henry, whose descendants became Barons Denny; their male line failed in 1680. Sir Anthony's younger son, Sir Edward Denny, who settled in Ireland, was made a Knight Banneret, and had a grant of the manor of Desmond, and Tralee Castle, for taking prisoner, in 1582, Gerald Fitzgerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, the great rebel against Queen Elizabeth. Sir Edward's lineal descendant is the present Sir Edward Denny, Baronet, of Tralee Castle.

Arms of Sir Anthony Denny.—*Gules* a saltire between twelve crosses patée *Or*.

SIR NICHOLAS VAUX.

This character, son and heir of the "William Vaux" in the *Second Part of King Henry VI.*, was knighted for his conduct at the battle of Stoke, and Henry VIII. made him Governor of Guisnes, and created him Lord Vaux of Harrowden, in 1524, in which year he died. Fuller thus describes him;—"he was a jolly Gentleman, both for camp and courts; a great Reveller, good as well in a March as a Masque." *Worthies*, under *Northamptonshire*, of which county he was four times Sheriff. By his second wife, Anne, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Green, of Boughton and Green's-Norton, he was father of Thomas, second Lord Vaux, ancestor, through Mostyn, of the present Lord Vaux of Harrowden, George Mostyn, 1865.

Arms of Sir Nicholas, Lord Vaux of Harrowden.—Chequy *Or* and *Gules*, on a chevron *Azure* three roses *Or*.

CROMWELL, Servant to Wolsey.

Like his great master, the Cardinal, THOMAS CROMWELL, born about 1490, was of mean parentage, his father, Walter Cromwell, being a blacksmith at Putney. In a play, sometimes ascribed to SHAKSPEARE, called *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, 1602, young Cromwell refuses to work at his father's craft, but

remains idle, meditating with ambitious views, he soliloquises thus:—

> "And likewise Wolsey, the wonder of our age,
> His birth as mean as mine, a butcher's son,
> Now who within this land a greater man?"

Going abroad he became a trooper in the army of the Constable Bourbon, and was present at the sacking of Rome, 1527. He rendered while still abroad an essential service to Sir John Russell, by whom he was introduced to Wolsey, who placed him in his household, and afterwards recommended him to the king's service. In Act III. Scene 2, the cardinal says,—

> "I have told him
> What and how true thou art; he will advance thee."

Cromwell's rapid rise in his royal master's favour is alluded to by Lovell in the play, Act IV. Scene 1:—

> "Beside that of the jewel-house, he's made master
> O' the rolls, and the king's secretary; further, sir,
> Stands in the gap and trade of more preferments."

In 1536 he was created Lord Cromwell, and in 1539 Earl of Essex. But the most important favour bestowed upon him was the post of "Vicar-General in Spirituals," *i.e.* in ecclesiastical affairs, in 1535, in which capacity he had the chief hand in the dissolution of the religious houses: Fuller styles him, "the Mauler of the Monasteries." His fall was as rapid as his rise; he lost the royal favour for promoting the king's marriage with the ill-favoured Anne of Cleves, was tried for high treason, and beheaded on Tower hill, July 24, 1540. By his wife.....daughter of one Williams of Wales, Thomas Cromwell left a son, Gregory, who was created Lord Cromwell; his male line ceased in 1687. Anderson, Betham, Gough, Clutterbuck (in his *Herts.*), followed by later writers, derive Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, from a nephew of the earl of Essex; but this seems very doubtful, and Fuller relates that when it was once suggested to the Protector that such an affinity existed, he in some passion replied, "that Lord was not related to my family in the least degree." *Worthies. Cambridgeshire.*

Arms of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, K.G.—Argent

on a fesse between three lions rampant *Or* a rose *Gules* between two Cornish choughs *proper*.

SECRETARIES to Wolsey.

These persons were Doctor RICHARD PACE, and WILLIAM BURBANK, who became Archdeacon of Carlisle. The former, who was sometime Dean of St Paul's, 1519, was much employed abroad by Henry VIII., who sent him to Rome in 1524, to procure the papal crown for Wolsey. Holinshed speaks of him as a learned man, "courteous, pleasant, delighting in music, highly in the king's favour, and well heard in matters of weight." The same author states that Dr Pace "fell out of his right wits," and SHAKSPEARE has seized this fact in the account of his death, Act II. Scene 2[1], where Campeius tells Wolsey,—

> "They will not stick to say, you envied him,
> And fearing he would rise, he was so virtuous,
> Kept him a foreign man still, which so griev'd him,
> That he ran mad, and died."

Dr Pace was Vicar of Stepney, where he died, 1532, and where there is, or was, a Latin epitaph to his memory, which is given in WEEVER'S *Funeral Monuments*.

Among the attendants on the "king-cardinal," GEORGE CAVENDISH should appear as his "Gentleman-usher," especially in Act II. Scene 4. The late Mr John Holmes, of the British Museum, has proved that George, and not his brother, Sir William Cavendish, as frequently stated, was Wolsey's biographer. Lord Herbert, and Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, had both declared that George Cavendish wrote Wolsey's life. George Cavendish married Margery Kemp, daughter of William Kemp, whose wife Mary Colt was sister to Jane, who married Sir Thomas More. Anthony Wood calls Wolsey's biographer "Thomas Cavendish;" Mr E. Philip Bliss (1815) corrects this mistake by another, "it should be William Cavendish."

[1] The death of Doctor Pace is made to occur before the queen's trial, whereas it did not take place until three years after it.

GRIFFITH, Gentleman-Usher to Queen Katherine.

George Cavendish says of the Queen's quitting the Court of Trial, Act II. Scene 4,—"she toke her way straight out of the courte, leaning upon the arme of one of her servantes, who was her General Receiver, called Mr Griffithe." SHAKSPEARE has rendered the name of this gentleman for ever memorable by the noble eulogy which he pronounces on the "great child of honour," Wolsey. The Compiler has in vain sought for the family of which this character was a member; nor does any name occur, in the published Households of Henry VIII. and his first Consort, which can apply to him. The only record found which seems to identify him is the following:—

"The Report of the Lorde Mountjoye, Richarde Gryffyth, and Thomas Vaulx, of such aunswere as the Pryncesse Dowagier made unto theym at Ampthill, the Fryday beyng the 4th day of July, there beyng present also, Sir Robert Dymmok, Knight, and John Tyrell, Esquire." *State Papers of King Henry* VIII., Vol. I. *page* 402, under the year 1533.

William Blount, fourth Lord Mountjoy, had been Chamberlain to the Queen, and Sir Thomas Tyrrell was her Master of the Horse. The name of Richard does not occur in the pedigree of Sir George Griffith, who was knight of the body to Henry VIII.

DOCTOR BUTTS, Physician to the King.

This personage, Sir WILLIAM BUTTS, is doubly fortunate, in that he is mentioned by SHAKSPEARE, and handed down to posterity by the favourite painter of King Henry VIII., Hans Holbein. The valuable discovery, in 1861, by Mr W. H. Black, F.S.A., of Hans Holbein's will, dated Oct. 7, 1543, and *proved* the 29th of the month following, places the great artist's death *eleven years earlier* than the date, 1554, usually assigned; and consequently many pictures ascribed to his hand must be the works of other painters. Dr Butts is the leading figure in the group of medical men to whom the King is presenting the Charter of the Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1541. This fine and *undoubted* picture by Holbein hangs in their Court-room, which was designed by Inigo Jones, whose striking portrait by Vandyke adorns the noble apartment.

Doctor Butts attended Anne Boleyn in a very dangerous illness, and he was expressly sent by the King to Esher, when Wolsey lay sick there after his disgrace. Butts was a firm friend to Cranmer and the Reformation. Henry VIII. bestowed upon his favourite physician, in 1537, the manor and advowson of Thornage, co. Norfolk, which remained in the family until Anne, only daughter and heir of Sir William's third son, Edmund Butts, brought it by her marriage to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the first person who was created a baronet, May 22, 1611, and their fourth son, Butts Bacon is ancestor of the present premier baronet, Bacon of Redgrave. Sir William Butts died Nov. 17, 1545, and was buried in Fulham Church, where his monument, with a Latin inscription, was restored by Leonard Butts, in 1627, as recorded on the tomb. The three sons of the king's physician, William of Thornage, Thomas of Risborough, and Edmund of Barrow, married three co-heiresses, Joane, Bridget and Anne, daughters of Henry de Bures and his wife Anne, daughter of Sir William Waldgrave.

Arms of Sir William Butts.—Azure on a chevron between three estoiles *Or* as many lozenges *Gules.*

GARTER, King at Arms.

As this important official is introduced in the Coronation procession of Anne Boleyn which occurred June 1st, 1533, GARTER will be THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY, who was appointed by Henry VIII. in 1529. He was eldest son of John Wriothesley, who was Falcon herald in the reign of Edward IV., and Garter King at arms in that of Richard III., who founded the College of Arms. John's second son, William was York herald, and he had a son Thomas who became Lord Chancellor, a peer, and K.G., and whose grandson, Henry Wriothesley, third earl of Southampton, earned the proud title of "the FRIEND of SHAKSPEARE."

Arms of Wriothesley.—Azure a cross *Or* between four falcons *Argent.*

SURVEYOR to the Duke of Buckingham.

This faithless servant of a noble master was Charles

Knevet, who had been dismissed from his office of Steward to the duke's estates, as alluded to by Queen Katherine. Such an appointment was held by persons of good family, and in this instance the "Surveyor" was allied to the Duke. Grafton speaks of him as "Charles Knivet, Esquier, Cosyn to the Duke of Buckingham." This relationship is established by the pedigree of the family; Sir William Knevet of Bokenham, Norfolk, had by his wife Joan, or Jane, daughter of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, two sons, Sir Edward, his heir, and Charles the "Surveyor." By his will, proved 19 June, 1516, Sir William leaves his principal estates to Edward, and to his second son, Charles Knevet and his wife Anne, the manors of Hamerton and Wymoke, "for their lives." In the will of Sir Edward Knevet, Kt., proved 10 Dec., 1528, who speaks of his mother Dame Jane, his executors are directed "to bryng upp yong Antony Knyvet, my nevew, the son of my late brother, Charles Knyvet deceased." They were also to pay "C marks to his niece Elizabeth Knyvet, daughter of my brother, Charles Knyvet," if she married with the consent of the Duchess of Norfolk, in whose household she was placed. Sir N. H. NICOLAS. *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. II. p. 547. Anthony Knevet was one of the two Gentlemen-ushers to K. Henry VIII., in whose household were several members of the family.

Arms of Knevet of Bokenham.—Argent a bend *Sable*, a border engrailed of the *second.*

BRANDON, and a Serjeant at Arms.

Mr T. P. Courtenay, alluding to Act I. Scene 1, says,—"In the play the Duke is arrested by Brandon; the name does not occur in the chronicles. Sir Henry Marne, or Marney, captain of the King's guard, made the arrest." This Knight, of a family seated at Layer-Marney, co. Essex, time of Edward III., was one of the chief royalist commanders at the battle of Stoke, and also at Blackheath. On the attainder of the Duke of Buckingham Sir Henry Marney obtained a grant of some of his forfeited estates; he afterwards became lord keeper of the privy seal, a K.G., and Lord Mar-

ney, in 1533. Mr Capell suggested that "Marney" should be substituted for "Brandon."

In the trial scene of Queen Katherine, Act II. Scene 4, May 31, 1529, several prelates are introduced, who merit a brief notice. "*The Archbishop of Canterbury alone,*"—this was Dr William Warham, who was Bishop of London in 1502, and appointed to the primacy in 1504: he died in 1532. The "*Bishop of Lincoln,*" was Dr John Longland, already noticed. The "*Bishop of Ely,*" was Dr Nicholas West, 1515 to 1533; the "*Bishop of Rochester,*" was Dr John Fisher, 1509 to 1535, in which year he was beheaded. The "*Bishop of St Asaph,*" was Dr Henry Standish, 1518 to 1535. George Cavendish gives a minute account of the arrangement of the Court, describing it as an eye-witness[1]. He states that the advocates, or "doctors for the King were Dr Sampson, that was after Bishop of Chichester, and Dr Bell, who after was Bishop of Worcester." The proctors, he says, on the king's part were, "Dr Peter, who was after made the king's chief secretary, and Dr Tregonwell, and divers others. Now on the other side stood the counsel for the queen, Dr Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Dr Standish, sometime a grey friar, and then Bishop of St Asaph, in Wales, two notable clerks in divinity, and in especial the Bishop of Rochester, a very godly man, and a devout person ... there was also another ancient doctor, called, as I remember, Dr Ridley, a very small person of stature, but surely a great and excellent clerk in divinity." Cavendish also states that the chief of the "two scribes," was "Dr Stephen, afterwards Bishop of Winchester," this in reality was Gardiner, who was for some time called "Dr Stevens, or Stephen." The apparitor "was one Cooke, most commonly called Cooke of Winchester."

Of the persons mentioned above by Cavendish it may be explained, that Dr Peter was Sir William Petre, who became

[1] In the grand Procession of this scene there are "two priests, each bearing a silver cross;" one of these would be attached to Cardinal Wolsey, whose chaplain and cross-bearer was Robert, son of Rhys *ap* Meredith, who was a standard-bearer to Henry Tudor at Bosworth. In the church of Yspytty-Evan, co. Denbigh, are monuments with the effigies of Rhys *ap* Meredith, his wife, and their son Robert.

Secretary of State to Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary; he is ancestor of the lords Petre. Dr John Tregonwell became one of the three Auditors to the Augmentation Office (with Dr John London, and Sir William Cavendish), 30 Henry VIII., who knighted him, and gave him the revenues of the dissolved Abbey of Middleton, co. Dorset. Dr John Ridley was uncle of Nicholas Ridley, bishop first of Rochester, afterwards of London. Dr John Fisher is supposed to have written the work which procured for its reputed author, Henry VIII., that title, "Fidei Defensor," which has descended to his successors. The original Manuscript is or was preserved in the Vatican, with this distich, written by the king's own hand,—

"Anglorum Rex Henricus Leo Decimo mittit
Hoc opus, et fidei testem et amicitiæ."

Mr Richard Lassels, in his *Voyage of Italy*, printed in 1670, mentions among the treasures in the Library of the Vatican, "The letters of *Henry* the VIII. of *England* to *Anne Bolen* his mistresse then, in his owne hand-writeing. Some in *English*, some in *French*, but all *amatory*." As to King Henry's *treatise*, Mr H. Bray, in a note to his Edition of *Evelyn's Diary*, 1854, states that he had seen in England this book, which had been purchased for a few shillings at a bookstall in Italy; the Pope had run his pen through "Defender of the Faith" wherever it occurred.

The "Lord Mayor" who is introduced in the Coronation procession of Anne Boleyn, Act IV. Scene 1, and again at the christening of her daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, Act V. Scene 4, was Sir STEPHEN PEACOCKE, 1532—3, who bore for Arms, *Gules* on a fesse engrailed *Argent* between three bezants each charged with a peacock's head erased *Azure* as many mascles pierced *Or*.

At the arrest of the duke of Buckingham, Brandon says—

"Here is a warrant from
The king to attach Lord Montacute."

He is called by the old chroniclers "the king's cousin;" he was HENRY POLE, grandson of George, Duke of Clarence,

and created Lord Montagu; "he was reconciled to his grace's favour," but was beheaded in 1539.

QUEEN KATHERINE.

This ill-used Princess was the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the king and queen of Spain; the latter was the daughter of John II., King of Leon, grandson of Henry III., King of Castile and Leon, by his wife, Catherine Plantagenet, daughter of John of *Gaunt* and Constance of Castile. The PRINCESS KATHERINE of ARRAGON, born Dec. 16, 1485, was married to Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII., Nov. 14, 1501; after Arthur's death in 1502, his widow, to save her dowry being returned, was affianced to his brother Henry, and their marriage took place June 3, 1509, and on the 24th of the same month they were crowned by Archbishop Warham. The early deaths of her two sons born to Henry are alluded to by him, Act II. Scene 4,—

> "Her male issue
> Or died where they were made, or shortly after
> This world had air'd them."

The surviving child of this marriage was the PRINCESS MARY, born Feb. 8, 1515, who succeeded her half-brother, Edward VI., on the throne, July 6, 1553, and died Nov. 17, 1558.

Henry VIII. having formed an attachment to Anne Boleyn, resolved to get rid of Katherine of Arragon, under the plea that, though discovered after she had "hung twenty years about his neck,"—

> "The marriage with his brother's wife
> Has crept too near his conscience."

After her divorce, May 23, 1533, Katherine "chose the palace of Ampthill in Bedfordshire for her residence, and the monastery of Kimbolton, at no great distance, for her religious resorts; in these she passed the remainder of her life, beloved by all around her, and respected by none more than by the king himself, whose passions, rather than judgment and conscience, constrained him to prefer the youth and beauty of another." FOX'S *Acts and Monuments.* The incidents and

speeches in the play connected with the queen are found in Cavendish. In her letter to her "most dear lord and husband" (given in Polydore Vergil), she commends "his young daughter," Mary, "to his goodness;" her women, and her other servants, for whom she besought "a year's pay besides their due." Though following history in the main, the Poet has invested Katherine with a dignity and pathos which are his own, and has thus produced, in the words of Dr Samuel Johnson, "the most perfect female character in the whole range of our drama," Miss Strickland says, "Shakspeare alone has properly appreciated and vividly pourtrayed the great talents, as well as the moral worth of the right royal Katherine of Arrâgon."

The queen died at Kimbolton, Jan. 8, 1536, and was buried in Peterborough Cathedral, where, half a century later, the same sexton, Scarlett, placed Mary Queen of Scots in her grave; his epitaph records this fact, and his great age;

"He had interred two queens within this place;"

and his death is stated; "July 2, 1594, R. S. Ætatis suæ 98."

ANNE BOLEYN.

This lady had an illustrious ancestry, being descended from Edward the First. Her great grandfather, Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, Lord Mayor of London, 1457—8, married Anne, daughter of Lord Hoo and Hastings, K.G., and purchased Blickling, co. Norfolk, of Sir John Fastolfe; their eldest son, Sir William Boleyn, married the lady Margaret Butler, daughter of Thomas, seventh Earl of Ormonde, whose lineal ancestor, James, first earl, married Eleanor de Bohun, daughter of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, and the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I. The son of Sir William and Margaret Boleyn, was Sir THOMAS BOLEYN, of Blickling, and of Hever, in Kent, whose wife was lady Elizabeth Howard, eldest daughter and co-heir of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, and their children were, one son, George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, beheaded 1536; and two daughters, ANNE, the character in this play, and lady MARY BOLEYN, who married Sir William Carey, Knt., and their son, Sir Henry Carey, first Lord

Hunsdon, K.G., was grandfather of Blanche Carey, who married Sir Thomas Wodehouse, and their daughter Anne became the wife of Robert Suckling, Sheriff of Norfolk, 1661, and their great granddaughter, Catherine Suckling married the Rev. Edmund Nelson, and one of their sons was HORATIO, ADMIRAL LORD VISCOUNT NELSON[1].

According to Fox, Camden, Miss Benger, and other writers, Anne Boleyn was born in 1507, at Rochford Hall, Essex, a seat which came to the family through the Butlers. Miss Strickland inclines to the opinion of Spelman, and Lord Herbert, that Anne was born in 1501, at Blickling Hall. According to Fox, and those who follow his date, Anne Boleyn was only seven years old, but as other writers say, fourteen, when she accompanied the Princess Mary Tudor (sister of Henry VIII.) to France in 1514, when she went to be married to Louis XII.; at whose death, January 1, 1515, Anne became Maid of honour to Claude, queen of Francis the First. Altogether she remained in France about eight years and then returned to England. "She was much admired in both courts, was more beautiful than graceful, and more cheerful than discreet." FOX. It is not likely that Anne Boleyn would be chosen when only seven years old to be a Maid of honour to the Queen of France, and her history confirms the date of 1501, as that of her birth, making her to be only ten years younger that Henry VIII., and thus disposing of an infamous scandal respecting her parentage. Lord Herbert of Chirbury expressly states that she was *twenty years* old when she returned from France in 1521. *Life of K. Henry VIII.* 1649. Anne Boleyn, like other persons of her period, wrote her name in various ways; Ann Bollein; Anna de Boullan; Ann Boleyn; 1528, Anna Bollen; when in the Tower Ann Bulen; and she sometimes subscribed, Anne Rochford. In 1522, Anne was appointed Maid of honour to Queen Katherine, and notwithstanding Wolsey's opposition, Henry without waiting for the formal decree of his divorce was married privately to Anne Boleyn, at Whitehall, January 25, 1533, by

[1] The descent of the immortal seaman from Edward the First, through *Bohun*, *Butler*, *Boleyn*, *Carey*, *Wodehouse*, and *Suckling*, is given in full in Table V. of "*The Royal Descent of* NELSON *and* WELLINGTON. G. R. French. 1855."

Dr Rowland Lee, afterwards Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, in the presence only of Anne Savill, afterwards Lady Berkeley, and of Norris and Heneage, two grooms of the king's chamber. MISS STRICKLAND. According to some writers
11 the marriage occurred Nov. 14, 1532, which date is probably the correct one. Anne Boleyn was created Marchioness of Pembroke by her royal lover, Sept. 1st, 1532—

> "To which title
> A thousand pounds a year, annual support,
> Out of his grace he adds."

The newly-created peeress attended the meeting of the Kings of England and France at Calais, which was held from the 20th to the 30th of October, 1532, and at this interview Francis I. encouraged Henry to proceed with his marriage to Anne Boleyn *without delay*, and assured him "that he would stand by him in it." FOX. The conflicting dates of marriage may be reconciled by ascribing the first ceremony in November, as that performed *in private* by Dr Lee, and the second marriage, in January following, as that solemnized by Cranmer, as is frequently alleged, in a more *public* manner, in the presence of Anne Boleyn's father and mother, her brother and her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, the "earl of Surrey," in this play.

Queen Anne Boleyn was crowned by Cranmer, with great splendour, June 1, 1533, the king viewing the ceremony from a little cloister of St Stephen's chapel. The new queen did not long enjoy her elevation, for the capricious monarch's fancy being attracted by a new favourite, her own Maid of honour, Jane Seymour, Anne was accused of unfaithfulness to Henry's bed, and condemned to die; but as her early admirer, Sir Thomas Wyatt says,—"for the evidence, as I never could hear of any, small I believe it was." Anne Boleyn was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 19, 1536, and on the following day Henry married again!

AN OLD LADY, friend to Anne Boleyn.

It would be difficult to identify this character, as the scene, Act III. Scene 3, is probably a creation of the Poet's fancy. At the end of Scene 1. Act 5, "an Old Lady" enters to the

king with tidings of Anne Boleyn's having given birth to "a girl;" and Stevens in a note observes, "this I suppose, is the same old cat that appears with Anne Boleyn" in a former scene. In the modern representation of the play on the stage the part of the "Old Lady" is sometimes assigned to "Lady Denny," but what warrant there is for such personation the Compiler has not been able to discover.

PATIENCE, Woman to Queen Katherine.

Women attending upon the Queen.

The principal Lady to the Queen was one of her own country-women, Mary de Salucci, of an illustrious family, who had married William Lord Willoughby de Eresby, but was now his widow, and the faithful attendant upon her royal mistress, who expired in her arms. The queen's three maids, true to her in all fortunes, were two Spanish ladies, Blanche and Isabel de Vergas, and "Mistris Elizabeth Darell," of an old Kentish family. Miss Strickland suggests that "Patience" may have been one of the "little maidens," to whom the Queen left legacies in her will, "£10 to every one of them."

"The old duchess of Norfolk," who is named as one of the sponsors to the Princess Elizabeth, was not, as sometimes stated, Anne Boleyn's maternal grandmother, Elizabeth Tilney, first wife of the Duke of Norfolk in this play, but his second wife, AGNES TILNEY, now his widow, as he died in 1524. The other godmother, whom the king calls the "lady marquis Dorset," was the second wife, and now the widow of Thomas Grey, second Marquess of Dorset (who died 1530), MARGARET, daughter of Sir ROBERT WOTTON.

The stage direction, in Act v. Scene 4, respecting the christening ceremonies, mentions, "*Four noblemen bearing a canopy, under which the Duchess of Norfolk, godmother, bearing the child,*" &c. These nobles were Lord Rochford, brother to Anne Boleyn; Lord Hussey; Lord William Howard; and Lord Thomas Howard. The "*two Noblemen bearing great standing bowls for the christening gifts,*" were doubtless, Robert Ratcliffe, Lord Fitz-walter; and Henry Somerset, Earl of Worcester. "The Countess of Kent bare the train of the child's mantle." GRAFTON.

The "Duchess of Alençon," to whom Wolsey wished to see his royal master united, was Margaret, sister of Francis I., and widow of Charles II., Duke of Alençon, grandson of John II., the "Duke of Alençon" in the *First Part of King Henry VI.* But this princess had married, secondly, 24 January, 1527, Henri II., King of Navarre. Holinshed furnished the hint to the Poet of this alliance.

In the play Wolsey arrogantly assumes the right to prescribe a consort for his royal master,—

> "It shall be to the duchess of Alençon,
> The French king's sister; he shall marry her.—
> Anne Bullen! No; I'll no Anne Bullens for him:
> There is more in it than fair visage.—Bullen!
> No, we'll no Bullens."
>
> Act III. Sc. 2.

It must however have been some other Princess than the sister of the chivalrous Francis, to whom the Cardinal wished to ally his master. On his disgrace Wolsey is informed of "the King's pleasure" by the Duke of Norfolk;—

> "Who commands you
> To render up the great seal presently
> Into our hands; and to confine yourself
> To Asher-house, my lord of Winchester's,
> Till you hear further from his highness."
>
> Act III. Sc. 2.

Esher House was built by Cardinal Wolsey, as a residence for the Bishops of Winchester, to whom the manor belonged; his Gate-house still remains.

NOTES

ON

MACBETH AND HAMLET.

NOTES ON MACBETH.

Date of Action, A.D. 1039 *to* 1054.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

DUNCAN, King of Scotland,

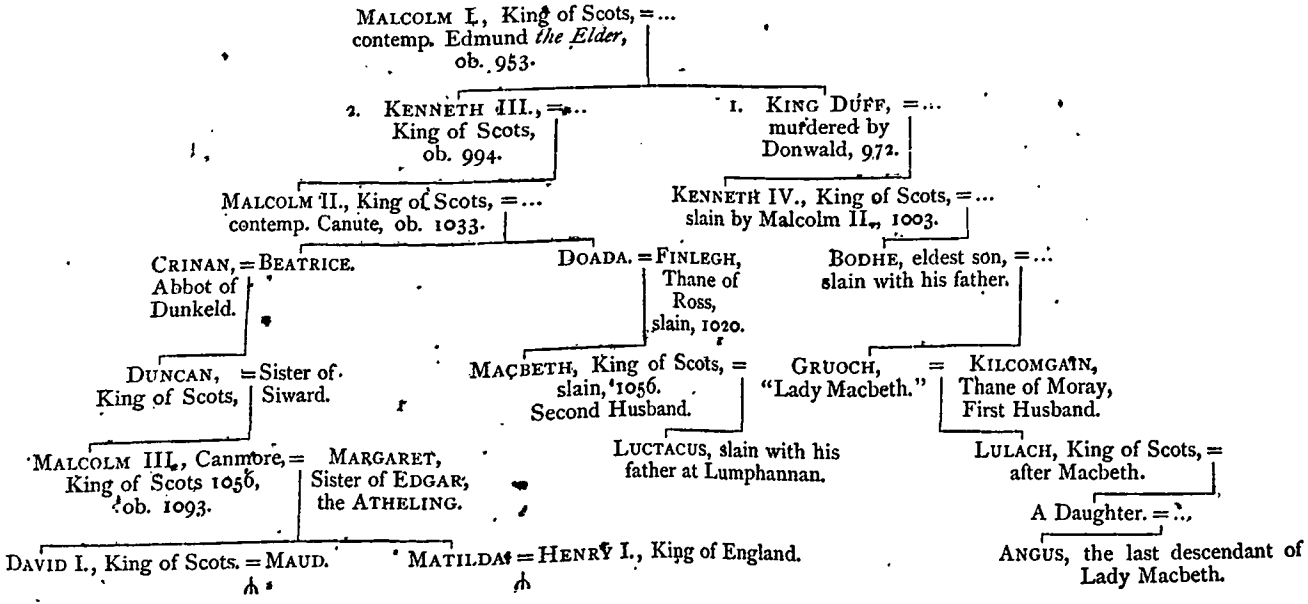
THE early history of Scotland is much obscured by fable, and Sir WALTER SCOTT observes that Kenneth Mac Alpine "might justly be termed the first King of Scotland, being the first who possessed such a territory as had title to be termed a kingdom." At his death, in 859, he was succeeded by his brother Donald, who was followed in 863 by Kenneth's son, Constantine II., who was slain in battle in 881, leaving a son, Donald IV., who reigned till 904, and was succeeded by Constantine III., who on his defeat at the famous battle of Brunan-burgh, by Athelstan of England, retired into a cloister, and was succeeded by a son of Donald IV. as Malcolm the First, who added Cumberland and Westmoreland to his dominions, for which counties he did homage to Edmund *the Elder.* Malcolm I., who is the common ancestor of the chief personages in this drama, died in 953, having had two sons, King Duff, and Kenneth III.; the latter was murdered in 994 by St Finella. Constantine IV., and Kenneth IV., next filled the throne; the latter was son of King Duff, and left a son, Bodhe, whose daughter, Gruoch, is the "Lady Macbeth" of SHAKSPEARE. Kenneth IV. was dethroned, and slain in 1003, by his cousin-german Malcolm II., son of Kenneth III. Malcolm II. was an able prince, and a renowned general, and was very successful against the Danes;

he agreed with Canute of England, that his grandson Duncan should do homage for Cumberland. Malcolm II. was slain in 1033; he had two daughters, Bethog or Beatrice, who married a person of great importance, Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, and their son is the "gracious Duncan" of the play; the other daughter, according to Boetius, Buchanan, and Bishop Lesley, was Doada, who married Finley, the Maormor, or Thane of Ross, and their son is the "Macbeth" of the play. Sir Walter Scott considers that Macbeth's claim to the throne was better than Duncan's; but that of the Lady Gruoch, whose father was son of Kenneth IV. must have been more valid than either Duncan's or Macbeth's title. It is not true that Macbeth murdered Duncan in his own castle, which is generally placed in the play at Inverness, (Dr Johnson, Stevens, etc.), but he attacked and slew him, in fair fight, in 1039, at Bothgowran, near Elgin. An earlier monarch, King Duff, was murdered in 972 by his general, Donwald, Captain of the Castle of Fores, who slew the king's chamberlains, whilst in a state of drunken stupor, that the blame might be attached to them; and this deed was done, according to the old chroniclers, at the instigation of Donwald's wife, who is styled "very ambitious, burning in unquenchable desire to bear the name of queen." In these facts we have the ground-work of the splendid play before us, in which the names of the chief personages are altered, and the indelible brand of inhospitable treason is fixed upon Macbeth and his wife, by the hand of genius. King Duncan, to whom the poet has justly assigned a character for gentleness, married a sister, some writers say a daughter, of the "warlike Siward" of the play, by whom he had two sons, Malcolm and Donald, and a daughter, Margaret, who married Edgar Atheling, an alliance seldom noticed by historians. GEORGE CHALMERS, in his *Caledonia*, says that no castle was built at Inverness until the twelfth century.

MALCOLM,
DONALBAIN, } *Sons of King Duncan.*

When Macbeth ascended the throne in 1039, at the death of Duncan, "Malcolm fled to Cumberland, and Donal found

DESCENT OF DUNCAN, MACBETH, AND LADY MACBETH.


MALCOLM I., King of Scots, =...
contemp. Edmund the Elder, ob. 953.
2. KENNETH III., =... King of Scots, ob. 994.
1. KING DUFF, =... murdered by Donwald, 972.
MALCOLM II., King of Scots, =... contemp. Canute, ob. 1033.
KENNETH IV., King of Scots, =... slain by Malcolm II., 1003.
CRINAN, = BEATRICE. Abbot of Dunkeld.
DOADA. = FINLEGH, Thane of Ross, slain, 1020.
BODHE, eldest son, =... slain with his father.
DUNCAN, King of Scots, = Sister of Siward.
MACBETH, King of Scots, = slain, 1056. Second Husband.
GRUOCH, "Lady Macbeth." = KILCOMGAIN, Thane of Moray, First Husband.
MALCOLM III., Canmore, = King of Scots 1056, ob. 1093.
MARGARET, Sister of EDGAR, the ATHELING.
LUCTACUS, slain with his father at Lumphannan.
LULACH, King of Scots, = after Macbeth.
A Daughter. =...
DAVID I., King of Scots. = MAUD.
MATILDA = HENRY I., King of England.
ANGUS, the last descendant of Lady Macbeth.

an asylum in the Hebrides." CHALMERS. In the play one of the brothers explains the reason for going in such opposite directions:—

"our separated fortune
Shall keep us both the safer."

MALCOLM, after a sojourn of several years in the court of Edward the Confessor, returned to Scotland, when "the holy king" sent—

"Old Siward with ten thousand men
All ready at a point,"

to place the young prince on his father's throne. The Saxon chronicle (LAMBARD), under the year 1054, records,—"Siward went with a great army into Scotland, both with ship-force, and land-force, and fought with the Scots, and routed the king Macbeth, and slew all the best in the land, and brought thence much spoil, such as no man gat before." But Malcolm III. did not ascend the throne until two years after the battle, namely in 1056. From the great size of his head he obtained the name of Caen-Mohr, or Canmore; "he was a prince of valour and talent, and having been bred in the school of adversity had profited by the lessons taught in that stern seminary." Sir W. SCOTT. An event of great importance to Malcolm occurred in 1067, when the ship of Edgar, the Atheling of England, rightful heir to Edward the Confessor, was driven upon the coast of Scotland, the Saxon prince having in his company his mother Agatha, and his sisters Margaret and Christina; they were hospitably received by the King of Scots, who in 1070 (according to Ruddiman) married Margaret, sister of the Atheling, to whom he gave his own sister in marriage.

Having embroiled himself in a war with William Rufus, Malcolm Canmore was slain, with his eldest son Edward, near Alnwick, Nov. 13, 1093, and his excellent queen, whom her admiring subjects called "the Sainted Margaret," only survived her double loss three days,—as old Hardyng says,—

"When quene Margarete so of ye tidynges knewe,
She eate never mete, for sorrowe dyed anone."

Besides the son already named, Malcolm and his queen had four sons, and two daughters, Editha afterwards called

Matilda, and Mary; the latter married Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, and their daughter Maud became the wife of Stephen, King of England; the elder princess, Matilda, was "the good queen Mold," consort of Henry the First, King of England. The four sons of Malcolm Canmore were Edmund, Edgar, Alexander, and David, of whom the three last-named became kings of Scotland.

DONALBAIN, or Donald Bane, at the death of his brother Malcolm Canmore, usurped the throne, through the aid of the king of Norway. William Rufus, in 1098, sent an army into Scotland under the command of Edgar Atheling, by whose means Edgar, third son of Malcolm (an elder brother Edmund having retired into a monastery), was seated on his father's throne; he died without issue in 1106, and was succeeded by his next brother, Alexander, called *the Fierce*, who also died without lawful issue, in 1124, when the youngest son of Malcolm came to the throne, as David I., and from him, whose wife was Maud, daughter of Waltheof, son of Earl Siward, have descended all the succeeding sovereigns of Scotland, including the Baliol, Bruce, and Stuart dynasties.

MACBETH.

As already shewn, this character was of royal descent, being grandson, by the mother's side, of Malcolm II., King of Scots. The old Scottish Chroniclers call him Macbeth son of Finlegh; the Irish annalists style him the son of Finlaagh; and Fordun calls him "Macabeda, son of Finele." Betham calls him Macbeth Finlay, son of Doada and Finlay, Thane of Glamis or Angus. Sir Walter Scott says,—"While the works of Shakspeare are read, and the English language subsists, history may say what she will, but the general reader will only recollect Macbeth as a sacrilegious usurper." The same great writer also declares of him,—"as a king, the tyrant so much exclaimed against was in reality a firm, just, and equitable prince." In the play Macbeth is supposed to be slain in the conflict with Siward's army, before

"high Dunsinane hill;"

this was not the fact, for he escaped from the field of battle,

and lived two years after it, "and was at length slain at Lumphannan (shire of Aberdeen), on the 5th of December, 1056, by the injured hand of Malcolm." CHALMERS.

At Collace, in the shire of Perth, is "Dunsinnan House[1], and on the summit of the adjacent hill is an oval area, the site of the castle of the tyrant Macbeth, encompassed by a double entrenchment, and full in view of Birnham Wood, the reported resort of the witches, of whose predictions the traditions in the neighbourhood are precisely in unison with Shakspeare's celebrated and well-known drama." GORTON, *Topog. Dict.* The modern mode of spelling Macbeth's castle, Dunsinnan, seems to determine the proper manner of pronouncing it: but according to the way in which it is usually written, Dunsinane, the last syllable must be accented *long;* and as such it occurs throughout the play in every instance but one; the exception is the line, in Act IV. Scene 1;—

"Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinăne hill."

In Act V. Scene 2, Cathness says of Macbeth,

"Great Dunsinăne he strongly fortifies."

In the next scene Macbeth twice refers to the prediction of the weird sisters; first,—

"Till Birnam wood remove to Dunsinăne."

and again,—

"Till Birnam forest come to Dunsinăne."

And in the next line the "Scotch Doctor" says, *aside,*—

"Were I from Dunsinăne away and clear."

In Scene 4 Siward says that the confident tyrant—

"Keeps still in Dunsinăne, and will endure."

In Scene 5 Macbeth again quotes the memorable prophecy "that lies like truth,"—

"Fear not, till Birnam wood
Do come to Dunsinăne; and now a wood
Comes toward Dunsinăne."

[1] Dunsinnan House was built in the last century by a Scotch advocate, who on being raised to the bench, as a lord of Session, took the territorial title of Lord Dunsinnan.

And in the last scene (7) once more he refers, in the desperation of valour, to its fulfilment;—

"Though Birnam wood be come to Dunsinane."

All these instances will require the last syllable to be accented long; which, however, is not the manner in which a Scot would pronounce the word.

Macbeth has been ably vindicated from the double charge of ingratitude and treason by Mr Chalmers, who considers that as the son of Doada, daughter of Malcolm II., Macbeth "might well enter into competition with Duncan for the crown." The same excellent authority says, "Macbeth united in himself all the power which was possessed by the partizans of Kenneth IV.; all the influence of the Lady Gruoch, and of her son Lulach, together with the authority of Maormor of Ross." He also observes, "Macbeth had to avenge the wrongs of his wife, and to resent for himself the death of his father," who, as the same writer states, "fell a sacrifice to the demon of enmity in 1020."

According to tradition a son of Macbeth was slain with him, in his last encounter with Malcolm. At a place called Tough, a few miles north of Lumphannan, a large standing stone, 12 feet high, is said to commemorate the death of Macbeth's son, who is called Luctacus by Betham. Macbeth, in his soliloquy, Act III. Sc. 1, seems to imply that he then had a son, when he expresses his fear, in relation to the prediction of the witches, that he has murdered the "gracious Duncan," only to cause the crown to descend to Banquo's issue,—

"no son of mine succeeding."

The terrible expression used by Lady Macbeth respecting her smiling babe, when she upbraids the wavering Macbeth, may refer either to a son by him, or to the one by her former husband, though the poet does not show that he was acquainted with the fact of Lady Macbeth having been twice married.

The title by which one of the weird sisters greets him, "Thane of Cawdor," appears to have been Macbeth's by right of office; Cawdor, or Calder, is a parish partly in the shire of Nairn, and partly in that of Inverness; "the thanes of Calder, including the celebrated Macbeth, as constables of the kings,

have resided in the Castle of Calder, some vestiges of which still remain." GORTON.

Several places are pointed out in Scotland in real or supposed connection with Macbeth's history. In the shire of Forfar, at Glammis, are two obelisks carved with various symbols, presumed to be in allusion to the murder of Duncan by Macbeth. "On the north side of the hill of Geddes, in this parish (Nairn) are vestiges of an ancient structure, called Finlay's Castle, which seems to have been a place of great strength." GORTON.

Near Kilconquhar, shire of Fife, "there is a cave at Kilcraigpoint, whither Macbeth sought refuge from the vengeance of Macduff, after the murder of Duncan, king of Scotland." GORTON. "Tradition relates that Macbeth resided ten years after his usurpation at Carnbeddie, in the neighbouring parish of St Martin's. The vestiges of his castle are still to be seen, which the country people call Carn-beth, or Macbeth's Castle." CHALMERS.

In the play the near relationship between Duncan and Macbeth is frequently alluded to; first, when the King of Scots, in Act I. Sc. 4, speaks of his general,—

> "It is a peerless kinsman."

Again, when Macbeth meditates the king's assassination under his own roof, Sc. 7,—

> "He's here in double trust;
> First, as I am his kinsman, and his subject."

The murdered king's sons express their suspicion of Macbeth, Act II. Sc. 3,—

> "the near in blood,
> The nearer bloody."

And they in turn are accused of the crime by Macbeth, Act III. Sc. 1,—

> "We hear, our bloody cousins are bestow'd
> In England and in Ireland; not confessing
> Their cruel parricide."

Duncan and Macbeth, as the sons of two sisters, were first-cousins; whilst Duncan and Lady Macbeth were third-cousins.

BANQUO;
FLEANCE, his Son.

These characters, though named by Holinshed, followed by SHAKSPEARE, are now considered by the best authors to be altogether fictitious personages. Mr Chalmers says, "History knows nothing of Banquo, the thane of Lochabar, nor of Fleance his son." Sir Walter Scott observes, that "early authorities show us no such persons as Banquo and his son Fleance; nor have we reason to think that the latter ever fled further from Macbeth than across the flat scene according to the stage direction. Neither were Banquo and his son ancestors of the house of Stuart." Yet still modern "Peerages" and "Genealogical Charts" retain the names of Banquo and Fleance in the pedigree of the Royal Houses of Scotland and England; even the laureate Southey invokes Fleance, as,—

"Parent of the sceptred race;"

and our great Dramatist makes the weird sisters foretell to Banquo,—

"Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none."

The real progenitor of the Stuarts has been ably traced by George Chalmers, in his *Caledonia* (1807), to the common ancestor of the Fitz-Alans in England, and of the Stuarts in Scotland. FLAALD, or Flathald, obtained from William the Conqueror, whom he accompanied to England the castle and lordship of Oswaldestre, now Oswestry, in Shropshire; he left a son, Alan Fitz-Flaald, who had two sons, the eldest, William Fitz-Alan, was ancestor of the Fitz-Alans, Earls of Arundel; the second son, Walter, was made seneschal, or high-steward to David I., King of Scots, "and the dignity becoming hereditary in the family, what was originally a title was converted into a surname, and employed as such." Sir W. SCOTT. The lineal descendant of the first steward, also called Walter, the steward of Scotland, married in 1315 Marjory Bruce, only daughter of the heroic king, Robert Bruce, and their son Robert (II.) became King of Scots, the first of the dynasty of Stuart, which continued to occupy the throne until the son of Mary Queen of Scots, James, sixth of the name, was called to the throne of England, as James the First,

King of Great Britain; and in him was fulfilled the prediction made to Banquo, who in the Poet's belief was the ancestor of the monarch in whose reign he wrote this magnificent drama, three years after the accession of King James, the date, 1606, being ascribed by Malone, Chalmers, and Drake.

MACDUFF,
LENOX,
ROSS,
MENTETH,
ANGUS,
CATHNESS,
} *Noblemen of Scotland.*

The list of Scottish nobles is taken from Holinshed's *History of Scotland*, to which chronicle SHAKSPEARE is largely indebted. "Malcolm, immediately after his coronation, called a parlement at Forfair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and livings, that had assisted him against Macbeth. Manie of them that were before thanes, were at this time made *earles*, as Fife, Menteith, Atholl, Levenox, Murrey, Cathness, Rosse, and Angus." Thus after his victory Malcolm addresses his nobles, Act V. Sc. 7:—

> "My thanes and kinsmen,
> Henceforth be earls, the first that ever Scotland
> In such an honour nam'd."

MACDUFF.

Macduff, first on the list, Thane or Earl of Fife, was eighth in descent from Mac Duff, who was a great chieftain in the reign of Kenneth II.; and for assisting him against the Picts was rewarded with a grant of all the land from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Tay,—which was afterwards called the shire of Fife. The character in this play was one of the chief supporters of Malcolm, and by him was confirmed, in 1061, in the earldom of Fife. SHAKSPEARE closely follows Holinshed in the dialogue between Malcolm and Macduff, in Act IV. Sc. 3; and also in the mortal encounter between Macbeth and Macduff, who tells his enemy, "'it is true, Macbeth, and now shall thy unsatiable cruelty have an end, for I am even he that the wizards have told thee of, who was never born of any

mother, but ripped out of her womb,' therewithal he stept unto him, and slew him in the place." The present Earl of Fife, James Duff, 1868, who is also Viscount Macduff, is lineally descended from the Macduff of the play.

LENOX,

or Lennox, is a title said to have been held by an ancestor of the Napier family of the same name, who was made Earl of Lenox, *circa* 1057, by Malcolm Canmore. The title was afterwards enjoyed by the Stuarts of Darnley, descended from Alexander, High-Steward of Scotland, Sir John Stewart being served as heir of his great grandfather, Duncan, Earl of Lenox, in 1473, and his great grandson, Matthew Stewart, who married the Lady Margaret Douglas (granddaughter of Henry VII.), was father of Henry, Lord Darnley, who became the second husband of his cousin, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, and "father of a line of kings."

ROSS.

This title really belonged to MACBETH; who long before the action of the play begins was Thane, or more properly Maormor of Ross, by the death of his father, Finley. In the play he is made to say, when the weird sisters had hailed him as "Thane of Cawdor,"—

"By Sinel's death, I know, I am thane of Glamis;"

here "Sinel" (from Holinshed) is put for Finley, and "Glamis" for Ross. This title should not be confounded with one similar in sound, which is spelt Rosse, and is an Irish dignity.

MENTETH.

Under the name of Dalyell (Baronets), Sir RICHARD BROUN (in his *Baronetage*) says, "This noble family are lineally descended from, and represent Walter, Earl of Menteth, a dignity which existed *temp.* Malcolm III., 1056."

ANGUS.

In 1138 one of the Umfrevills was created Earl of Angus, and the family is considered to have flourished in Scotland before that date, as it had in England, an ancestor having come in with the Conqueror. An ancestor of the Ogilvies, Gilchrist, was created Earl of Angus by Malcolm Canmore. BROUN.

CATHNESS.

"Torfin, the son of Sigurd, affected to be the independent Earl of Cathness during the whole of the reign of Duncan, and of Macbeth." CHALMERS.

Thus nearly all the nobles named in the play can be identified; and if one could presume to alter the *dramatis personæ* to better suit history, the name of Marr might be substituted for Ross: "Martacus, the first Earl of Marr, of whom mention is made, was contemporary with Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland." DEBRETT, Collen Ed. Or Marr might take the place of "another lord," who enters with Lenox in Act III. Sc. 6.

SIWARD, Earl of Northumberland;
YOUNG SIWARD, his Son.

The famous Earl SIWARD was supposed to be of Danish descent, and the tradition ran that his grandfather was a bear; which no doubt had its origin from his name Ursus, who according to Glover was nephew to a king of Denmark; whilst the name of Siward's father was Beorn. This rumour Siward did not seek to discourage, as it tended to enhance his formidable fame. (PALGRAVE.) We find him taking an active part in the military enterprises of Hardicanute; and when Edward the Confessor was menaced with the rebellion of Earl Godwin and his sons, the powerful Earl of Northumbria, Siward, so opportunely brought the king aid that the factious nobles were obliged to have recourse to flight. Not without reason, then, is the stout northern earl spoken of with high praise in the play,—

"An older and a better soldier none
That Christendom gives out."

From his great military experience therefore, as from his relationship to Prince Malcolm, Earl Siward was well selected to place his nephew on the Scottish throne. In the action fought before Macbeth's castle the earl's eldest son, Osberne, the "young Siward" of the play, was killed, and the Poet in the account of the young soldier's death has nobly rendered a well-known anecdote. SHAKSPEARE recognizes the true relationship between Siward and Malcolm in Act V. Scene 2;—

"The English power is near, led by Malcolm,
His uncle Siward, and the good Macduff."

Earl Siward's last hour was in keeping with his active life, and his notions of martial honour. "Being attacked by dysentery, and feeling his end approach, he said to those about him, 'Lift me up, that I may die standing like a soldier, and not grovelling like a cow. Put on my coat of mail; cover my head with my helmet, put my buckler on my left arm, and my gilded ax in my right hand, that I may expire in arms.'" THIERRY.

Earl Siward married Elfreda, daughter of Earl Aldred (RAPIN), and left a surviving son, Waltheof, who in 1074 had his father's earldom bestowed upon him by William the Conqueror, whose niece Judith he married. Waltheof joined two conspiracies against the Conqueror, who beheaded him in 1075, to the great sorrow of the English people, who regarded him as the last resource of their nation, and esteemed him as a martyr; he was canonized as Saint Waldeve. By his wife, Judith, he had two daughters, of whom Maud married, for her second husband, Prince David, youngest son of Malcolm Canmore, and their only son, Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, had three sons, of whom Malcolm IV., and William the *Lion*, became Kings of Scots; a third son, David, Earl of Huntingdon[1], had daughters, from whom sprang Baliol, and Bruce, competitors for the Crown of Scotland, which finally came to

[1] This Earl David is the character who plays an important part in Sir Walter Scott's delightful *Tale of the Crusaders, The Talisman:* "The adventurous knight Kenneth (of the Leopard) arises David, Earl of Huntingdon, Prince Royal of Scotland." Ch. XXVIII.

the family of Bruce and their descendants; and thus the "warlike Siward" of this play, with a truer claim than Banquo, may be called the ancestor of kings,—

> "That two-fold balls and treble sceptres carry;"

a fact which seems to have hitherto escaped the notice of Shakspearean commentators.

SEYTON.

The name of Seyton, Seton, or Seaton, is one of the most distinguished in the annals of Scotland, and figures honourably and loyally in many reigns. "This ancient and eminent family deduces its descent from Dougal de Seton, *temp.* King Edgar, son of Malcolm III." Sir R. BROUN. Christian, sister of King Robert Bruce, married Sir Christopher Seton, the attached friend of that monarch, whose life he saved at Methven, and who raised a chapel at Dumfries to the memory of "the good Christal," who was executed in London by the orders of Edward the First. George Seton was created Lord Seton in 1448; the third Lord fell at Flodden; George, the fifth Lord, is that faithful adherent of Mary, Queen of Scots, who figures in Sir Walter Scott's romance, *The Abbot;* and the lively Catherine Seton in that work is in truth one of the "Four Maries," attendants on their unfortunate mistress; she was Mary Seton.

The Setons of Touch were (and are still) hereditary armour-bearers to the kings of Scotland; thus there is a peculiar fitness in the Poet's choice of the name for the "officer attending on Macbeth," evidently in the capacity alluded to, Macbeth addressing him, when he prepares to meet the advancing English,—

> "Come, put mine armour on; give me my staff;—
> Seyton, look out."

LADY MACBETH.

This personage, as daughter of the son of an earlier King of Scots, Kenneth IV., had a better right to the crown than

the "gracious Duncan," whose murder she is wrongly supposed to have instigated her husband to undertake. Mr Chalmers has cleared her memory, and that of Macbeth;—"the Lady Gruoch, with great strength of character, had the most afflicting injuries constantly rankling at her heart; a grandfather dethroned and slain, a brother assassinated, her (first) husband burnt within his castle, with fifty of his friends, herself a fugitive, with Lulach her infant son." The Lady Gruoch's first husband was Kilcomgain, the Maormor of Moray, and their son Lulach ascended the throne immediately after the death of Macbeth. "Lulach was buried with Macbeth in Iona; he left a daughter to weep his fall, and to transmit his rights, with his wrongs." CHALMERS. That daughter had a son, Angus, who in 1120 prevailed upon the men of Moray to rise in his favour against Alexander the *Fierce*, but was defeated by the vigour of that king, and he seems to be the last descendant of the Lady Gruoch. Mr Chalmers says, "of the real fate of Lady Macbeth, history, tradition, and fable, are silent."

A Charter granted to the Culdees, by Macbeth and his Queen, has been printed for the Members of the Bannatyne Club by the late Mr O. Tindal Bruce; it begins,—"Machbet filius Finlach contulit pro suffragiis orationum et Gruoch filia Bodhe, Rex et Regina Scotorum, Kyrkenes Deo Omnipotente et Kalediis prefato Insula Loch-Liveñe cum suis finibus et terminis," &c.

Iona, or I-Colm-Kill, one of the Hebrides, or Western Isles, has been famous from the sixth century, when St Columb landed there, and converted the King of the Picts to Christianity. It became the seat of a cathedral, of which there are considerable remains, and was long the burial-place of royalty; and it is said that forty-eight Scottish, four Irish, one French, and eight Norwegian kings are interred in Iona, besides many Lords of the Isles. In Act II. Scene 4, Ross enquires after the king's murder,—

"Where is Duncan's body?"

to which Macduff replies,—

"Carried to Colne-kill,
The sacred storehouse of his predecessors,
And guardian of their bones."

LADY MACDUFF.

At Culross, shire of Perth, stood "Dunne-marle Castle, an ancient fortress of the Macduffs, Thanes of Fife, where it is said the cruel murder of Lady Macduff and her little ones, so pathetically noticed by SHAKSPEARE, took place by order of Macbeth." GORTON, *Topog. Dict.* At Culross, Malcolm, Earl of Fife, one of Macduff's descendants, founded an Abbey of Cistercian monks, in 1217. At Cupar, the capital of Fifeshire, the Macduffs had a Castle, wherein they held courts of justice from the earliest period on record.

HECATE, and three Witches.

Holinshed is the authority whence the Poet has derived the "weird women;" and the chronicler gives their meeting on the "blasted heath," as Macbeth and Banquo "journied towards Fores, where the king then lay;" and their prophetic greeting;—"the first of them spake, and said, 'All hail, Macbeth, thane of Glamis' (for he had lately entered into that dignity and office by the death of his father, Sinel). The second of them said, 'Hail, Macbeth, thane of Cawdor.' But the third said, 'All hail, Macbeth, that hereafter shall be king of Scotland.'" To Banquo it was foretold,—"Thou indeed shalt not reign at all, but of thee those shall be born which shall govern the Scottish kingdom by long order of continual descent."

The "blasted heath," at Fores, is described by tourists to be as dreary and desolate as it is represented in the play; it is in the south-eastern part of the otherwise fertile parish, and is called Hardmoor.

Whilst it is proper that the truth should be known respecting the real history of Macbeth and his consort, this—

"butcher and his fiend-like queen,"

as they are called in the play, it is not possible to over-rate the wonderful manner in which their supposed crime has been treated, and which "has furnished a subject to one of the sublimest of poets for one of the noblest of dramas." G. CHALMERS.

NOTES ON HAMLET.

Date of Action, B.C. 434.

HAMLET.

In Coxe's *Travels,* Volume v., we find this passage in the History of Denmark;—"Adjoining to a royal palace, which stands about half-a-mile from Cronborg, is a garden which our curiosity led us to visit, as it is called Hamlet's garden, and is said by tradition to be the very spot where the murder of his father was perpetrated. The house is of modern date, and is situated at the foot of a sandy ridge near the sea. The garden occupies the scite of the hill, and is laid out in terraces rising one above another. Elsineur is the scene of Shakspeare's Hamlet, and the original history from which that divine author derived the principal incidents of his play is founded upon facts, but so deeply buried in remote antiquity that it is difficult to discriminate truth from fable. Saxo-Grammaticus, who flourished in the 12th century, is the earliest historian of Denmark that relates the adventures of Hamlet. His account is extracted and much altered by Bellforest, a French author, an English translation of whose romance was published under the title of the *Historye of Hamblet,* and from this translation Shakspeare formed the ground-work of his play, though with many alterations and additions."

In a foot-note Coxe says,—"The only copy I ever saw of this work is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the curious collection relative to the School of Shakespeare, given by the late Mr Capell to that society. It is in black letter, intitled, *The Historye of Hamblett;* Imprinted by Richard Bradocke for Thomas Pavier."

Coxe proceeds to give a sketch of Hamlet's history from Saxo-Grammaticus, whose Latin text he sometimes quotes:—"Long before the introduction of Christianity into Denmark, Horwendillus, Prefect, or King of Jutland, was married to Gerutha, or Gertrude, daughter of Ruric, King of Denmark, by whom he had a son, called Amlettus, or Hamlet. Fengo murders his brother Horwendillus, marries Gertrude, and ascends the throne. Hamlet, to avoid his uncle's jealousy, counterfeits folly....Fengo, suspecting the reality of his madness, endeavours by various methods to discover the real state of his mind; amongst others he departs from Elsineur, concerts a meeting between Hamlet and Gertrude, concluding that the former would not conceal his sentiments from his own mother, and orders a courtier to conceal himself, unknown to either, for the purpose of over-hearing their conversation." Hamlet kills the hidden spy, as in the play, and then reproaches his mother. "Fengo returns to Elsineur, sends Hamlet to England under the care of two courtiers, and requests the king, by a letter, to put him to death. Hamlet discovers and alters the letter, the king orders the two courtiers to immediate execution, and betroths his daughter to Hamlet." The prince on his return to Denmark sets fire to the palace, kills his uncle, and is proclaimed king. In the chronicle Hamlet marries another princess, and lives happily for a time with his two wives, but at length is "killed in a combat with Vigletus, son of Ruric." In the old story Hamlet is little better than a semi-barbarian; in the play he is delineated with the lofty thoughts of a philosopher, and a scholar, and the refined manners of an English gentleman, and the reason for this it will be the aim of the Compiler of these Notes to show. In his Genealogical Table of the Kings of Denmark, Betham places Ruric in the year 434 B.C., and he names the personages before alluded to, as Gerutha, whose first husband he calls Hurwendil, father of Hamlet, and her second was Freggo, the usurping uncle. Beyond these names none of the other persons in the play belong to that remote period, but much interest in them is awakened by the opinion of critics that SHAKSPEARE intended nearly all the *dramatis personæ* to have some resemblance to characters in his own day, and certainly there are good grounds for the conjecture.

Bearing in mind that Bellforest's translation was published in 1560, and that the wonderful drama was written in 1596, we will proceed to the notice of the personages believed to be indicated by certain names in the play, who are nearly all in one way or other connected with the history of SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, who seems by common consent to stand for "young Hamlet." This is the key-note to the rest. His honoured father, the wise and able Sir HENRY SIDNEY, of Penshurst, is put down for the elder HAMLET, to whom the Poet does not assign any other name, but to whom he ascribes so high a character, as when the son is looking on his portrait, Act III. Scene 4,—

"See, what a grace was seated on his brow," &c.

Dr Zouch says, "a more exalted character than that of Sir Henry Sidney can scarcely be found in the volume of history." Of him, therefore, his son might say, as Hamlet of his father,—

"I shall not look upon his like again."

One of the parts supposed to have been filled by SHAKSPEARE himself was that of—

"The majesty of buried Denmark;"

according to Rowe; and SHAKSPEARE'S only son, who died when under twelve years of age, was baptized Hamnet, which is considered synonymous with Hamlet; his godfather most probably being Hamnet or Hamlet Sadler, to whom the Poet left a legacy, of—

"xxvj^{s} viij^{d} to buy him a ringe."

It is worthy of remark that Sir Henry Sidney died (May 5, 1586) five months and twelve days before his accomplished son, and that very date is reckoned by commentators to have elapsed between the murder of the elder Hamlet and the final catastrophe in the play, young Hamlet's death.

The usurping CLAUDIUS of the drama has been regarded as a satire on the Lord Keeper, Sir NICHOLAS BACON, not of course with reference to crime; nor has any one ever ventured to link the revered name of Sidney's mother, Lady MARY DUDLEY, with the guilty queen, GERTRUDE.

The next important personages in the play are the "Lord Chamberlain," POLONIUS; his son, LAERTES; and daughter, OPHELIA; and these are supposed to stand for Queen Eliza-

beth's celebrated Lord High Treasurer, Sir WILLIAM CECIL, Lord Burleigh; his second son, ROBERT CECIL; and his daughter, ANNE CECIL. Hamlet's bosom friend HORATIO is said to be HUBERT LANGUET (by Mr JULIUS LLOYD); MARCELLUS and BERNARDO are allotted to FULK GREVILLE and EDWARD DYER; "FRANCISCO may perhaps be intended for HARVEY." (LLOYD). LAMORD, who is only alluded to in the play, Act IV. Scene 7,—

"he is the brooch indeed,
And gem of all the nation;"

is meant for Raleigh; young Fortinbras,—

"Of unimprovèd mettle, hot and full,"

for the brave, but impetuous ROBERT DEVEREUX, Earl of ESSEX, then in the height of his fame; "OLD NORWAY," uncle to young Fortinbras, is ascribed to Sir FRANCIS KNOLLYS, whose daughter Lettice married Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, and their son was Robert, just noticed. "Young Osric" is a specimen of the foppish gallants of Queen Elizabeth's court, who affected the style of language, called Euphuism, of which Sir Walter Scott has given an amusing example, in the person of "Sir Piercie Shafton," in the *Monastery*.

With the exceptions of Horatio, Marcellus, and Bernardo, the Compiler does not seek to disturb these appropriations. But first to examine into the history of the Cecils. It is well known that an alliance of marriage was proposed by their fathers to take place between Philip Sidney and Anne Cecil, the "fair Ophelia" of the play: here is one link of resemblance in the story. Queen Gertrude says,—

"I hop'd thou should'st have been my Hamlet's wife."

Anne Cecil became the wife of Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford. This was not a happy marriage for the lady, and the only quarrel in which Philip Sidney ever engaged was with Oxford, who had behaved to him with great rudeness, and the challenge between them was only frustrated by the Queen's interference. Did our Poet bear this quarrel in mind when he makes Hamlet leap into Ophelia's grave and grapple with Laertes?—

"I will fight with him upon this theme."

In the drama Polonius, on his son Laertes leaving him for foreign travel, gives him his blessing, and advice, telling him,—

> "And these few precepts in thy memory
> Look thou charàcter."

We have now come to a second link in the chain of evidence. When Robert Cecil was about to set out on his travels, his father (who lived till 1598) was careful to enjoin upon him "ten precepts," in allusion, as he explains, to the Decalogue, and in some of these the identity of language with that of Polonius is so close, that SHAKSPEARE could not have hit upon it unless he had been acquainted with Burleigh's parental advice to Robert Cecil, who was forty-six years old when the play was written. It is worth while to compare the "precepts" of the two fathers: those of Polonius can with certainty be divided into at least nine sections; they are not of course intended to run parallel in all respects with those of Cecil, but some of them are wonderfully alike.

1. "Give thy thoughts no tongue,
   Nor any unproportion'd thought his act.
2. Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar.
3. Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
   Grapple them to thy soul with hooks of steel[1];
   But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
   Of each new hatch'd unfledged comrade. Beware
4. Of entrance to a quarrel, but being in,
   Bear't that the opposèd may beware of thee.
5. Give every man thy ear, but few thy voice.
6. Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgment.
7. Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
   But not expressed in fancy; rich not gaudy;
   For the apparel oft proclaims the man,
   And they in France of the best rank and station
   Are of a most select and generous chief in that.
8. Neither a borrower nor a lender be;
   For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
   And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.
9. This above all, to thine ownself be true,
   And it must follow, as the night the day,
   Thou canst not then be false to any man,
   Farewell; my blessing season this in thee."

Act I. Scene 3.

[1] In some editions it is "hoops of steels," but "hook" will best agree with "grapple."

Now Lord Burleigh's "ten precepts," which are numbered in due order, contain some startling coincidences of expression with the precepts of Polonius; those which do not fit the Poet's text may be merely glanced at. Precept 1 relates to "choosing a wife," and keeping house; 2, to bringing up children; 3 contains advice respecting servants. Precept 4—"Let thy kindred and allies be welcome to thy house and table. Grace them with thy countenance, and farther them in all honest actions. For by this means thou shalt so double the band of nature as thou shalt find them so many advocates to plead an apology for thee behind thy back. But shake off those glow-worms, I mean parasites and sycophants, who will feed and fawn upon thee in the summer of prosperitie, but in an adverse storme they will shelter thee no more than an arbour in winter. 5. Beware of suretyship for thy best friends. He that payeth another man's debts seeketh his own decay. But if thou canst not otherwise chose, rather lend thy money thyself upon good bonds, although thou borrow it. So shalt thou secure thyself, and pleasure thy friend. Neither borrow of a neighbour or of a friend, but of a stranger, whose paying for it thou shalt hear no more of it. 6. Undertake no suit against a poor man without receiving much wrong. 7. Be sure to make some great man thy friend. 8. Towards superiors be humble, yet generous. With thine equals familiar, yet respective. Towards thine inferiors show much humanity, and some familiarity. 9. Trust not any man with thy life, credit, or estate. 10. Be not scurrilous in conversation, or satirical in thy jests."

The Lord Treasurer Burleigh was not over fond of actors and the drama, whereas Robert Dudley, the splendid Earl of Leicester, uncle to Philip Sidney, was the great friend of the players. In 1573 "the Earl of Leicester's players" visited the town of Stratford-upon-Avon, when the future Poet was nine years old. Burleigh was often in antagonism to Leicester, and prevented his obtaining the appointment of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and otherwise thwarted his ambitious views. Next to Leicester, the most able and bitter of Burleigh's adversaries was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, father-in-law of Sir Walter Raleigh, and uncle of the wife of Edward Arden of Parkhall, SHAKSPEARE'S cousin on the mother's side, in whose con-

demnation the Lord Treasurer concurred. Moreover Burleigh neglected Sir Francis Walsingham, whose daughter Frances became the wife, first of Sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards of the Earl of Essex. Hubert Languet, on one occasion suggested to his pupil Philip Sidney to *affect* more attachment than he *felt* to Cecil. SHAKSPEARE'S inclinations would naturally take side with the great Warwickshire noble in remembering the political skirmishes between Leicester and Burleigh, and his covert satire on the latter, under the guise of Polonius, would be well understood in his day, and probably relished by none more than by Queen Elizabeth herself, who could enjoy a jest, though at the expense of her wise and faithful William Cecil.

It is a charming trait in the character of Hamlet that whereas, to keep up the delusion respecting his sanity, he amuses himself at the expense of the good old Lord Chamberlain, he will not allow any one else to show a want of respect to him, and thus he cautions the player-actor,—"Follow that lord, and look you mock him not."

We must now seek to identify (to some extent) Sir Philip Sidney with "young Hamlet:" Ophelia's language,—

> "O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!
> The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword:
> The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
> The glass of fashion, and the mould of form,
> The observ'd of all observers"—

has been often applied by biographers to Philip Sidney, who is perhaps the character of all others of whom Englishmen are most justly proud. Camden calls him, "the great glory of his family, the great hope of mankind, the most lively pattern of virtue, the glory of the world." Raleigh, who seems to have had no jealous feeling towards him, styles him "the English Petrarch;" Owen calls him "the Marcellus of the English Nation;" Lee (author of *Cæsar Borgia*) says, "he was at once a Cæsar and a Virgil, the leading soldier, and the foremost poet. All after this must fail. I have paid just veneration to his Name, and methinks the Spirit of Shakspeare pushed the Commendation." The great sons of Apollo, Spenser, Ben Jonson, and Waller, have all recorded their admiration of Sidney. The Prince of Orange spoke of him as "his master;"

Queen Elizabeth called him "her Philip," and her court and people shared in the esteem of their sovereign for the man who was not less valued abroad by the greatest princes of the time, who treated him, young as he was, more like an equal than the subject of another potentate. When Philip Sidney, who was born in 1554, was on his "grand tour," in 1572, he fell in at Frankfort with the famous scholar, Hubert Languet, "by whose advice he studied various authors, and shunned the seductions of popery" (Dr ZOUCH). The friendship between them was very strong, and many letters are preserved written in Latin from Languet to Sidney, which were first printed in 1639. The writer of these remarks ventures to differ from those critics who assign Languet to Horatio, and in proposing Fulke Greville instead, he brings forward the following arguments to support the change. In the first place Hubert Languet was at least thirty-six years older than Sidney. It is generally understood that Languet was 63 years old at his death in 1581. In the second place, their tone towards each other, in their correspondence, is rather that of master and pupil, or Mentor and Telemachus, than of bosom friends, equals in years. Languet addresses Philip, "mi dulcissime fili," and Sidney writes thus of his tutor;—

> "The song I sung old Languet had me taught;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> He likèd me, but pitied lustful youth,
> His good strong staff my slipp'ry years up-bore,
> He still hoped well, because I lovèd truth."
>
> *Arcadia*, Book III.

Fulke Greville, in his *Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney*, speaks of his tutor as—"the reverend Languet, who became a nurse of knowledge to the hopeful young gentleman."

Now to apply the test to Fulke Greville, as Horatio. He was a kinsman of Philip Sidney; equally descended from the noble Beauchamps; born in the same year, 1554; educated with him at the same school, at Shrewsbury[1], which they

[1] As Lord President of Wales Sir Henry Sidney resided at Ludlow Castle, which is only about 24 miles from Shrewsbury, then as now famous for its school. Philip Sidney went to Christ Church College, Oxford, at twelve years of age, and after studying there for three years, removed, as generally supposed, to Cambridge, and was probably of Trinity College, with his friend, Fulke Greville. Chalmers' *Biog. Dict.*

entered on the same day; and they studied afterwards together at one, if not at both of the Universities, Oxford and Cambridge; they were the dearest friends through life; fellow-travellers; comrades in the tilt-yard. They had prepared to accompany Sir Francis Drake in his expedition to the West Indies, but were forbidden to do so by Queen Elizabeth, who would not spare two such promising youths from her court.

Let us now examine SHAKSPEARE'S language. At their first interview Hamlet recognizes his former comrade, Horatio,—

"Sir, my good friend, I'll change that name with you;"—

and again acknowledges their early association in school at Wittenburg,—

"I pray thee, do not mock me, fellow-student"

Next we have the expression of Hamlet's strong regard for Horatio, Act III. Scene 2;—in the passage, ending,—

"Give me that man
That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart,
As I do thee."

All these expressions, and the affectionate demeanour between the two friends throughout the play, point to a companion of the same age and station, as was Greville, rather than to one so much older than Sidney, as was Hubert Languet. Fulke Greville, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and created Lord Brooke by James the First, wrote *The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney*, and directed this inscription to be placed upon his own tomb;—

FYLKE GREVIL SERVANT TO QUEENE ELIZABETH: COUNCELLER TO KING JAMES: AND FREND TO Sr PHILIP SYDNEY.
TROPHÆVM PECCATI.

One of Sir Philip Sidney's *Pastorals* is addressed to his two most intimate friends (Sir) Edward Dyer, and (Sir) Fulke Greville, coupling their initials with his own:—

"Welcome my two to me, E. D.—F. G.—P. S.—
The number most beloved.—
Within my heart you be
In friendship unremoved;

Join hearts and hands, so let it be,
Make but one mind in bodies three."

To these two cherished friends, and congenial spirits, Sir Philip Sidney in his will left a precious legacy of regard;—"*Item*, I give and bequeath to my dear friends, Mr Edward Dyer, and Mr Fulk Greville, all my books." In the play Hamlet addresses Horatio and Marcellus evidently as his chief intimates;—

"And now, good friends,
As you are friends, scholars, and soldiers,
Give me one poor request."

With some fair reason therefore it is urged that Greville and Dyer were intended for Hamlet's friends Horatio and Marcellus.

EDWARD DYER, of a good Somersetshire family, cousin to Sir James Dyer, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was born in 1540, and, having been educated at Oxford, travelled abroad, and was much employed by Queen Elizabeth in several embassies, *particularly in Denmark*, in 1589; and on his return the Queen conferred upon him the Chancellorship of the Garter, and knighted him. He wrote some poems, called *England's Helicon*, and *Description of Friendship*, and died in the reign of King James.

There are other remarkable coincidences to be noticed. In the play, when Horatio desires to know how his friend contrived to imitate his uncle's treacherous commission, Hamlet tells him, Act v. Scene 2,—

"I sat me down,
Devis'd a new commission, wrote it fair;
I once did hold it, as our statists do,
A baseness to write fair, and labour'd much
How to forget that learning; but, sir, now
It did me yeoman's service."

In a letter written, Oct. 18, 1580, by Sir Philip Sidney to his younger brother Robert (afterwards Earl of Leicester), whom he lovingly addresses as "sweet Robin," and "dear boy," he says, "I would by the way your Worship would learne a better hand, you write worse than I, and I write evil enough."

Almost the last words of the dying Hamlet contain an injunction to Horatio:—

"If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,
Absent thee from felicity awhile,
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,
To tell my story."

As we have seen, Fulke Greville did write the "story" of his beloved friend, comrade and schoolfellow.

Sir Philip Sidney's last words to his weeping brother Robert deserve to be quoted :—"Love my memory, cherish my friends; their faith to me may assure you they are honest; but, above all, govern your will and affections by the will and word of your Creator, in me beholding the end of this world, and all her Vanities."

May not the words of Fortinbras refer to the rejection of the crown of Poland, which was offered to Sir Philip Sidney, at the death of Stephen Bathori,—

"Let four captains
Bear Hamlet, like a soldier, to the stage;
For he was likely, had he been put on,
To have proved most royally"?

SHAKSPEARE was only ten years younger than Sir Philip Sidney, and it is highly probable that the Poet was personally acquainted with him, as it is evident he was with Sidney's writings, the *Arcadia* being first printed in 1591, and the *Defence of Poesie*, in 1594. There are some remarkable coincidences of language in SHAKSPEARE'S *Pericles*, and SIDNEY'S *Arcadia:* in the latter a character is called Pyrocles, and this passage occurs;—"The Senate-house of the Planets was set no time for the decreeing perfection in a man." SHAKSPEARE has:—

"The Senate-house of planets all did sit
To knit in her their best perfection."

Afterwards, in the same scene is this line,—

"For he's no man on whom perfections wait."

Pericles, Act I. Scene I.

And other passages in the same play have a striking resemblance to parts of the *Arcadia.*

In those portions of the dramatic story which conform to the incidents of the early chronicle the chief character is still the heathen "Prince of Denmark," but in the matchless

inventions of the Poet we see in "Young Hamlet" all the perfections of mind and body which adorned Sir Philip Sidney[1]; and this resemblance once admitted brings one to the conclusion that of all the glowing tributes of admiration which have been paid to the memory of the brave, wise, and gentle Sidney, by poet, historian, and biographer, none is more touching, more deserved, or graceful, than the imperishable verse of SHAKSPEARE, who in commemorating Sidney, under "Hamlet the Dane," might have addressed him in the words of one of his sonnets, LXXXI:

"Your monument shall be my gentle verse,
Which eyes not yet created shall o'er read;
And tongues to be your being shall rehearse,
When all the breathers of this world are dead:
You still shall live, such virtue hath my pen,
Where breath most breathes, even in the mouths of men."

[1] Aubrey says of Sidney, "he was not only of an excellent wit, but extremely beautiful."

NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES

IN SHAKSPEARE'S PLAYS,

CONNECTED WITH

WARWICKSHIRE.

REMARKS ON NAMES AND PLACES

BELONGING TO WARWICKSHIRE,

ALLUDED TO IN SEVERAL PLAYS.

THE selection by Mr HALLIWELL of some names in the Poet's Plays, as belonging to families in Stratford-upon-Avon, led the Compiler to the conviction that a further investigation would prove that the Poet had taken many other names from Warwickshire families; and that even when they were those of historical personages, the fact of their belonging to his native shire was probably the inducement for inserting them among the *dramatis personæ*, or in the text. As there can be no doubt that many individuals of these names were well known to SHAKSPEARE, it will, it is hoped, interest the reader to have an account of them, play by play, wherein they are found.

THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

Mr HALLIWELL has shown that persons of the name of FORD, PAGE, HORNE, or HERNE, belonged to Stratford. In the records of the borough, published by that excellent writer, notices of receipts and payments are found as follows:—

"1597. R. of Thomas Fordes wiffe vi.s. viij.d."
"1585. Paid to Herne for iij dayes work, ij.s. vj.d."

A daughter of Robert Ford was buried at Stratford in 1562-3. John Page is found there in 1566; and one of the same name lived in Henley Street in 1585; Joan, wife of John Page, was

buried in January, 1583—4; John Page and his wife are mentioned in the will of Agnes Arden, 1580; a John Page died in 1612. Mr HALLIWELL also proved that a Thomas Page lived in Windsor in 1562; and that several persons of the name of Ford resided there from 1571 to 1600; and also that persons of the name of Evans belonged to Windsor in the latter half of the sixteenth century. But it is quite possible that the Poet selected the name of the quaint "Welsh Parson," Sir HUGH EVANS, from an acquaintance in Stratford, where several Welsh families resided in his time. John Evans is found there in 1585; Evans Rice, Evans Meredith, and Hugh *ap* John, all flourished there at the same period.

A word of explanation is due for the prefix, "Sir," to the names of ecclesiastics, of which several instances occur in the Poet's plays. Some critics have stated that it was only given as a kind of nick-name to an inferior order of clergy, whom they call "hedge-priests," or "buckle-beggars." In an old play, *All for Money*, a character tells a priest, who describes himself as "Sir Laurence Livingles, without either living or mansion,"—"In faith, Sir Laurence, I think you must be a hedge-priest, beggers to marie." Perhaps one of SHAKSPEARE'S characters may come under this class, "Sir Oliver Mar-text," for though he is styled "a Vicar," the lord Jaques interferes when "Sir Oliver" is about to marry Touchstone to Audrey: "Get you to church, and have a good priest, that can tell you what marriage is; this fellow will but join you together as they join wainscot." *As you Like It*, Act III. Scene 3. But other characters, "Sir Hugh Evans," in *The Merry Wives of Windsor, a Welsh Parson;* "Sir Nathaniel, *a Curate*," in *Love's Labour's Lost;* "Sir Christopher Urswick," *a Priest, in King Richard III.;* and others merely addressed as "good Sir Michael," or "good Sir John," are undoubtedly men who represent a large number of the clergy, who had the appellation of "Dominus," or "Sir," as an academical title still in vogue for Bachelors of Arts; and instances are numerous where Rectors, Vicars, and Curates of parishes, and Chaplains to men of rank, are found in registers, wills, &c., with either "Dominus" or "Sir" prefixed to their names. Some of these have been already cited in the memoir of Christopher Urswick, in *King Richard III.* page 240, but SHAKSPEARE must have known clergymen

who bore the title; "Sir William Gilbard, clerk and curate of Stretforde," was a witness to the will of the Poet's father-in-law, Richard Hathaway, on Sept. 1st, 1581, and this Gilbert, his true name, who remained curate until his death in 1610, may have baptized the Poet's children, or buried his young son Hamnet, or have assisted at the marriage of his daughter Susanna. Mr HALLIWELL, in *Twelfth Night*, quotes from the Stratford Records,—"An inventory dated 1608, in MS., in the Council Chamber of Stratford-on-Avon, was taken by the discretyon of Sir William Gilbard minister, and Mr John Sadler."

Alluding to the favoured lover of "sweet Anne Page," Mr HALLIWELL remarks,—"There is the name of Kenton, but not of Fenton, which it may be well to notice, the former having been misread." But perhaps the Poet selected the name from one of Sir Francis Drake's captains, EDWARD FENTON, of whom several notices are to be found in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth*, 1547 to 1580, and from 1581 to 1590; edited by Robert Lemon, Esq. Under the date Feb. 1, 1578, occurs at page 589, "Note of the entertainment of the gentlemen and others in the voyage under Mr Fenton to inhabit in the New land, Meta Incognita."

"3 April, 1581, Edward Fenton, one of the Captains of Francis Drake's expedition to intercept the Spanish Galleons from the West Indies."

Drake's projects excited great attention among the high-spirited youths of good family, and Queen Elizabeth interfered personally to prevent Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville from joining Drake; and SHAKSPEARE doubtless had heard of Fenton, for his friend Anthony Nash was brother-in-law of Stephen Baugh, "who dyed in the voyage with Sr Francis Drake." *Herald's Visitation* of 1619.

In the play Master Fenton tells Anne Page that her father dislikes him as a suitor, *one* of his reasons being,—

> "He doth object I am too great of birth."

Captain Edward Fenton, who commanded a ship with great honour against the Spanish Armada 1588, and died 1603, was of an ancient Nottinghamshire family, and his brother, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Knight, was Secretary to Queen

Elizabeth, a P.C., and afterwards Principal Secretary of State for Ireland, to King James I. By his wife Alice, daughter of Dr Robert Weston, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, he had an only daughter, Elizabeth, married to Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, who erected a monument in Deptford Church to the memory of his uncle, Captain Edward Fenton. An author, Edward Fenton, wrote *Secret Wonders of Nature*, in 1596, a work with which SHAKSPEARE was no doubt acquainted.

The name of "Mother PRAT, the fat woman of Brentford," in whose ample gown and thrum'd hat and muffler Falstaff is glad to escape from the jealous Ford's house, was discovered by Mr HALLIWELL to belong to Brentford, where the register records, under the year 1624, "Rebecca Pratt, the daughter of Cornellis and Rebecca his wife, buried the 9th of November."

AS YOU LIKE IT.

In Lodge's *Rosalind*, or *Euphues Golden Legacie*, the story which furnished SHAKSPEARE with the plot of his charming comedy, it is stated that an old knight, called Sir John of Bordeaux, had three sons, Saladyne, Fernandyne, and Rosader; these names are altered by the Poet to Sir ROWLAND DE BOYS, and his sons, Oliver, Jaques, and Orlando. Now it is very probable that SHAKSPEARE took the name of his knight from an old but extinct family of great note in Leicestershire and Warwickshire, whose memory was long preserved in the latter county, Sir ERNALD, or Arnold de Boys, Arnold being easily transposed to Roland, and thence we have Orlando. The manor of *Weston-in-Arden* was held by Sir Ernald de Boys, *temp.* Edw. I. paying yearly to the Earl of Leicester, to whom he was Seneschal, "one hound called a Brache, and seven pence in money for all services." DUGDALE, *Warwickshire*, page 41. The species of hound herein specified illustrates a passage in *The Induction to the Taming of the Shrew*, where the lord enters from hunting :—

> "Huntsman, I charge thee, tender well my hounds;
> Brach Merriman,—the poor cur is emboss'd,
> And couple Clowder with the deep-mouth'd brach."

There were four generations in succession of lords of the Manor of *Weston-in-Arden*, each of whom is called Sir Ernald

de Bosco, or de Boys; the last of them had two sons, John and William, and a daughter Isabel, married to Sir John Lovel, Knight, first Lord Lovel of Tichmersh, 25 Edw. I., and their daughter and heir, Isabel Lovel, married William le Zouche, first Lord Zouch of Harringworth, by writ, (obt. 16 Edw. III.), from whom is descended the present Baroness Zouche of Harringworth. This noble lady, and her son and heir, the Hon. Robert Curzon, can claim a descent from Turchill de Arden, through the marriage of their ancestor John, eighth Lord Zouche (by writ), with Joan, second daughter of Sir John Dinham, Knight, and his wife Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Richard Archer, Knight, whose wife Joan was the second daughter and co-heir of Giles de Arden. See *Table* VII., Pedigree of ARDEN. A friend of SHAKSPEARE, "William Reynolds, Gent.," to whom he bequeathed 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for a ring, married Frances, daughter of — Bois of London. *Visit.* of 1619. *Harl.* 1167, f. 89.

The name of the melancholy Lord JAQUES belongs to Warwickshire, where it is pronounced as one syllable; "Thomas Jakes of Wonersh," was one on the List of Gentry of the Shire, 12 Henry VI. 1433. At the surrender of the Abbey of Kenilworth, 26 Henry VIII., 1535, the Abbot was Simon Jakes, who had the large pension of 100*l. per annum* granted to him. *Monasticon*, Vol. VI. There are still some respectable families of the name in the neighbourhood of Stratford; John Jaques and Joseph Jaques reside at Alderminster; Mrs Sarah Jaques at Newbold-on-Stour; and families of the name are living at Pillerton and Eatington (1867).

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW.

A family of the name of SLY, rendered famous by their place in *The Induction* of this play, resided at Stratford, and elsewhere in the county, in the Poet's time; and he no doubt drew the portrait of the drunken tinker from the life. In 1598, Dec. 19, Stephen Sly, probably the father of Kit, stands first in a list of labouring men, who were engaged in a riot, making a ditch and bank to the injury of certain persons' lands at Wellcombe. HALLIWELL'S *Stratford Records*, page 320. And the same Stephen Sly was a labourer in the

employment of William Combe in 1614, and is called "servant of Willm. Combe, 13 Jac. I. 1616." Page 330. In the Borough Records there is the entry of a fine paid in 1630,—"Item of Joan Slie for breaking the Sabbath by traveling, 3*s.* 4*d.*" *Life of Shakspeare*, page 115. In Scene 2 (*Induction*), wherein Bartholomew the Page personates "the lady" of the supposed lord, Christopher Sly asks the real lord, disguised as a servant,—

"What must I call her?
Lord. Madam.
Sly. Al'ce madam, or Joan madam?"

One of the servants tells Kit Sly,—

"Why, sir, you know no house, nor no such maid;
Nor no such men, as you have reckon'd up—
As Stephen Sly, and old John Naps of Greece," &c.

It would seem therefore quite certain that Stephen and Joan Sly were the parents of the drunken tinker, and that the whole family would be well known to many a spectator of the play, especially if acted in Warwickshire.

The name of the Page was that of one of SHAKSPEARE's wife's brothers, Bartholomew Hathaway. Forty-three years after SHAKSPEARE'S death another Warwickshire poet alludes to the "sheer ale" which "Marian Hacket, the fat ale-wife of Wincot," scored against Kit Sly. Sir Aston Cockain, in 1659, addressed an epistle in verse to his friend (Sir) "Clement Fisher of Wincot;" the following lines have been often quoted:—

"Shakspeare, your Wincot ale hath much renown'd,
That fox'd a beggar so, by chance was found
Sleeping, that there needed not many a word
To make him to believe he was a lord.
But you affirme, and in it seem most eager,
'Twill make a lord as drunk as any beggar.
Bid Norton brew such ale as Shakspeare fancies
Did put Kit Sly into such lordly trances;
And let us meet there, for a fit of gladness,
And drink ourselves merry in sober sadness."

Sir Aston Cockain is descended from Turchill de Arden. Dugdale gives his pedigree in his *Warwickshire* under *Pooley*, page 808. His ancestor Edmund de Cokain, of Ashbourn, co. Derby, armiger, 5 Ric. II. married Elizabeth, daughter

of Sir Richard de Herthul, Knight (ob. 13, Edw. II.), fourth in descent from Richard de Herthul, whose wife was Joan, daughter and heir of Thomas de Ednesor by his wife Lucia, daughter and co-heir of Geoffrey Savage, whose grandfather, Sir Geoffrey Savage, married Letitia, daughter of Sir Henry de Arden, son of Siward, eldest son of Turchill de Arden. When Dugdale wrote his history of the Shire, Sir Aston Cockain was lord of the manor of Pooley, which came to his family through Herthul and Ednesor, from Savage.

William Sly, a comedian, supposed to be the original actor of "Osric" in *Hamlet*, was joined with SHAKSPEARE in the license of 1603, from King James. In relation to the conspiracy of John Somerville against Queen Elizabeth in 1583, "an examination of Thomas Slye of Bushwood was made before John Throckmorton and Robert Burgoyne touching Popish Plots." LEMON'S *State Papers*, Eliz. 1581—1590. Page 128. Thomas Sly of Lapworth and his wife Susanna were witnesses to the will of Thomas Shakspeare, of that place, fuller, who appointed Thomas Sly, "his kinsman," to be one of the overseers to his will, proved May 18, 1658. Edward Slye was of Stratford, 7 James I. 1610.

The drunken tinker calls himself "old Sly's son of Burton Heath;" this locality may be meant for Barton-on-the-Heath, which is only a few miles to the south of Stratford, and memorable as the residence of the Rev. James Wilmot, D.D., who was rector of the parish, where he died in 1807, and for whom a claim was set up, by his niece, Mrs Olivia Wilmot Serres, that he was the author of the *Letters of Junius*, a claim which seems to have had its origin in the circumstance that the worthy Doctor was in the habit of transcribing for his amusement the productions of the "Great Unknown." A quiet parish rector was the last person who could have composed such letters, requiring for their author an intimate association with the highest political circles. It is also evident that Doctor Wilmot had no share in those supposed marriages with Royalty, viz. of Hannah Lightfoot and Olive Wilmot, of which so much has been lately heard, but which were concocted in the fertile brain of his niece, Mrs Serres, who at one time called Dr Wilmot her grandfather, and at another time her uncle, just as it suited her views;

whereas he never married, as she at one time admits, and in his will he speaks of Olive Serres as his niece.

In the serious business of *The Taming of the Shrew*, one of Petruchio's servants is called "Curtis;" this was a Stratford name.—"Anne Curteys, widow, a knitter," was living there in 1607; and John Curteys, a carpenter, is found there in 1615. HALLIWELL'S *Records*. In some modern representations of this play, the part of Curtis has been absurdly given to a female performer, in defiance of the text; for the merry Grumio says to his "fellow Curtis," "Lend thine ear," and to the reply "Here," rejoins "There," *striking him*, as the stage direction has it; and the language of Grumio could only be fitly addressed to a male-servitor. Mr HALLIWELL'S conjecture is a good one that "old John Naps of Greece," named in *The Induction*, should be of "Greet," which is a hamlet in the parish of Winchcombe, co. Gloucester, but at no great distance from Stratford. The name of Hacket is still found in the neighbourhood of Stratford.

In Petruchio's household twelve or thirteen of his men-servants are named, of whom only the "ancient, trusty, pleasant Grumio" belongs to Italy, the rest are thoroughly English; and as Philip, Nathaniel, Nicholas, Joseph and Gabriel, are not common names, we incline to believe that SHAKSPEARE took them from his contemporaries, Philip Henslowe, Nathaniel Field, Nicholas Tooley, Joseph Taylor, and either Gabriel Harvey, a poet, the friend of Spenser, or the person who is called "Gabriel," in the Folio 1623, *The Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, Act I. Scene 2, where "Enter a Messenger," in the usual editions, is "Enter Gabriel," with the news of Queen Margaret marching on Sandal Castle.

SHAKSPEARE'S "fellows" could hardly fail to be amused at the droll way in which Grumio makes excuses for the unprepared state of Petruchio's household :—

> "Nathaniel's coat, sir, was not fully made,
> And Gabriel's pumps were all unpinck'd i' the heel;
> There was no link to colour Peter's hat,
> And Walter's dagger was not come from sheathing;
> There were none fine but Adam, Ralph, and Gregory,
> The rest were ragged, old, and beggarly,
> Yet, as they are, here are they come to meet you."
>
> Act IV. Scene I.

THE FIRST AND SECOND PARTS OF KING HENRY IV.

TRAVERS, one of the "retainers of the Earl of Northumberland," (Part II.), is the name of an ancient family, long seated at Nateby in Lancashire, of whom a branch removed to Warwickshire. John Travers was of the town of Warwick, and his Will, dated Dec. 23, 1554, was proved by his widow Alice; one of their daughters, Alice, married Alexander Peeto, and their children were Gabriel, Bartholomew, and Ursula. The Will of Richard Travers of Polesworth, co. Warwick, was proved Oct. 20, 1562, by his wife Joan, and son Humphrey. John Travers of Compton-Murdach, or Compton-Verney, co. Warwick, who died unmarried in 1584, had a lease of free-warren in Compton from Sir John Huband, Knt., whose brother, Ralph Huband, sold the tithes of Stratford, &c., to WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE in 1605. Thomas Travers was of Welford, in Gloucestershire, about four miles from Stratford; he married Judith, daughter of — Kighley, Gent., and settled in London about the year 1580. The foregoing information respecting the Travers family is derived from an account drawn up by Mr S. Smith Travers, privately printed in 1864.

MORTON, joined with Travers as of the household of the great earl, and who so eloquently tries to rouse the drooping spirit of his lord, is also the name of a good northern family, which branched off to southern counties, and of whom was the famous Cardinal Morton, the "Bishop of Ely," in *King Richard III.*, whose brother, Sir Rowland Morton, was of Twining, in the county of Gloucester, the place where the family of Baugh resided, of whom Mary Baugh was the wife of Anthony Nash, SHAKSPEARE'S friend, father of Thomas Nash, who married the Poet's granddaughter, Elizabeth Hall, and from this family connection perhaps the Poet selected the name of GOWER, which occurs in the *Second Part*, and in *King Henry V.*, since Mary Baugh's brother, Thomas Baugh, married Dorothy, daughter of John Gower of Wormleigh, co. Warwick. SHAKSPEARE'S friend, William Reynolds, was son and heir of Thomas Reynolds of Old Stratford, whose wife was Margaret, daughter and heir of William Gower of Redmerley, co. Worcester. *Visitation* of 1619, *Harl.* 1167. f. 89.

A William Gower was one of the esquires in attendance upon King Henry VI.

HARCOURT, joined with GOWER, as "of the King's Party," (Part II.) is a name which occurs in the Arden pedigree; and in 14 Eliz. 1572, George Harecourt had partition with John Purefoy, of Bret's Hall, a manor in the parish of Ansley, co. Warwick.

POINS, and PETO, *attendants on Prince Henry*, are evidently intended for persons of gentle birth; the former is the favourite companion of the young prince, and the latter holds the rank of lieutenant of horse, Poins, printed "Pointz" in the folio edition, 1623, is the name of an ancient family, chiefly seated at Iron-Acton, co. Gloucester, members of which were summoned to Parliament as Barons. At Agincourt Nicholas Poyntz was a lance in the retinue of Sir Walter Hungerford, and Thomas Poyntz was a lance in the train of Lord Maltravers. Robert Poynes was made a knight banneret on the field of Bosworth by Henry, Earl of Richmond. Sir Robert Poyntz is first in the list of Knights attending Henry VIII. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold; and John Poyntz was one of the two Servers of the Queen's Chamber at that gorgeous meeting in "the Vale of Arde." John Points or Poins was an intimate friend of Sir Thomas Wyat, who addressed to him his Poem on *the Courtier's Life*, written at Allingham Castle, Kent,—

"Myne owne John Poins, since ye delite to know
The causes why that homeward I mé draw,
And flee the prease of courtes, where so they go,
Rather than live a thrall under the awe
Of lordly lokes, wrappèd within my cloke;
To will and lust learning to set a law;
It is not that, because I scorne or mocke
The power of them, whom Fortune here hath lent
Charge over us, of right to strike the stroke.
. . . . . .
My Poins, I cannot frame my tune to fain
To cloke the truth. . .
. . . . . .
I am not now in France to judge the wine;
But I am here in Kent and Christendome,
Among the Muses, where I read and ryme;
Where if thou list, myne own John Poins to come,
Thou shalt be judge how I do spende my time."

The name of Poins is not found in any authentic history as one of Prince Hal's associates; it is therefore most likely that the Poet introduced it from an acquaintance with some one of his day, connected with the Court of Queen Elizabeth, and the gay young gallants of the time.

Branches of the family of Poyntz were seated at Cowdray House, Sussex, and Midgham House, co. Berks, whose co-heiresses married into the noble families of Boyle (Earl of Cork); Bridgeman (Earl of Bradford); Clinton, (Lord Clinton); Seymour (Marquess of Hertford); Cecil (Marquess of Exeter); and Spencer (Earl Spencer).

The name of PETO, Peito, or Peyto, must have been familiar to the Poet from the connection of that family with his shire from a very early period, especially with Chesterton, where several of the Peyto family are buried. They intermarried with the Warwickshire houses of Langley, Bromwich, de Warwick, Thornbury, Ferrers of Tamworth, Throckmorton, Fielding, Aston, and Verney. Humphrey Peyto (obt. 1585) was joined in the commission of the peace with Sir Thomas Lucy (*Justice Shallow*) in 15 and 24 Eliz. This Humphrey married Anne, daughter of Basil Fielding, of Nuneham.

William Peyto of Chesterton married Elizabeth Verney, sister of Richard Verney, who was restored in 1695, as third Lord Willoughby de Broke, and the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th lords all bore the name of Peyto in addition to Verney.

Chesterton is well worth a visit from its picturesque scenery, and old associations, and on account of a handsome windmill, of octagon shape, supported on piers and arches, *entirely built of stone*, from the design of Inigo Jones, and placed upon a knoll, from which there is a tolerably extensive *panoramic* view. Besides the manor of Chesterton, the Peyto family had possessions in Drayton, Wolfamcote, Milcote, and Claverdon, in co. Warwick.

JUSTICE SHALLOW, or as he calls himself,—"Robert Shallow Esquire," and his cousin Abraham Slender, adds—"in the county of Gloster, justice of the peace, and coram... a gentleman born, who writes himself—armigero, in any bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation,"—"Ay, that we do, and have done any time these three hundred years," chimes in the justice: *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, is acknowledged by all writers to be taken from Sir Thomas Lucy, Knight, of

Charlecote Park, near Stratford-upon-Avon, as noticed in another place, and upon whom SHAKSPEARE is supposed to have written the ballad, commencing as follows ;—

> "A parliament member, a justice of peace,
> At home a poor scare-crow, in London an asse:
> If Lucy is lowsie, as some volke miscall it,
> Synge lowsie Lucy whatever befalle it.
> . . . . . .
> Though lucies a dozen he paints in his coat,
> His name it shall Lowsie for Lucy be wrote."

Although some writers attempt to throw discredit on the story of the Poet killing Sir Thomas Lucy's deer, it is evident that there must be a foundation for it, from the manner in which such a charge is made against Falstaff, in the opening scene of *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* by Shallow, and from Master Slender's allusion to "the dozen white lucies in their coat," with the *Welch Parson's* amusing comment, "the dozen white louses do become an old coat well," which agrees with the language of the lampoon, the real bearing of the family being — *Gules,* three luces (or pikes) haurient *Argent*—

> "The lucy is the finest fish,
> That ever gracèd any dish."
>
> Quoted by FULLER in his *Worthies.*

Whether the Poet had any particular Justice of the time in his "mind's eye," for "Master Silence," has not been ascertained; he is addressed as "cousin," by his fellow-magistrate, evidently through marriage, and a son William, and a daughter Ellen, of Silence, are alluded to by Shallow, who is godfather to Ellen. Shallow's useful serving-man DAVY bears a name which belongs to Stratford, where Edward Davy was married in October, 1579, as Mr HALLIWELL shows in his *Life of Shakspeare,* page 115. John Davy was Groom-Porter to King Henry VI., who rewarded him with £20, of his own special grace, for his service rendered in taking "that great traitor and rebel, who called himself John Mortymer (Jack Cade) at Hefeld." Edward Davy was in the Household of Elizabeth of York, Queen of Henry VII., in 1502; and Thomas Davy was in that of the daughter of Henry VIII., the Princess Mary, in 1537.

A most interesting example of the Poet's introduction of

names familiar to him is afforded by the appeal of Davy to his master, Shallow;—

"I beseech you, sir, to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the Hill."

2 *K. Henry IV.* Act v. Scene 1.

As the former of these persons is called "an arrant knave," by the Justice, a charge which is admitted to be true by his serving-man, the Poet has evidently disguised his name, though the allusion may have been understood in his day. But the name of PERKES was well known in and about Stratford, and the family became allied to the Poet, whose first cousin, Robert Webbe (son of Alexander Webbe and Margaret Arden), married Mary, daughter of John Perkes of Snitterfield. Many persons of this name are found in the counties of Warwick and Worcester, from the Poet's time to the present day. Richard Perkes was chosen warrener at a court held at the Manor of Tamworth, 13 Eliz. 1571. Elizabeth Perkes was sponsor, with the Poet's uncle, Henry Shakspeare, for Henry Townsend, at Snitterfield, in 1586, but whether she was married, or single, does not appear. Mr HALLIWELL quotes, in his *Stratford Records*, page 407;—"Release of William Cony to John Perks of Berly the elder and Caleb Perks his youngest son, of two cottages and lands in Snitterfield, 1666." This Caleb Perks was resident at Snitterfield until 1701. "Thomas Perks, of Mickleton (co. Worcester), in 1623, charged his four meadows next Long Marston Way with 20*s.* a year to the poor." RUDDER'S *Worcestershire*, page 547.

A friend of the Compiler informs him that families of Perkes, or Perks, as the name is mostly spelt, reside near Stratford; Mr John Perks at Haseler; Mr George Pearkes at Hampton-Lucy; Mr Henry Perks in Grafton; and fifty years ago there was a family of Perkes at Snitterfield; and the name is by no means uncommon in Staffordshire.

The visitor to Stratford should make a little trip to Snitterfield, to reach which place he will pass through Bearly, where the Perkes family resided, probably on "the Hill," the road ascending gradually until he arrives at a tolerable eminence, from which there is an extensive view over most charming scenery; and he will then descend to the picturesque village

of Snitterfield, an excellent specimen of rural loveliness, where the Poet's grandfather Richard Shakspeare lived.

Few names would be better known to the Poet than that of BARDOLPH, or Bardolf; George Bardolfe, or Bardell, as it is sometimes written, was one of the Chamberlains of Stratford in 1585-6; and his name often figures in the Corporation Records, in company of the Poet's father. In the list of the nine recusants, returned in 1592, by the Commissioners (of whom Sir Thomas Lucy was one), are found—"Mr John Shackespere, William Fluellen, and George Bardolfe." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 66. And the same three names are returned as of those persons who do not attend Divine Service, page 67. Isabel Bardell, or Bardolf, was living, a widow at Stratford, in 1604. She was related to the Quineys, as shown in a letter written by her, circa 1600,—"Isabel Bardell from Stratford to her cozen Richard Quyney in London begging for a place in London for her eldest son with some handy craftesman." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, p. 281. A John Bardolf was one of the servants of the Earl of Essex, in a joust held at Greenwich before King Henry VIII., in May 20, 1516.

Falstaff enquires of his little page,—"What said Master Dumbleton about the satin for my short cloak and slops?" 2 Hen. IV. Act I. Scene 2. This is a name that once belonged to Stratford, though it is not certain that any of the family resided there in the Poet's time. Mr Halliwell quotes from the Corporation Archives;—"A grant by Juliana de Dumbleton of Stratford, widow, of an annual rent of thirteen pence arising out of a tenement in Green-halle Streete to the Fraternity of the Guild of St Cross, cir. 1350." *Records*, page 249. Another document is,—"Grant by John, son and heir of John de Dumbleton of Stratford to William son of Thomas de Hatton of one half burgage in Walker Street." *Records*, page 25. Dumbleton is the name of a highly respectable family seated at Thornhill Park, near Southampton.

Pistol, on the accession of Prince Hal to the throne, hails Falstaff,—"Sweet knight, thou art now one of the greatest men in the realm;"—whereupon Justice Silence remarks,—"By'r lady, I think 'a be, but goodman Puff of Barson." Here is no doubt an allusion to some individual of remarkable bulk, whose identity would be recognized at the time, and as

belonging to a place not far from Stratford, viz. Barcheston, pronounced "Barson," as in the play; and a curious proof of this is derived from the inscription upon a monument of William Willington, a wealthy merchant of the staple, who died May 1, 1455, as figured in DUGDALE'S *Warwickshire*, under *Barcheston*, page 456;—"Here lyeth the bodyes of William Willington of barson Esquyer and Anne his wyeffe," &c. At page 91 Barston and Barton-on-the Heath are suggested for Goodman Puff's whereabouts; but Barcheston, which had not then come under the Compiler's notice, is a more likely locality.

KING HENRY V.

Among the characters in this play are three soldiers, whose Christian names are found in the folio of 1623, and therefore very properly retained in this Edition, although usually omitted. "John Bates, Alexander Court, and Michael Williams," are private soldiers in King Henry's army. These surnames all belong to Stratford, at the Poet's day, and it is remarkable that no biographer has yet noticed this fact; and the Compiler is indebted to Mr HALLIWELL'S *Records* for these names, although they are not alluded to by him in his Notes to the play. The following extracts relate to the surnames, although the baptismal names differ from those which are given to the three soldiers in the folio of 1623:—

"Oct. 17. 1 Eliz. Pon. in arbitrium. Actio detenc. inter Edwardum Bate quer. et Christofer Smythe &c." Page 44. "Jul. 5. 1 Eliz. Johannes Shakspeyr queritur versus Ricardum Court in placito debiti vj.s." Page 44. William Smyth and Richard Courte were chosen Aldermen, Sept. 6, 1586, in the room of John Wheler and John Shakspere. Julian Courte is on the Lists of the nine recusants, and absentees from church, in 1592. Mr Halliwell mentions a lease from "Margery Lord, widow, to her son, Richard Smyth, alias Courte; the witnesses are Richard Willyam, Gilbart Shakespere, and William Bellamye." *Life of Shakespeare*, page 25. William Court was of Stratford, in 1587, and 1594; Thomas Court, broad-weaver, had a tenement in Church Street, in 1619. *Records*, page 140. William Court, jun. was witness to the Will of Bartholomew Hathaway (brother of Anne Shakspeare), proved Dec. 6,

1624; and he was Churchwarden in March of that year, when George Quiney was Curate, who died in the following month. The family of Court remained in Stratford until the present century; William Shakspeare Hart sold the Poet's Birth-Place in Henley Street to Mr Thomas Court in 1806.

The name of Williams occurs frequently in the Stratford Corporation Records, as published by Mr HALLIWELL:—

"Robert Williams, alias Lewis, 37 Eliz." Page 346.

"John Williams v. Thomas Slater, bill of costs: 38 Eliz." Page 313.

"Richard Williams attached to answer Robert Fisher on money matters; 39 Eliz." Page 332.

In a lease which expired in 4 Eliz. (1562) are the names of "Lewys ap Wylliams, hye bayly, Robert Perotte, capitall alderman, John Tayler and John Shackespere, chambeurlens." Page 130.

In *the Chronicle Historie of Henry the Fift*, no names are given to the "three Souldiers;" from which omission we gather that SHAKSPEARE, in the revised play, supplied the surnames from certain Stratford families of his acquaintance.

The valiant, but choleric Captain FLUELLEN, bears a Stratford name, as already seen; William Fluellen being mentioned in the company of John Shakspeare and George Bardolf as recusants, and not coming to church, in 1592. Anne Fluellen, widow, lived at Stratford, in 1604, and appears in the Chamberlains' Books.

FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI.

In the Scene in *the Temple Garden*, Act II. Scene 4, where the White and Red Roses are selected as badges by the supporters of the "York and Lancaster Factions," VERNON plucks a White Rose for the Duke of York; and in Act III. Scene 4, Vernon is again introduced, and picks a quarrel with BASSET, who is of the opposite party; and in Act IV. Scene 1, they come before the King to grant them the combat. As the Scene in the Temple Garden is quite imaginary, the Poet was free to select any names for the supporters of the two factions, but he may have been guided in his choice of Vernon and Basset from their connection with

Warwickshire families, and especially with that of Arden, in whose pedigree their names are to be seen.

THIRD PART OF KING HENRY VI.

In Act v. Scene 1, Sir JOHN SOMERVILLE enters before the walls of Coventry, as a friend to King Henry's cause, which then was supported by the Earl of Warwick. The Compiler cannot find a Sir John Somerville at that date, which was just before the Battle of Barnet, 1471. But the Christian name of John was familiar to the Poet, who may even have had personal knowledge of his kinsman Edward Arden's son-in-law, John Somerville, who made the attempt on Queen Elizabeth's life in 1583, for which he was attainted. Although the chief seat of the Somervilles was at Acton-Somerville, co. Gloucester, they had possessions in Warwickshire, and intermarried with families of that county. The father of John Somerville, last mentioned, and of the same name, married Elizabeth, daughter of William Corbet; his father, Robert Somerville, married Mary, daughter of John Greville, of Milcote, and his father, Thomas Somerville, married Joan, daughter and heir of John Ailesbury of Edston, which manor came to the Somervilles through that marriage. The moiety of the manor of Kingston, co. Warwick, was also held by Edward Arden's son-in-law, John Somerville, and at his attainder it fell to the crown, and was bestowed upon Mr Abel Gower.

KING RICHARD III.

In this play "Lady Anne," as chief mourner in the funeral procession of her father-in-law, King Henry the Sixth, is accompanied by "two gentlemen," as principal attendants, whom she addresses on leaving;—

> "Tressel, and Berkeley, go along with me."

In his identification of the *Dramatis Personæ*, the Compiler stated, at page 251, that he had not met with the name of Tressel, and suggested that it should be altered to TRUSSEL. He has since found "Tressel," *once only*, but occurring at so remote a period that it has not shaken his opinion for

the necessity of alteration. In the *Calendarium Genealogicum*, Hen. III. et Edw. I. edited by Charles Roberts, Sec. of the Public Record Office, 1865, this entry occurs;—

> "Johannes de Tressel. Perambulatio inter terram dicti Johannis in manerio suo de Tressel in comitatu Stafford et terram Regis in manerio suo de Claverleye in comitatu Salop. 22 Ed. I."

Mr Mark Antony Lower does not give the name of Tressel in his *Patronymica Britannica*, nor is it found in any Ordinary of Arms.

The far-off instance quoted could hardly be known to the Poet, to whom on the contrary TRUSSELL would be as familiar as any name that has been lately adduced; for persons of the name are found in many parts of Warwickshire and Staffordshire, in which they held manors from a very early period, several members of the family being knights and barons, and holding important posts; William Trussel was knighted by Edward I. in 1305; another Sir William Trussell held a high command at Poictiers; and "John Trussell" and "Monsr William Trussell" were at Agincourt. Sir William Trussell, Knight, founded a college at Shottesbrooke, co. Berks, in 1337, and in that beautiful church (an admirable example of the Decorated Style, almost unmixed with any other) there is a raised tomb to his memory, in the north end of the north transept. A branch of the family settled at Billesley, co. Warwick, about four miles from Stratford, and where SHAKSPEARE'S granddaughter was married to her second husband, Sir John Bernard; and we shall see that these Trussells were well-known to the Shakspeares, and even allied by marriage to some of their relations and friends. Sir Warine Trussell held Billesley, 15 Edw. III.; his son Laurence married Maud, daughter of Sir Thomas Charnells, Knight (a name often occurring in the Arden pedigree); their descendants remained at Billesley, and presented to the living, down to the end of the 16th century, and where we find Alured, or Alfred Trussell, who was born in 1533, and who married Margaret, daughter of Robert Fulwood, and their daughter, Dorothy Trussell, married Adam Palmer, the friend of Mary Shakspeare's father, Robert Arden, who made Palmer one of the trustees to his settlements, and one of the overseers to his will, as he was to that of Agnes Arden, whose son-in-law was a Fulwood. It

is the brother of Dorothy Palmer, Thomas Trussell, who was, doubtless, the leading attorney of Stratford-upon-Avon, and had several transactions with John Shakspeare (the Bailiff); one of these is noticed in Mr HALLIWELL'S *Life*, page 64. "Thomas Trussell, gentylman, joined with Mr John Shaksper, Richard Spooner, and others, to take inventory of goods of Henry Feelde late of Stratford, Aug. 1592." The above-named Alured Trussell had a brother, an uncle, and a grandfather, each of whom is Thomas Trussell; and one of these two last is most likely the Thomas Trussell, whose name occurs (as a trustee) in the Grant of the Snitterfield estate, purchased in 1501, from John Mayow, by Thomas Arden and his son Robert Arden, grandfather and father of Mary Shakspeare. The Compiler has a strong feeling that the wife of Thomas Arden, or the first wife of his son Robert, was either a Trussell, or one of the near relations of that family; nor would it be the first time that an alliance had taken place between the two families, for as far back as 2 Ric. II., we find in the Will of Sir William Trussel of Cublesdon, 1379, a bequest made by him to his "cousin Sir Thomas D'Ardene." Sir N. H. NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. I. page 107. In the Folio Edition, 1623, the name of the companion of "Tressel" is spelt "Barkley," as the name of the well-known Gloucestershire house of Berkeley is often pronounced. It is therefore probable that "Tressel" is a misprint for "Trussell," which could hardly fail to be the name intended by the Poet, and which claims an interest from its known association with his friends and family connections.

Sir WILLIAM CATESBY. Although this historical personage was of Ashby St Leger, co. Northampton, members of his family were seated in Warwickshire, and married into some of the best houses of that county, quartered or impaled with whose Arms those of Catesby were to be seen in several of its churches in Dugdale's time. Their principal seat was at Lapworth, a manor which came to them through their alliance with Arden, as also did Rodbourne, *temp.* Ed. III.; for William de Catesby married Johanna, daughter and co-heir of William de Arden, of Rodbourn. The son of King Richard's favourite, George Catesby, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Empson (who married secondly Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote), and their daughter Joan married Thomas Bracebridge,

his first wife. A later Sir William Catesby, of Ashby St Legers, married Anne, second daughter (by a second wife) of Sir Robert Throckmorton, whose daughter, Mary (by a first wife) married Edward Arden, of Park-hall. Nicholas Catesby, of Nuneham married Letitia, daughter and co-heir of John Brome, of Baddesley-Clinton, sister of Joyce, the last Prioress, but one, of Wroxhall.

KING HENRY VIII.

It is not easy to understand why the Poet introduced the name of BRANDON in the capacity of an officer of the King's guard to arrest the Duke of Buckingham. The officer on the occasion was Sir Henry Marney. SHAKSPEARE, however, would be acquainted with the name, as belonging to Stratford:—"Henry Brandon was attached to answer Anthony Nash, gentleman, 30 March, 39 Eliz." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 462. Many years later the name is still found in Stratford Annals: "Brandon *v.* Earl of Middlesex, a bill of costs;" this was in 1646. *Ib.* Page 419. The Duke's son-in-law, the LORD ABERGAVENNY, was also arrested at the same time, 1521; this was George Nevill, lord of the manors of Aston-Cantlow and Snitterfield, who may therefore have been personally known to Thomas and Robert Arden, holders of property in those places from 1501 to 1547, the maternal ancestors of the Poet.

One of the characters in this play, Sir NICHOLAS (Lord) VAUX, had a daughter, Catherine, married to Sir George Throckmorton, Knight, father of Sir Robert Throckmorton, whose daughter Mary became the wife of the unfortunate Edward Arden, of Park-hall. And it is interesting to notice that Edward Arden's wife was first-cousin to the wife of Sir Walter Raleigh, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (so named after his maternal grandfather, the Lord Vaux), a younger brother of Sir Robert.

One great name remains to be noticed, as having an intimate connection with the Poet's native county,—the EARL of WARWICK; a title which, though held by persons of different names, has always been enjoyed, with a single ex-

ception[1], through a relationship to Turchill de Arden, titular Earl of Warwick, whose Anglo-Saxon ancestors are also styled Earls by the old historians. The EARL of WARWICK in the *Second Part of King Henry IV.*, in *King Henry V.*, and in the *First Part of King Henry VI.*, is RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, fifth earl of that name, one of the most renowned nobles of the day, called by the Emperor Sigismund, "the Father of Courtesy;" he was Governor to the infant King, Henry VI. His daughter, the lady Anne Beauchamp, married RICHARD NEVILL, who is the "WARWICK" in the *Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.*, the most powerful baron in the kingdom for wealth and warlike prowess, whose formidable name was a tower of strength to the cause which he espoused for the time, and who confronted kings as an equal; thus he proudly boasts:—

> "Neither the king, nor he that loves him best,
> The proudest he that holds up Lancaster,
> Dares stir a wing, if Warwick shakes his bells.
> I'll plant Plantagenet, root him up who dares."
>
> *Third Part of King Henry VI.* Act I. Scene I.

The Poet has drawn the character of this great Earl with a loving hand, as if he felt a countryman's pride in the lordly owner of that noble Castle, whose Guy and Beauchamp Towers[2] rise in such grand proportions above the Avon; and it is not unfair to conjecture that some of the Shakspeares followed the stout Earl, among his Warwickshire retainers, to St Alban's (the second battle), in 1461, or Towton, also in

[1] This exception was in favour of the new family of Rich; King James I. creating Robert, third Lord Rich, in 1618, Earl of Warwick; but he had granted the grand old castle and its domain, which had reverted to the crown at the death of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, 1589, S.P., to the descendant of the Ardens and Beauchamps, Sir Fulke Greville, first Lord Brooke, in 1605; and at the death of the last Earl of Warwick of the name of Rich, in 1759, the title in the same year was bestowed on the fifth Lord Brooke, and it still remains in the family of Greville, with the glorious old castle of their ancestors.

[2] Guy's Tower was finished in 1393 by Thomas Beauchamp, fourth Earl of Warwick, at the cost of £395. 5*s.* 2*d.* Sir Fulke Greville, first Lord Brooke, expended £20,000 in repairing and embellishing Warwick Castle, and "made it a place not only of great strength, but extraordinary delight...so that now it is the most princely seat that is within these midland parts of the realm." DUGDALE, *Warwickshire.*

1461, or to his last fatal field, at Barnet, 1471, in obedience to his call;—

> "In Warwickshire I have true-hearted friends,
> Not mutinous in peace, yet bold in war;
> Them will I muster up."
>
> *Ib.* Act IV. Scene 7.

The Knoll Guild contains the names of Richard, Ralph, John, and a second Richard Shakspeare, between the years 1460 and 1464, all of the county of Warwick.

The Earl of Warwick had only two daughters, who are alluded to in the *Third Part of K. Henry VI.*, though with a misconception as to their seniority; for it was the eldest daughter, the Lady Isabel Nevill, who married George Plantagenet, the ill-fated Duke of Clarence; whilst the youngest daughter, though called "the eldest," is in the play betrothed to the Prince Edward, son of King Henry VI.[1]; this is the "Lady Anne" of the next play, wherein she takes a prominent part as the widow of the young Prince, and consenting to become the wife of his supposed murderer, Richard Duke of Gloster, whose complicity in the deed is by no means proved; and it is the belief of many writers that Richard was sincerely attached to his cousin Anne Nevill, his early playmate, with whom he had been brought up in her father's stately castle at Warwick, as a ward to the great Earl, his tutor in the art of war.

A sketch of the descent of the Earls of Warwick from Turchill de Arden may prove interesting. The hand of his daughter Margaret was given, with many of his lordships, to Henry de Bellomonte (*Beaumont*), or de Newburgh, who became first Earl of Warwick of the name of Newburgh. Their descendants enjoyed the title of Earl of Warwick until the death of their grandson, Henry, fifth earl, without issue,

[1] In the play, "a *Post*" from France tells King Edward, in reply to his question,—"Is Warwick friends with Margaret?"

> "Ay, gracious sovereign; they are so link'd in friendship,
> That young Prince Edward marries Warwick's daughter.
>
> *Clarence.* Belike the elder; Clarence will have the younger."

But Clarence married the elder sister, Isabel, and in the next play his brother Gloster says (alluding to Anne Nevill):—

> "For then I'll marry Warwick's youngest daughter,
> What though I kill'd her husband and her father?"

whose sister, Alice de Newburgh, married William de Mauduit, Lord of Hanslape, and their daughter Isabel married William de Beauchamp, lord of Elmley, and their son William became, *jure matris*, first Earl of Warwick of the name of Beauchamp. His son, the second Earl, was Guy de Beauchamp, "the Black Bear of Arden," as he was called by Piers Gaveston, "that *Munkey* and Minion of King Edward the Second." FULLER'S *Worthies*, Vol. II. Earl Guy took a terrible revenge for the sarcastic title, when he seized the royal favourite, and beheaded him, without form of trial, on Blacklow Hill, near Warwick. Guy was father of the third Earl, Thomas de Beauchamp, who began the rebuilding of Warwick Castle (ob. 1369); and whose eldest son (*qui obiit vitâ patris*) was called Guy, and his third son Reynburn, evidently so named after their Anglo-Saxon ancestors, the vanquisher of Colbrand and his son. The second son, Thomas de Beauchamp, became fourth Earl of Warwick, and was one of the "First Founders" of the Order of the Garter. He was succeeded by his son, who is the "Earl of Warwick" in 2 *King Henry IV.*, RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP, fifth Earl, K.G. This eminent noble married twice;—by his first wife, Elizabeth Berkeley, only daughter and heir of Thomas, fifth Lord Berkeley, he had two daughters, his co-heiresses, Margaret de Beauchamp, who became the second wife of the great Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, from which marriage the Dudleys, Earls of Warwick and Leicester, were descended, now represented by Lord de Lisle and Dudley; the second daughter, Alionor de Beauchamp, married Thomas, ninth Lord de Ros, from whom the present Premier Baron of England, Lord de Ros, and the Duke of Rutland, are descended.

The fifth Earl of Warwick, by his second wife, Isabel le Despencer, daughter of Thomas Earl of Gloucester, was father of Henry de Beauchamp, sixth and last Earl of Warwick of the name, and of the Lady Anne Beauchamp, who by her marriage with RICHARD NEVILL carried the possessions and title of her house to that family, and her husband is the great "Earl of Warwick" in the *Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* The issue of this marriage were the two daughters already mentioned, Isabel and Ann Nevill, who married the two princely brothers of the House of York,

George, Duke of Clarence, and Richard, Duke of Gloster; the son of the latter, Edward, Prince of Wales, died at the age of eleven years, and thus there are no descendants of "Lady Anne;" but from her sister, the Lady Isabel, are derived many noble houses of the present day. Her children are characters in *King Richard III.*, viz. "*A young Son of Clarence*," afterwards the ill-fated Earl of Warwick, who was beheaded by Henry VII. in 1499, and "*A Young Daughter of Clarence*," the Lady Margaret Plantagenet, the last of that illustrious name, who was restored by Henry VIII. to the possessions of the Nevills, and created Countess of Salisbury, but beheaded by that jealous monarch in 1541. This noble lady married Sir Richard Pole, K.G., and their eldest son, Henry Pole, Lord Montagu, is ancestor of the present Marquess of Hastings, and of the Earl of Huntingdon (1867).

All the traditions of Warwickshire point to the Anglo-Saxon Earl Guy as a real personage, and not a fabulous hero, though much romance has been mixed up with truth in his adventures. His name is repeated in the family of his descendants, the Beauchamps, more than once, and one of the majestic towers of Warwick Castle is called after him. An important testimony to the fact of his being a real personage is afforded by the tapestry which was wrought with his achievements, and formerly preserved at Warwick Castle; and so much value was attached to its possession that it is mentioned in Royal Writs. "A suit of arras hangings or tapestry, and also a piece of furniture, representing the achievements of Guy, the Saxon Earl of Warwick," is mentioned by Dugdale as having existed in Warwick Castle anterior to the fifteenth century. It was accounted so remarkable a production, and so valuable as an appendage to the Castle, that a special grant was made concerning it by Richard II., conveying it as "that suit of arras hangings containing the story of Guy Earl of Warwick," together with the Castle of Warwick and its possessions, to Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and on the restoration of the forfeited estates to the former possessor, these hangings are specifically mentioned in the patent of King Henry IV., A.D. 1399. No trace now remains of this tapestry; the supposition however is, that it was conveyed abroad by the cupidity of some one of the after possessors, as in an old catalogue of effects in one

of the royal palaces in France, a set of arras hangings are mentioned which bear a strong resemblance to the legendary history of the famous Knight. DRUMMOND, *Noble British Families.*

Many places in SHAKSPEARE'S native shire are the scenes of action, or are mentioned, in the Plays. In the *First Part of King Henry IV.*, Falstaff arrives near COVENTRY, with his "scarecrows," as he calls his 150 pressed men, "slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth," with whom he is ashamed to march through Coventry, on their way to SUTTON-COLDFIELD, where they are to rest that night; Act IV. Scene 2. And when Prince Hal enters on the scene, Falstaff accosts him in his familiar fashion,—"What, Hal? How now, mad wag! what a devil dost thou in Warwickshire?"

COVENTRY was warmly attached to the cause of Henry VI., who conferred many favours on the city; and in St Mary's Hall is preserved a fine tapestry, 30 feet long and 10 feet high, wrought with a representation of Henry VI. and his Queen, Margaret of Anjou, at prayer, surrounded by their respective suites; in this interesting relic the portraits of the saint-like king, of his intrepid queen, of "the good duke," Humphrey of Gloster, and of the haughty Cardinal Beaufort, are believed to be good likenesses. For their loyalty to his unfortunate rival, Edward IV. took away their charter from the citizens, to recover which they had to pay a heavy fine.

In the *Third Part of King Henry VI.*, Act IV. Scene 2, the action is laid in "*A Plain in Warwickshire:*" and Scene 3 is—"*Edward's Camp near Warwick.*" In Act V. Scene 1, we are again at Coventry,—"*Enter upon the walls*, WARWICK, *the Mayor of Coventry, two Messengers, and others.*" Here the great Earl, Richard Nevill, then in arms for King Henry VI., is anxiously looking for the succours commanded by his friends; very tersely the Poet describes this expectation:—

"*Warwick.* Where is the post that came from valiant Oxford?
How far hence is thy lord, mine honest fellow?
First Mess. By this at Dunsmore, marching hitherward,
Warw. How far off is our brother Montague?
Where is the post that came from Montague?
Second Mess. By this at Daintry, with a puissant troop.

Enter Sir JOHN SOMERVILLE.

Warw. Say, Somerville, what says my loving son?
And, by thy guess, how nigh is Clarence now?
Som. At Southam I did leave him with his forces,
And do expect him here some two hours hence.
(*Drums heard.*)
Warw. Then Clarence is at hand, I hear his drum.
Som. It is not his, my lord; here Southam lies;
The drum your honour hears marcheth from Warwick."

Ryton-upon-Dunsmore is only a few miles from Coventry, but is nearly in the line of march from Daventry (noticed by Falstaff for its "red-nose innkeeper"), whilst Southam is nearer to Warwick than to Coventry; the latter city had been appointed by the Earl of Warwick, in the previous scene (Act IV. Scene 8), as the point of meeting for his friends, whose contingents were to be raised in the counties in which they had influence; and King Edward had also expressed his intention of confronting the great Earl there:—

"Lords, towards Coventry bend we our course,
Where peremptory Warwick now remains;"

whereupon Richard of Gloucester, as sage in counsel as he was brave in war, advises prompt action;—

"Away, betimes, before his forces join,
And take the great-grown traitor unawares;
Brave warriors, march amain towards Coventry."

From their relative positions the towns mentioned have been chosen with great skill by the Dramatist, as might be expected from his intimate knowledge of his native county.

Gosford Green, near Coventry, is introduced in *King Richard II.*, Act I. Scene 3, as the place of the intended combat between Bolingbroke and Mowbray; and the former of these nobles lodged, the night before the meeting, at the manor-house of Sir William Bagot, at Baginton, about three miles distant.

In *King Richard III.*, the Earl of Richmond, with his forces, appears in Act V. Scene 2,—"*The Camp near Tamworth,*" and he tells his friends that the "usurping boar," his kingly rival,—

> " Lies now even in the centre of this isle,
> Near to the town of Leicester, as we learn:
> From Tamworth thither is but one day's march."

Tamworth is on the extreme Northern border of Warwickshire, where that county enters Staffordshire like a wedge, and is ten miles from Atherstone, the place in reality where Richmond's army rested for the night before the great battle, and where at midnight he met his step-father, Lord Stanley, in secret conference to arrange for that desertion from King Richard's standard, which caused his defeat. Atherstone is nine miles from Market-Bosworth, upon which Richmond advanced in one direction, whilst King Richard marched in on the other from Leicester, where he slept the night before the battle. We may feel quite sure that SHAKSPEARE visited the scene of conflict before he wrote his famous drama.

A remarkable instance of longevity, exceeding the dates of Jenkins and Old Parr, is recorded of a person who served at Bosworth. At Llanmaes, co. Glamorgan, "there is an entry in the parish register of the burial of Ivan Yorath, on the 12th of July, 1621, in the 180th year of his age. He had been in the famous battle of Bosworth field, and resided afterwards at Llantwit Major, where he supported himself by fishing." GORTON. *Topographical Dictionary.*

One of the architectural glories of Warwickshire is introduced by name in the *Second Part of King Henry VI.*, Act IV. Scene 4, where the first success of the rebels under Jack Cade induces the Duke of Buckingham to advise the King's withdrawal from London :—

> " My gracious lord, retire to Killingworth,
> Until a power be raised to put them down."

And the action of Scene 9 is laid at "*Kenilworth Castle. Enter* KING, QUEEN, *and* SOMERSET, *on the Terrace.*" The domain of Kenilworth had merged in the Crown at the accession of Bolingbroke, whose father, John of Gaunt, inheriting from the Earls and Dukes of Lancaster, had greatly enlarged the original Castle of the Clintons, and a portion of the remaining structure still bears the name of "Lancaster Buildings." Kenilworth Castle fell to the share of John of *Gaunt's* first wife Blanche, second daughter and co-heir of Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster. Queen Elizabeth made a

grant, in 1562, of the domain to her favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who enlarged it and the buildings at an immense expense, and entertained his Royal Mistress there in a princely manner in July, 1575. Sir Walter Scott, in his famous romance, has committed the anachronism of introducing SHAKSPEARE in the work as if in the height of his fame, whereas he was but eleven years old at the time of the Queen's visit to Kenilworth. Raleigh is made to quote the lines in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, which are generally considered to apply to Elizabeth, as "the fair vestal throned by the West" (Vol. I. ch. 17). The Queen herself alludes to "the exhibitions of one Will Shakspeare," citing some of his lines from *Troilus and Cressida* (Vol. I. ch. 16). The Earl of Sussex speaks of the affair in Sir Thomas Lucy's park; the Earl of Leicester addresses a few words to SHAKSPEARE at his levee, and alludes to his *Venus and Adonis* (ch. 17); whilst Wayland Smith sings the first verse of a ditty from the *Winter's Tale*, saying,—"Will Shakspeare, be my friend in need, I will give them a taste of Autolycus." Vol. II. ch. 3.

It is most probable that the future dramatist was present, among the numerous travellers who would flock from all parts of the county, to see the gorgeous pageantries of Kenilworth, for John Shakspeare was then in prosperous circumstances, and an alderman, and his gifted boy would be eager to accompany his father (having no doubt witnessed at Stratford, two years before, the performances of "the Earle of Lecester's players"), that he might catch a glimpse of the Queen, and the revelries in her honour; and in his day the noble buildings were perfect, whereas they are now fast crumbling to decay, the roofless walls, built of a soft red stone, affording, in the Poet's words[1],—

> "A naked subject to the weeping clouds,
> And waste for churlish winter's tyranny[2]."

The allusions to persons and places belonging to Warwickshire, to its fruits and plants, its birds and flowers, its

[1] Like many other stately edifices, Kenilworth Castle was plundered and dismantled in the parliamentary contest, in 1649; the ruins are protected, so far as is possible, by the present noble owner, the Earl of Clarendon.

[2] *Second Part of King Henry IV.* Act I. Scene 3.

proverbs and quaint phrases, all prove the strong attachment of SHAKSPEARE to his native county; for dearly as he loved England, which he so nobly describes in several plays, the warmest place in his "heart of heart" was reserved for his—

> "Brave Warwick, that abroad so long advanced her Bear,
> By her illustrious earls renownèd every where,
> Above her neighbouring shires which always bore her head."
> DRAYTON'S *Polyolbion*, Book XIII.

Mr W. G. Colbourne, architect, of Stratford-upon-Avon, has taken the pains to ascertain that persons of the following names, introduced in the dramas, are still living in Stratford-upon-Avon, or lately belonged to it. In High Street, Mrs Court; Mr William Page, landlord of the Falcon Tavern; Mr Harvey Williams, and Mr Thomas Williams; Mr E. D. Ford, Banker, lately deceased. A letter-carrier between Stratford and Snitterfield, of the name of Curtis, lately deceased. Evans, a draper, until lately at Stratford: also Horne, a few years since. Thomas Horne was Mayor in 1670. Thomas Horne, probably the Mayor, died Sept. 27, 1685, aged 64; Susannah his wife died Oct. 27, 1679, aged 46; Samuel their son died Dec. 25, 1709, aged 36. Mrs Bridget Herne died May 26, 1773. Mr Charles Pratt, corn-dealer, resides at Stratford, where is also a sawyer of the name of Perks. It appears also that a person resides in the town of the name of Quiney, by occupation a horse-breaker.

It can be hardly out of place to notice here that in the following extract from Mr HALLIWELL'S *Stratford Records*, page 399,—

> "Thomas Kemble, tailor, of Stratford, and Cicely Kemble, alias Dixon, his wife, 1624,"

we may perhaps behold the ancestors of a family of actors and actresses, not yet extinct, as remarkable for their number as for their great abilities, during several generations, whose names are associated with the admirable personation of some of SHAKSPEARE'S greatest characters.

SHAKSPEAREANA GENEALOGICA.

PART II.

THE SHAKSPEARE AND ARDEN FAMILIES,

AND THEIR CONNECTIONS;

WITH THIRTEEN TABLES OF DESCENT.

INTRODUCTION TO PART II.

FOR a great length of time it has been my cherished hope to be able to add my mite to the already large store of Shakspearean literature. The field of verbal criticism is too well filled to permit an attempt in that direction; but it has always appeared to me that SHAKSPEARE and his Plays have not been sufficiently regarded from what may be termed a genealogical point of view. After many years of patient study, in so far as professional avocations allowed, in heraldry and genealogy as a relaxation, my enquiries have gathered an amount of information which may be acceptable to the admirers of the great Poet; and one proof of my devotion to him is to be seen in the attempt to identify the characters in the Historical Plays in Part I. for this, the latest annotated edition, of his writings. The present Compilation, Part II. has a more personal relation to SHAKSPEARE, and my discovery of the long-missing link which truly connects him with the ancient family of the Ardens of Warwickshire is of itself an ample reward for my labour of love.

In the following pages nearly every instance, wherein the Name of a Shakspeare occurs in remote times, has been brought forward, in the hope that future researches may establish a connection between the earlier and later Shakspeares; a result which is within the range of probability, since many active archæologists, who have opportunity as well as inclination, can gain access to ancient records and documents, which require a well-trained eye to decipher their contracted and

obsolete characters, and they may find that which would escape the ken of less-gifted observers.

The maternal ancestry of the Poet is herein carried to a period before the Conquest, without a break in the pedigree, for the first time; and the descent of the Ardens is continued to their representatives in Staffordshire at the present day, a member of the family having lent a manuscript memoir drawn up by one of his relations. The pedigree of the family of Hart is brought down from the Poet's sister to the present time, in a more complete form than has been hitherto attempted; and a family connection has furnished some particulars of the Harts, who are frequently, though wrongly, described as descendants from the Poet himself, whereas they are collateral relations.

The great name has served as a pass-key to open the door of information wherever my application has been made; and assistance has been courteously given by many who until then were strangers, but who on such a theme evinced a hearty desire to forward my enquiries, in a field of illustration hitherto not much occupied; for although most persons of education are glad to possess the knowledge which springs from genealogical studies, few will devote to the task the necessary patience and unflagging perseverance, the only qualifications which have enabled me to bring together that which may be already familiar to a few, but too much scattered among various publications, some not easily accessible, to be known to the mass of SHAKSPEARE'S readers, who are right welcome to the experience purchased

"By my penny of observation."

GEORGE RUSSELL FRENCH.

7, POWIS PLACE, W. C.
Dec. 31, 1868.

THE SURNAME OF SHAKSPEARE.

THE late Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A., published in 1844 an admirable little work, entitled,—*Prolusions Genealogical and Biographical on the Family of Shakespeare, and other Families connected with him.* Had that judicious writer lived to the present time, we should possess from his pen a history of the Poet's ancestry and connections, which would probably leave little to be desired; as it is, his sagacity arrived at guesses very near the truth, remarkably justified by the discoveries of later writers; and it is the good fortune of the Compiler of these notices that he follows so many expert leaders, and is thus enabled to bring their valuable but scattered researches together into one complete series; in each case the source of information is stated, though it is to be regretted that sometimes the writers have only adopted initials, or disguises, thus preventing the full meed of recognition.

Mr HUNTER thus opens his theme;—"The surname of Shakespeare binds together in bonds of consanguinity a tribe of Englishmen, who, for the most part, have affected only the commonest names in the English vocabulary, John, Thomas, William, and Richard. This cannot be said of surnames in general. It is the peculiarity of the surname Shakespeare which creates a presumption that all of the name are of the same lineage, almost equal to the certainty which historical evidence for each particular link would produce." Page 1.

Persons who are in the habit of consulting old deeds and charters are not surprised at the variety of ways in which many family names have been written, as in the cases of Percy (23); Cholmondeley (25); Gascoigne (19); Throckmor-

ton (16); Percival (29); Bruce (33); but that of the great Poet much exceeds all others in number. Mr HUNTER reckoned as many as twenty-six variations, which he states are "all taken from writings of nearly the Poet's own age, and these not the mere scrawls of rude and uneducated persons, but for the most part traced by the pens of professional scribes." Page 4. Mr Hunter does not allude to the Knoll Register, and his list, which is wanting in dates and Christian names, can be augmented from recent discoveries.

The following variations of spelling the name, to the number of Fifty-five, appear in registers, charters, leases, and other documents, of which the dates are annexed. Richard Schakespeire, 1460: Richard Shakspere of Woldich, 1460: John Shakespeyre, 1464: Johannes Shakespere, 1464: Henry Chacsper of Rowington, 1476: Thomas Schakspere, 1486: Richard Shaksper of Wroxall, 1523: Willm Sakespere of Wroxall, 1537: William Shaxespere, 1545: Johannes Shakyspere, 1552:—Shakysper, 4 Philip & Mary: Roger Shakesspere, baptized at Tachbrooke, 1557: John Shakspeyr, 1558: John Shakispere, 5 Philip & Mary: John Shaxpere, Baylyfe, 1569: John Shaskespeare, buried at Tachbrooke, 1574: John Shaxper, 1579: John Shaxpeare, 1579: John Shakspeer, 1579: "William Shagspere," the Poet, in the Bond respecting his marriage, 1582: John Shakspeyre, chaumberlein, 1584: John Shaxsper, 1586: John Shaxspere, 1586: John Shaxkspere, 1586: Aylese Shackspire, 1589: Henry Shaxkespere, 1591: Henry Saxspere, 1596: John Shackspear, 1597:—Shaxeper, 1598: John Shakspeere and Mary his wief, 1598: M^{r}. W^{m}. Shackespere, Quiney's letter to the Poet, 1598: W^{m}. Sheakspeare, 1600: M^{r}. Jhon Sackesper, 1601: Thomas Shakespeere of Rowington, 1602: Combe to Schackspeare, 1602: William Shexpere, 1604: "Shaxberd, the Poet which made the plaies," Stationers' Records, 1605—1612: William Shakspear, William Shakespear, William Shakespeare, and William Shakesphear, all appear in the deed of purchase of tithes at Stratford, &c. 1605: John Shakeseper of Rowington, 7 Jac. I.: John Shackespeare, 12 Jac. I.: "By me, WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE," the last signature to the Poet's will, 1616: William Shackspare, in Visitation, 1619: Willm. Shakspurre, Romford Register, 1637: Shakespar Hart, 1695: Shakesper Hartt, 1711: Shaxpeer Hart, his signature, 1740: John Shackspeer, of

Shadwell, on trade token...Shackspeere, in the Black Book of Warwick (Halliwell): Mr Hunter mentions — "Shakaspeare." There are also in Essex Registers, Thomas Shakesphere of Hornchurch, who died in 1702: and Judith Shakespare, of Rawreth. Roger Shadspere was Rector of Flyford-Flavell, 1549 to 1560. And even this list might, no doubt, be extended.

MALONE, Mr CHARLES KNIGHT, Mr J. PAYNE COLLIER, and Mr J. O. HALLIWELL, have taken great pains to ascertain the instances wherein the name of SHAKSPEARE occurs; and in his splendid folio edition Mr HALLIWELL has almost exhausted the subject. To that work of extraordinary labour and untiring research the Compiler of these notices is indebted for much of the information which is herein compressed; whilst some cases are added which escaped the acuteness of Mr Halliwell, who considered the first known mention of the name to be of the time of Edward III.; but an instance occurs a century earlier. Mr WILLIAM HENRY HART, F.S.A., in *Notes and Queries*, Vol. IX. 1st Series, page 122, gives an extract from the Pleas of the Rolls, 7 Edward I., which answers to An. Dom. 1278;—"Et Wills fuit attach.' p. Petr.' Fabru et Johan Shakespere." Thus the name has existed for six centuries.

Another early record of the name is also given in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, August, 1860, by a correspondent, under the signature, "Carlisle," who mentions an Inquisition held at Carlisle, on the Feast of St Bartholomew, 31 Edward III., A.D. 1357, whereat the jury found that the thraves of corn due from every plough-land in Cumberland to the Hospital of St Nicholas, Carlisle, and which had been rendered from time beyond memory, had yet been withheld by many persons for the last eight years, and among the names so returned is Henry Shakespere, of the parish of Kirkland, who therefore held land there in 1349-50.

Next in order of time, so far as yet known, is the instance quoted by Mr Halliwell; that of "Thomas Shakespere, who was connected in an official capacity with the Port of Youghal in Ireland, in 49 Edward III., 1375." *Life of Shakespeare.* Page 4. But the date is ascribed two years later in *Notes and Queries*, by a writer, under the initials "J. F. F.," who says,—"In the *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ*

Calendarium, Vol. I., pars 1, p. 996, is an entry which shows that one Thomas Shakespere and Richard Portyngale were appointed Comptrollers of Customs in the port of Youghal in Ireland in the fifty-first year of Edward III." The above appointment indicates that Thomas Shakespere must have been a person of trustworthiness and intelligence, and it is probable that his colleague was ancestor of Matthew Portingall, who became Mayor of Youghal in 1542. And as it thus appears that the family of one of the Comptrollers settled at Youghal, and was resident there for more than a century and a half, it may be worth while to search for the descendants of Thomas Shakespere in the registers of that borough, and other places in the county of Cork. It is also probable that a search among the Records of "Fines," would ascertain that Henry Shakespere, of Kirkland, was not the first of his name who held land in the county of Cumberland.

The Compiler's friend, Mr. Thomas Milbourn, Architect, has made the following extract from the Public Record Office, which hitherto seems to have escaped notice:

Indorsed "$\frac{20}{18}$ Exchequer Ancient Miscellanea,

Treasury of Receipt.

Muster Roll of Men at Arms, &c. going with Henry Lord Grey against the King's enemies in Ireland.

Taken near Conway,

27 August 18 Ed. IV. (1479).

✣ Thomas Shakespere."

THE KNOLL GUILD.

FOR nearly a century later than the Shakespere of Youghal the name does not again appear, until it is found in great force in the county of Warwick, where it must have taken root even before the time recorded in the following extracts, which were first given by Malone, though not with the accuracy which Mr Halliwell has devoted to the subject.

From the manuscript Register on vellum in the possession of Mr Staunton, of Longbridge House, near Warwick, the following names are found on the list of the brothers and sisters of the Guild of St Anne at Knoll, near Rowington, in the county of Warwick, from A.D. 1407, to the dissolution of the Fraternity in 1535; it is entitled,—

"Registrum fratrum et sororum Gildæ Sanctæ Annæ de Knoll; incipiebatur in die et in feste Sanctæ Annæ anno Domini millesimo CCCC^mo^ vij^o^"

* * *

"circa 1460. Pro anima Ricardi Shakspere et Alicia uxor ejus de Woldiche.

* * *

1464. Ed. 4. Johanna Shakespere.

— — Radulphus Shakespeire et Isabella, uxor ejus, et pro anima Johannæ uxoris primæ.

— — Ricardus Schakespeire de Wroxhale et Margeria uxor ejus.

circa 1464. Johannes Shakespeyre ejusdem villæ (Rowington) et Alicia uxor ejus.

* * *

1476. Thomas Chacksper et Christian cons. suæ de Rowneton.

* * *

1486. 1 H. 7. Pro anima Thomæ Schakspere.
— — Thomas Shakspere et Alicia uxor ejus de Balsale.

* * *

— 19 H. 7. Orate pro anima Isabella Shakspere quondam Prioressa de Wraxhale.

* * *

— 3 H. 8. *Ballishalle.* Alicia Shakspere et pro anima Thome Shakespere.
— — *Meriden.* Christophorus Shakspere et Isabella uxor ejus de Packwode.
— 18 H. 8. Domina Jane Shakspere.
— — Ricardus Shakspere et Alicia uxor.
— — Willielmus Shakspere et Agnes uxor.
— — Johannes Shakspere et Johanna uxor.

HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 5.

DUGDALE, in his *Warwickshire*, (Ed. 1656), alluding to the "Colledge at Knoll," says, "That a multitude of persons, whereof most of good qualitie, nay some of the great nobility in those days, had admittance to be of this *Gild*, is very evident, all which in some measure were benefactors thereto." Page 703. The historian names among the donors, and as having their coats of arms in the church windows, and which he has engraved, the county families of Ferrers of Tamworth, Clinton of Coleshill, Wigston of Wolstan, Ailesbury of Edston, Belknap of Griffe, Brome of Badsley-Clinton, Dabridgcourt of Langdon, Somerville of Kington, Marrow of Berkswell, and Eborall of Balshall, of whom Doctor Lawrence Eborall was sometime master of the guild. The publication of the entire list of the brothers and sisters of his guild would be very interesting; and it would doubtless contain the names of the oldest and best families in the shire, in addition to those already quoted.

It is necessary to make a pause in order to remark that there is some discrepancy, which has not been taken notice of by editors, in relation to "Isabella Shakspere," who is called

"Prioress of Wrexhall," and who must have died before or during the year 1504, from the request that prayer should be made for the repose of her soul under the date 19 Henry VII. In DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, as well as in his *Warwickshire*, the names are given of the three last nuns who filled the office of prioress immediately before the dissolution of the monasteries:—

> "D. Isabella Asteley, 30 July, 1431.
>
> D. Jocosa Brome, daughter of John Brome. She died June 21, 1528, but she resigned in 1524.
>
> Agnes Litle was confirmed Prioress Nov. 20, 1525, and at the dissolution of the house a pension of £7. 10*s*. was granted to her during life. The rest of her fellow-nuns were exposed to the wide world to seek their fortunes."
>
> *Warwickshire*, page 494. *Monasticon*, Vol. IV. page 89.

It will be seen, from this quotation, that no mention is made of an Isabella Shakspeare as Prioress; but in the Edition of the *Monasticon*, published in 1823, the following foot-note is given, in which is recited the writ for the election of Agnes Litle, as Prioress, in succession to Joyce Brome:—

> "Licentia concessa fuit Johannæ Shakspere subprioressæ ad eligend. 5 Sept. 1525, et 20 Nov. 1525, Agnes Litle confirmata fuit prioressa de Wroxhall vac. per resign. Joc. Brome. Reg. f. 286."
>
> *Monasticon*, Ed. 1823, Vol. IV. page 89.

Thus instead of Isabella we find Johanna, or Joan, or Jane Shakespere, who, though she may have presided as Superior during the year's interval, was still only Sub-prioress of Wroxhall, as stated in the licence. It would appear as if the Isabella, to be prayed for in 1504, was intended for the Prioress Asteley, but that the name of Shakespere, having so often occurred on the Knoll Register, was inserted by mistake. It is not unreasonable to suppose that "Domina Jane Shakespere," who appears as one of the sisters of the Guild in 1527, is really the Sub-prioress from 1524 to 1527, and that the courtesy title of "lady" was applied to her on account of the rank which she held in the Nunnery. Thus it was given

to her superior Joyce Brome, on whose grave-stone in Wroxhall Church was the following inscription, according to Dugdale:—

"Domina Jocosa Brome filia Johannis Brome, et Prioressa de Wroxhall, obiit xxi Junii anno mb^cxxbiii."

Warwickshire. Page 492.

Another example may be quoted in proof that such a title of respect was applied to the head of a Convent. In the Church of the Holy Trinity, Bungay, a small brass tablet was placed in the aisle to the memory of a Prioress, who died *circa* 1497:—

"Orate p' aīa d'ne Margarete Dalinger nūp' p'ōrissa ist'i's loci."

Rev. ALFRED SUCKLING'S *Suffolk.* Vol. I. page 154.

A charter was granted in the first year of King John, Junii xj, 1199, to the "Moniales de Wrochesala," whereto one of the witnesses is "Simon de Patlesh," who must be "the Sheriff of Northamptonshire," in the Poet's play, *King John*, namely, Simon de Pateshull. It is also worthy of remark that the estate of Wroxhall Abbey, long in the possession of Sir Christopher Wren and his posterity, has been recently purchased from their representative by one of the family of the historian Dugdale, through a female descendent. The connection of the Shakspeares with Wroxhall is very interesting, and further researches in that quarter are desirable. Mr Hunter states that a "Richard Shakspere was Bailiff of the nuns of Wroxhall, and collector of their rents, with a fee of 40 shillings a year, mentioned in the Valor Ecclesiasticus 26 H. 8 (1535); and it appears also by accounts of Agnes Lyde (*Litle*) the late Prioress, now in the Augmentation Office, that Richard Shakespere was a tenant of the monastery also. He held a cottage with its appurtenances, in the lordship of Wroxhall in 1536, and was tenant jointly with Richard Wodham of three crofts and a grove in Haseley, demised by an indenture under the common seal on June 1, in the 15th of Henry 8, 1523. In that year Richard Shaksper was living at Wroxhall, and was assessed on goods of the value of 40s to the subsidy then granted. In the 37th of that reign,

1545-6, he appears to have been dead, his name not being found in the subsidy roll, but three other Shakespeares are assessed in small sums at Wroxhall, all of whom were named William. One of them appears to have been of better substance than the rest, William Shaxespere, he being assessed on the sum of £6. A William Shakespere, as well as Richard, appears among the customary tenants late of the nuns of Wroxhall in the 28th of Henry the Eighth, 1536-7, and a John Shackspere, then deceased, had held a tenement or messuage in Wroxhall, with an orchard and three crofts, which had been demised in the 24th of that reign to Alice Taylor, of Hanwell, in the county of Oxford, spinster. A later John Shakespere was tenant of the lands at Haseley, or Haselar, which had been demised to Richard Shakespeare and Richard Woodham, in the 15th of Henry the Eighth, but this John in the 36th of Henry the Eighth, 1544-5, is spoken of as late tenant."—*Prolusions.* Page 11.

The tenants under the Nuns of Wroxhall, mentioned by Mr Hunter, may be the persons named in the Knoll Guild after "Domina Jane Shakspere;" *scil.* "Ricardus,"—"Willielmus,"—and "Johannes, Shakspere;" and that author remarks,—"Of all the Shakespeares of whom we can recover any notices, it appears to me that these Shakespeares of Wroxhall have the best claim to be considered the progenitors of the Shakespeares of Stratford-upon-Avon."—Page 11.

Before entering upon the question of the Poet's family it may be as well to notice instances of the name which do not appear to have attracted the notice of Mr Halliwell and other biographers, at least in two or three examples. At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 6th April, 1797, was exhibited an original document, dated 1577, and endorsed "Thomas Shakespeare's Bill."

"Mensis Maii Aº Regno Regine
Elizabeth decimo nono 1577.

"Thomas Shakespeare, one of the Messengers of the Queenes Mats chamber asketh allowaunce for being sent by the comaundment of the Q. Mats most honerable pryvie counsell from the court at Grenewth to the Lord Bishopp of London being at his house at Fulham and ther to hym dd Tres, from thence to the Lord Bisshopp of Yorke being

at Tower Hill, and ther to hym delivered ℔res, and from thence to the Bisshopp of Chichester, being at Westm^r. and ther to him delivered ℔res, and from thence to the Lord Bisshopp of Durham lyeing in Aldersgate Streate, and ther to hym delivered ℔res, and from thence to the lord Bisshopp of Worcester lyeing at Paules Churche Yard, and ther to hym delivered ℔res, wherefore the said Thomas prayeth to have allowance for his chardgs and paynes to be rated and paid by the treasurer of the Queenes Majesties Chamber."

vi. & viii^d. (Signed) FRA. WALSINGHAM."

ARCHÆOLOGIA. Vol. XIII. *Appendix.* Page 403.

But a much older document was seen by the Compiler, January 30th, 1866, at the Hall of the Cordwainers' Company, London. It is a small parchment deed in their possession, relating to two houses, still their property, situated in Horse-Shoe Alley, Bankside, Southwark, described as the "Hospicium vocatum le Greyhounde," and one of the witnesses named in the deed is "Peter Shakespeare." The date is "Feb. 16, 1483." This deed is recited by Mr J. Payne Collier in his *Life of Shakespeare*, but the Compiler's valued friend, the late George Richard Corner, F.S.A., was the first to draw attention to the document. Mr Hunter states that a Peter Schakespeyr was an inhabitant of Mansfield, co. Notts. 36 Henry 8, 1545: *Prolusions*, Page 9. This person was probably a son or grandson of the above-named Peter of London. Mr Hunter also says that a Richard Shaksper was living at Mansfield in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. (page 8); and a John Shakspere was residing at Derby about 36 Henry 8; and that one Oliver Shexpere was a tenant of the honour of Ampthill in the time of King Charles the First (page 4). At page 9, Mr Hunter states, that in the reign of Philip and Mary, John Shakespeare was rector of Fliford in the county of Worcester; but on turning to NASH'S *History of Worcestershire*, the Compiler finds, at the period alluded to, under the list of Patrons and Incumbents of Flavell-Flivord,—"Patron, Will'us Sheldon de Weston, com. Warw. cum ratione minoris etatis Baldwini Sheldon de Bradeway. Incumbent, Rogerus Shadspere, cl. 2 Maii 1547." And Ralph Sheldon of Bradeway presented the next Rector, "Thomas Wakeman, 15 Maii,

1560." Vol. I. Page 456. Ed. 1799. In answer to the Compiler's enquiry to ascertain which author was correct, the present Rector of Flyford-Flavell, the Rev. Henry J. Knight, very courteously informed him that unfortunately the present Register of the parish does not commence until 1661. The above-named incumbent is no doubt the same Roger Shakspere, a monk of Bordesley Monastery, to whom at its dissolution was granted an annuity of one hundred shillings. MONASTICON. This instance of the name has not been hitherto noticed.

THE SHAKSPEARES OF SNITTERFIELD.

WE return to the County of Warwick, which may be regarded as the strong-hold of the Shakspeares. It is fair to presume that some of the family flourished there at least early in the fifteenth century, since we find no less than ten distinct married couples of the name among the Fraternity of the Knoll Guild, described as of various places in the shire, and to some of these we may look for the Poet's ancestors, from the occurrence of the names, Richard, John, Thomas, William, Joan, and Margaret, which are repeated in his own family. Future discoveries may bring to light evidence to link together the early and later names in that Register, and to connect some of them with the Stratford family; and it is interesting to find that, twenty-five years before the Battle of Bosworth-Field, a Richard Shakspere had been living in the county of Warwick, and that four other Shaksperes are also recorded as residents, twenty years before that eventful conflict, in which it is the belief of some writers, Mr Charles Knight among the number, that an "antecessor" of the Poet bore a part, and rendered "valiant service" to the future Henry VII. when he contended for a crown in that famous field, as "Richmond." The Compiler hazards the suggestion, judging from dates and names, that the two last persons on the Knoll Register, "Johannes Shakspere et Johanna uxor," in 1527, may be the father and mother of Richard Shakspeare, of Snitterfield (known to be there from 1543 to 1560), whose three sons give to their children the names of John and Joan. And the parents of "Johannes" may be the "Thomas Shakspere et Alicia uxor ejus de Balsale," of 1486, a date which brings us

to the time of Bosworth-Field. An earlier generation may probably be found in one of the first names on the list of the Guild, either Richard of Woldich, who was deceased in 1460; or Richard of Wroxhale of 1464; or John of Rowington, about the same date, which lands us in the early part of the fierce War of the Two Roses.

It has been generally held that branches of the family were chiefly established at Warwick, Wroxhall, and Rowington, whence they spread to Balshall, Lapworth, Nuneaton, Claverdon, Berkswell, Packwood, Woldich, Hampden-in-Arden, Snitterfield, and finally to Stratford-upon-Avon; the two last places having special interest from their known connection with the Poet's family.

Mr Hunter says—"In one of these three families (of Wroxhall, Warwick, and Rowington) the grandfather (of the Poet), whoever he was, is to be found. I have ventured to express my own opinion, that he was of the Shakespeares of Wroxhall. That he was not of the Shakespeares of Warwick is clear, and if of the Shakespeares of Rowington, the Shakespeares of Stratford could hardly have escaped notice in some of their many wills." *Prolusions*, page 17.

There is every reason to believe that the Poet's paternal grandfather was RICHARD SHAKSPEARE, a farmer who held lands under ROBERT ARDEN at Snitterfield, which is about four miles from Stratford. In a deed dated 17th July, 1550, ROBERT ARDEN of Wylmcote conveys certain lands and tenements at Snitterfield in the occupation of RICHARD SHAKSPEARE,—"quæ nunc sunt in tenura cujusdem Ricardi Shakespere," in trust for his daughters; and the said Richard was still a tenant, for the whole or a part of the lands, in 1560, as his name appears in the lease granted by Agnes Arden, then the widow of Robert, and having a life-interest in the estate, to her brother Alexander Webbe, of "two messuages, with a cottage with all and singular their appurtenaunces in Snytterfeild, and a yarde and a halfe of ayrable lande thereunto belonging,...all which are in the occupation of Richarde Shakspere, John Henley, and John Hergreve." A valuable proof of the early residence of Richard Shakspeare at Snitterfield is afforded by the following extract from the *Herald and Genealogist;* information which seems to have escaped the observation of the Poet's biographers:—

"In the will of Thomas Atwode, *alias* Tailour, of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1543, there is a bequest,—'Unto Richarde Shakespere, of Snytfelde, my foure oxen which are nowe in his keping.'"

Vol. I. page 265, *note.*

ROBERT ARDEN, of Wilmecote, in Aston-Cantlowe, co. Warwick, styled by the heralds "a gentleman of worship," and whose family will be noticed hereafter, had seven daughters, of whom the youngest, MARY ARDEN, became, in 1557, the wife of JOHN SHAKSPEARE, their acquaintance arising, no doubt, from his father Richard being a tenant under Robert Arden, and living in the neighbourhood of Aston-Cantlowe, where Mary Arden resided. We have no positive evidence of the name of Richard Shakspeare's wife; it has been said by Mr R. B. Wheler, of Stratford, writing in 1816, that she was a Webbe, but there is no proof of it; and this Richard appears to be quite distinct from a Richard Shakspeare of Rowington, who died in 1592, whose wife's name was Joan, and their children, John, Roger, Thomas, William, and Dorothy, the wife of —— Jenkes, are all named in their father's will. Mr Collier however inclines to the idea that the Richard of Rowington may be the Richard of Snitterfield:—"The Richard Shakespeare of Snitterfield in 1550 and 1560 may have been the same person as the Richard Shakespeare of Rowington, who died there in 1591. Perhaps he had removed to Rowington." COLLIER'S *Life*, page 42, *note.* But a little calculation will disprove this notion. The Poet's father died in 1601, or only nine years after the Richard Shakspeare of Rowington, whose death took place in 1592. Allowing that John, when he died in 1601, was 70 years old, his father would be born about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and this would make him 92 at his death, if he is the same as the Richard of Rowington. But the latter was evidently a much younger man, and the names of his children are fatal to Mr Collier's theory of identity, as there is no mention of Henry, the alderman's brother, whilst no author has claimed a Roger, or a William, Shakspeare, as uncles to the Poet.

RICHARD SHAKSPEARE of Snitterfield had, it is believed, three sons, viz. JOHN, the Poet's father, THOMAS, and HENRY. The two last are identified with Snitterfield, and we have no

account of other Shakspeares in connection with that place, which leads to the conclusion that they were the sons of Richard, Robert Arden's tenant. In the Register at Snitterfield is the following entry:—

> "1581—2. Baptizatus fuit John Filius Thomæ Shaxper the xth of March, 1582."
>
> HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 10.

The name of "Thomas Shaxpere" occurs in the Stratford Records, under 23, 27, and 28 Eliz. 1581—5, 6. There is sufficient evidence that Henry Shakspeare was a brother of the Poet's father, for the latter became security for Henry in respect of a debt of £22, and in the declaration, 1 Feb. 29 Eliz. 1587, he is styled "Henricus Shakspér frater dicti Johannis." HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 10. Little seems to be known of Henry's history beyond his getting into debt; in the will of Christopher Smyth, made 2nd Nov. 1586, among the monies due to him the testator specifies,—"*Item* Henry Shaxpere of Snytterfeld oweth me v^{li}. ix^{s}.," and from the Records Mr Halliwell quotes several cases of action, wherein Richard Ange is plaintiff, and Henry Shakspere is defendant, 33 Eliz. 1591, &c. It is most likely that Henry succeeded his father Richard as a farmer at Snitterfield, and that he is the person indicated by the following entry on the Register of that parish:—

> "Henrey Saxspere was bureyd the xxixth day of December, anno 1596."

The next extract most probably refers to his widow, who only survived him a few weeks:—

> "1596—7, Margret Saxspere, widow, being times the wyff of Henry Shakspere was bured ix Feb."

It is not certainly known whether they had children, but the following record in the same Register may relate to a daughter who pre-deceased her parents:—

> "Johanna Shaxspere mortua est et sepulta Januarii quinto an^{o} 1595."

Henry Shakspeare and his brother John the alderman were summoned as witnesses in a suit between a descendent

of Mayowe and Robert Webbe, in 1582; and Henry appears as one of the sponsors for a friend's son, in the Snitterfield Register:—

> "1586. 4 Sept. Baptyzed Henry Townesend the sonn of John Townesend and Darrity his wyff, William Meades, Henry Shaxspere, Elizabeth Perkes, pleages."
>
> HALLIWELL'S *Life*, page 10.

"Wyllyam Maydes" was a witness, "with other moe," Oct. 15, 1579, to the deed by which John and Mary Shakspeare sold to Robert Webbe the reversion of their interest in Robert Arden's Snitterfield property. The family of Perkes will be noticed hereafter.

THE SHAKSPEARES OF STRATFORD-UPON-AVON.

MR HUNTER agrees with Malone in the opinion that no one of the name resided at Stratford before JOHN SHAKSPEARE settled there about the year 1551—2. His name occurs from that time constantly in the Corporation Records of the Borough; and the earliest notice of his residence there, in the house which he purchased in 1575, alludes to his being fined, in company of two other inhabitants, one of whom was afterwards high bailiff, for permitting a dung-heap to be piled up in the road: "6 Ed. 6. April 29, 1552. Item juratores present. super sacramentum suum quod Humphridus Reynolds (xii^{d}.), Adrianus Quyney (xii^{d}.), et Johannes Shakyspere (xii^{d}.) fecerunt sterquinarium in vico vocato Hendley Strete, contra ordinationes Curiæ. Ideo ipsi in misericordia, ut patet." HALLIWELL'S *Life*, page 21. Mr Halliwell states that this notice was discovered by Mr Hunter in the Carlton Ride Office. JOHN SHAKSPEARE served several offices in the borough until he attained the highest municipal dignity. He was chosen Ale-taster in 1557; Constable in 1558; Chamberlain in 1563; Alderman in 1565; elected High Bailiff in 1568; and Chief, or Capital Alderman in 1571; and he continued to be alderman until 1586. "Sept. 30, 1558. The xij men have ordeyned ... ther trysty and welbelovyd Humphrey Plymley, Roger Sadler, John Tayler, and John Shakspeyr constabulles." Court of Record. HALLIWELL'S *Life*, p. 22. "John Taylor and John Shakspere chamberleyns, 3 Nov. 5 Eliz." 1563.

From the rank to which he attained as Bailiff, and no doubt to distinguish him from another John Shakspeare, a shoemaker in the town, the Poet's father is mostly styled,

after 1568—9, "Mr John," or "Magister Johannes Shakspeare;" thus "Mr John Shakspeer," in 1573; "Mr John Shaxpeare," in 1578; "Mr John Shackespere," in 1592; "Mr Jhon Sacksper," in 1601; and even when he was in trouble he is still respected as "Mr John Shackespere."

Mr HALLIWELL gives the marriage of the shoemaker, between whom and the Poet's father some writers have made great confusion:—

"Nov. 25. 1584. John Shakspere and Margery Roberts."

This date it will be seen is twenty years later than the Poet's birth. Margery Shakspere (*Roberts*) was buried Oct. 29th, 1587, and her husband must have re-married very shortly after her death, as his children by a second wife are supposed to be referred to in the following baptismal entries in the Stratford Register, quoted by Mr Halliwell:—

"March 11, 1588—9, Ursula, daughter to John Shakspere."

"May 24, 1590, Humphrey sonne to John Shakspere."

"Sept. 21, 1591, Philippus filius Johannis Shakspere."

Life of Shakespeare, page 28.

A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1816, Mr R. B. Wheler, dating from Stratford, actually makes the Poet's father to have had three wives, viz. 1st...Arden, by whom he had eight children; 2nd, Margery Roberts, no issue; 3rd Mary... by whom Ursula, Humphrey, and Philip[1]; the writer's ignorance of the baptismal name of the Poet's mother is very remarkable; and he appears to have known nothing of the shoemaker, who must have been considerably younger than his namesake the alderman, and is hardly ever mentioned in the Corporation Records, without the addition of his calling: thus, "Shakspeare the shumaker" in 1586; "John Shaxspere corvizer," 32 Eliz. 1590; "Johannes Shaksper cordina-

[1] Rowe believed that the Poet's father had ten children, two not being accounted for by name; whilst Malone, evidently not being aware that there were two John Shakspeares in the town, alluding to the three children now known to be those of the shoemaker, says, "I am therefore of opinion that our poet's father was meant, and that he was thrice married." Quoted in REED'S Edition, Vol. I. p. 136.

rius," in a record, dated Nov. 1591. In a deed made June 10th, 1588, one of the witnesses is "John Shaksper, corvizare." And his name, "Johannes Shaxpere, Shumaker," occurs in a case, 25 Feb. 32 Eliz. HALLIWELL'S *Records*, pp. 74, 75. He became "Master of the companie of shoemakers" in Stratford-upon-Avon, and held a lease from the Corporation of a house in Bridge street at a rent of xij*s. per annum*. This house had been occupied by his father-in-law, Thomas Roberts, who was also a shoemaker at Stratford, and whose lease had fallen in on 24 Sept. 20 Eliz. HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 123. Mr Hunter considers that the shoemaker of Stratford was the third son of Thomas Shakspere, a shoemaker of Warwick, by his wife Agnes, named in his will made in 1577.

It is very necessary to bear in mind the distinction between the alderman, JOHN SHAKSPEARE, and the shoemaker of the same name, because some persons are still inclined to believe that the former was father of Humphrey, from whom Mr George Shakspere, living at Henley-in-Arden in 1864, and since at Wolverhampton, is descended[1]. But as in none of the wills of the Poet and his relatives is there any recognition of Humphrey and his brother Philip, the inevitable conclusion is that they could not be brothers of the Poet; whilst the severe touch-stone of dates also makes it impossible that Humphrey and Philip could be the children of Mary (Arden) Shakspeare, who in Mr J. P. Collier's opinion "must have been of full age in November, 1556" (*Life of Shakespeare*, p. 45); which would place her birth about the year 1535, and consequently she would be fifty-five years of age when Humphrey Shakspeare was born, and he was sixteen months older than his brother Philip.

From an entry in the Corporation Records we may conclude that John Shakspeare, the shoemaker, was nearly of the same age as the Poet, and that like him he married early in life; under the Chamberlain's accounts for 1586 is found,—"Reseved of Shakspeare the shumaker for his fredom the xix day of Jenuarey xxx*s*." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 74. Mr Halliwell considers that some of the actions for debt,

[1] In *Notes and Queries*, July 8, 1865, the descent is given of Mr George Shakspere from Humphrey, who is therein called brother of "William the poet," and son of "John Shakspere, buried at Stratford, 1601."

which appear in the Stratford Records as brought against a John Shakspeare, do not relate to the alderman, but to the shoemaker, who, it is supposed, left Stratford about the year 1595. *Life of Shakespeare*, page 95.

Another proof of the distinction between the two John Shakspeares is seen in the date of their appointments to minor offices in the borough; the shoemaker being chosen constable and ale-taster in 1585, whereas the future bailiff had filled those offices in 1557, and 1558, or before the shoemaker was born.

THE CHILDREN OF JOHN AND MARY SHAKSPEARE.

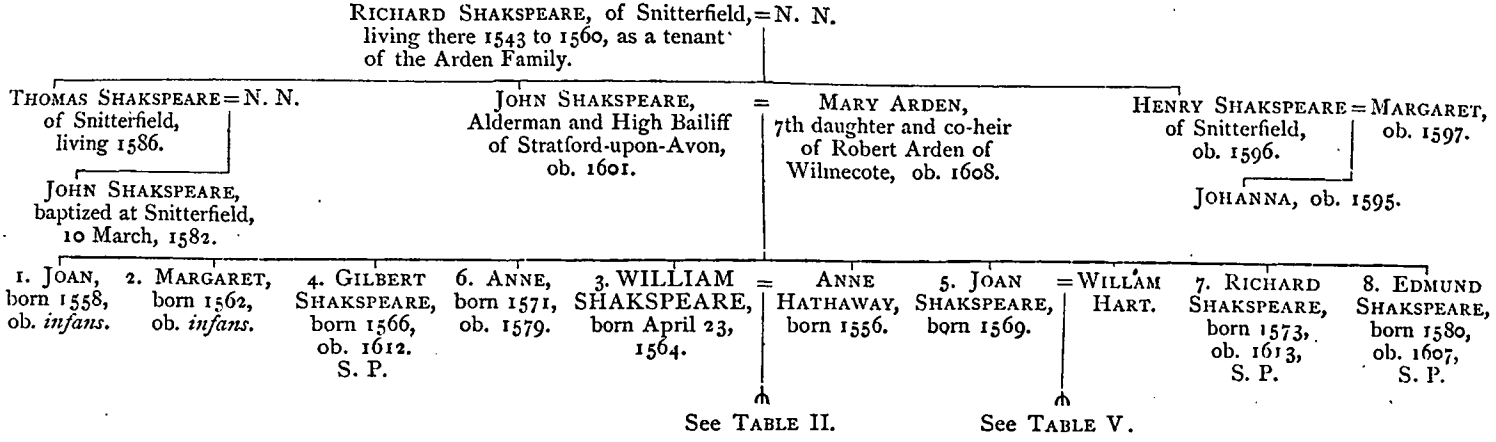
EIGHT children were born to JOHN SHAKSPEARE and his wife MARY ARDEN, namely, JOAN, MARGARET, WILLIAM, GILBERT, another JOAN, ANNE, RICHARD, and EDMUND. These were all baptized in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Stratford-upon-Avon, of which the extant Registers do not commence until 1558, or twenty years later than the first introduction of baptismal records; they are also defective from 1641 to 1645. Fortunately the entries are perfect which relate to the baptisms of the children of John and Mary Shakspeare; and which are thus given by Mr Halliwell (*Life*), though herein placed in consecutive order for convenience' sake:—

1. "Sept. 15, 1558. Jone Shakspere, daughter to John Shakspere."
2. "1562. December 2. Margareta filia Johannes Shakspere."
3. "1564. April 26. Gulielmus filius Johannes Shakspere."
4. "Oct. 13, 1566. Gilbertus filius Johannis Shakspere."
5. "1569. April 15. Jone the daughter of John Shakspere."
6. "1571. Sept. 28. Anna filia Magistri Shakspere."
7. "March 11, 1573-4. Richard sonne to Mr John Shakspeer."
8. "May 3, 1580. Edmund sonne to Mr John Shakspere."

TABLE I.

PEDIGREE OF SHAKSPEARE OF STRATFORD-UPON-AVON.

ARMS OF JOHN SHAKSPEARE, *Grant*, 1596. "Gould, on a bend sables a speare of the first, steeled Argent, and for his crest or cognizance a falcon, his wings displayed, argent, standing on a wrethe of his coullers, supporting a speare gould, steeled as aforesaid, sett upon a helmett with mantelles and tasselles."


RICHARD SHAKSPEARE, of Snitterfield, living there 1543 to 1560, as a tenant of the Arden Family. = N. N.
THOMAS SHAKSPEARE of Snitterfield, living 1586. = N. N.
JOHN SHAKSPEARE, baptized at Snitterfield, 10 March, 1582.
JOHN SHAKSPEARE, Alderman and High Bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon, ob. 1601. = MARY ARDEN, 7th daughter and co-heir of Robert Arden of Wilmecote, ob. 1608.
HENRY SHAKSPEARE of Snitterfield, ob. 1596. = MARGARET, ob. 1597.
JOHANNA, ob. 1595.
1. JOAN, born 1558, ob. infans.
2. MARGARET, born 1562, ob. infans.
4. GILBERT SHAKSPEARE, born 1566, ob. 1612. S. P.
6. ANNE, born 1571, ob. 1579.
3. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, born April 23, 1564. = ANNE HATHAWAY, born 1556.
5. JOAN SHAKSPEARE, born 1569. = WILLIAM HART.
7. RICHARD SHAKSPEARE, born 1573, ob. 1613, S. P.
8. EDMUND SHAKSPEARE, born 1580, ob. 1607, S. P.
See TABLE II.
See TABLE V.

Malone conjectured that William Smith of Stratford was a god-father of the Poet, and gave his name at the font. He was a linen-draper at Stratford from the reign of Henry VIII. and was named in the original charter of incorporation of the inhabitants of Stratford in the 7th of Edward VI. His wife was Alice Watson, a sister of the Bishop of Winchester. His will, made Dec. 4, 1578, left considerable property to his sons, and jewels, &c. to his wife. He had given 1000 marks as a portion to a daughter, when she married Richard Palmer, of Compton, Esqr. The elder son William lived at Stratford; Richard, second son, was Rector of Motteston, Isle of Wight; John was an Alderman of Stratford, and was father of many sons, of whom Francis was also a Stratford Alderman, and William, a person about the same age as Shakspeare, went to Russia, where he was employed in the service of the Emperor.

It may be as well to notice the deaths of some of the children, before proceeding to the history of the remainder. The death of the eldest daughter, whose burial-record has not been found, probably occurred before 1569, in which year another child received the name of Joan. The burial at Stratford of the second daughter, when a few months old, is thus recorded:—

"1563. April 30. Margareta filia Johannis Shakspere."

The time of the death of the second son, Gilbert, has been placed by most writers in 1611-12, and the following burial, at Stratford, probably relates to him, and not to a son, as sometimes suggested:—

"Feb. 3, 1611-12. Gilbertus Shakspeare, adolescens."

The last word may have been inserted through inadvertence, as there is no record of Gilbert having married, or that he had a son. Oldys, indeed, who died in 1761, relates that the Poet's brother Gilbert survived until after the Restoration of Charles the Second, 1660, which must be a mistake, making him then to be 94 years old; and the statement is quite disproved by the absence of any allusion to him in the will of the Poet, who remembers in it with affection all his near relations on the father's side, and who in his desire to perpetuate his name would have preferred a brother, had one been living, to be his

heir, before the children of a sister; and WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE'S loving heart could not have passed over a brother, with whom, even from the little that is known of their history, it is evident that he was on good terms, since Gilbert conducted business for the Poet in the purchase of property. In 1602, the Conveyance of 107 acres of land from William and John Combe to William Shakspeare was "Sealed and delivered to Gilbert Shakspere to the use of the within-named William Shakspere, in the presence of Anthony Nasshe, William Sheldon, Humphrey Maynewaringe, Rycharde Mason, John Nashe." HALLIWELL'S *Life*, page 163.

The fourth daughter of John and Mary Shakspeare died in her eighth year; her burial at Stratford is thus recorded:—

> "1579. April 4. Anne daughter to M^r. John Shakspere."

In relation to this daughter's funeral there is a curious item of a payment in the accounts of the Chamberlains of Stratford, under the year 1579:—

> "Item for the bell and pall for Mr. Shaxpere's daughter, viij^d."
>
> HALLIWELL'S *Life*, page 24.

The burial of the third son, probably named after his grandfather, and of whom little is known, is in the same Register thus given:—

> "Feb. 4, 1612-13. Richard Shakspeare."

The youngest son, and the last of the eight children, Edmund, went to London, and became an actor at the Globe Theatre; he died in 1607, and was buried at S^t. Saviour's, Southwark; the entry on the Register of that parish thus records his burial:—

> "1607. Dec. 31. Edmond Shakspeare, a player, in the church."

Mr HALLIWELL says,—"There was an Edward Shakespeare, an actor, living in London in the parish of S^t. Giles without Cripplegate, in 1607, who is supposed by Mr. Collier to have been an actor at the Fortune Theatre. The following entry occurs in the burial-register of that parish:—

'Edward, sonne of Edward Shakspeere, player, base born, 12 August, 1607.'" *Life of Shakespeare*, page 128.

No evidence has yet been found of the marriage of any one of the Poet's brothers; the fair presumption therefore is that they died bachelors, an opinion which is strengthened by the fact of no allusions being made by the Poet in his will to any wife or issue of his brothers, and he was particular in caring for a remainder among his nearest kin, which is evinced in a remarkable manner by his naming the succession to his well-earned property, first, to the heirs-male of seven sons, "one after another," of his daughter Susanna Hall, should she have them; next, in default of such issue, to the heirs-male of his granddaughter, Elizabeth Hall; failing them, then to the heirs-male of his second daughter Judith; and lastly, in default of her issue, to his "right heirs." As it happened, the Poet's last surviving descendant, Lady Bernard, bequeathed some of her grandfather's freehold property to her kinsmen, the Harts, who were the surviving nearest blood relations to the original testator, descended from his sister Joan. Mr Hunter remarks,—"If any of the brothers of Shakespeare had left issue, they would beyond doubt have appeared in his will, or in the wills of Mr. Nash or Lady Bernard." *Prolusions*, page 45. This point has been dwelt upon to answer conjectures which are sometimes started, that families in the present day, bearing the name, may be descended from one of the Poet's brothers, and even Mr Collier thinks that Gilbert "probably survived the Restoration." *Life of Shakespeare*, page 174. The statement by Oldys to that effect no doubt had its origin in a bit of gossip alluded to by Capell as a tradition in Stratford, about "a very old man of that place, of weak intellect, but yet related to Shakespeare," whom he is reported to have seen performing the part of an aged person, who from his description must have been the faithful Adam in *As You Like It.*

JOHN and MARY SHAKSPEARE lived over some years of comparative poverty to see the prosperity of their illustrious son, whose ample means would enable his loving disposition to support his parents in comfort during their last days, in the freehold house in Henley Street, the birth-place of their son William, and thereafter to be the shrine of countless pilgrimages.

The death of the Poet's father occurred in 1601, his burial at Stratford is thus recorded :—

"1601. Septemb. 8, Mr Johānes Shakspeare."

The Poet's mother outlived her husband seven years, long enough not only to see her granddaughter Susanna happily married, but also the birth of an eldest great grandchild. The burial of her, who like Volumnia may well be regarded as one of—

"the most noble mothers of the world,"

is thus simply recorded at Trinity Church :—

"1608. Septemb. 9, Mayry Shaxpere, Wydowe."

Mr Collier believes that the Poet attended his mother's funeral at Stratford, as on the 16th of the next month "he stood godfather there to a boy of the name of William Walker." *Life of Shakespeare*, page 185. This name-child, to whom the Poet bequeathed twenty shillings in gold, was the son of Alderman Henry Walker, elected in 1606, who was Capital Alderman when Richard Hathaway was High Bailiff, in 1626.

THE POET'S MARRIAGE AND DESCENDANTS.

WE come now to speak of the Dramatist's marriage, and one of the most interesting evidences of the name, and as showing the manner in which he then made his signature, would be furnished by the production of his marriage certificate; but that important link in his domestic history is not forthcoming, as it is not known where the marriage was performed. The parishes of Hampton-Lucy, Billesley, Weston, and Luddington, have been suggested and searched, but without avail; in the last-named place the registers of the period have been destroyed by fire. The only clue to the date of the marriage is obtained from a bond of £40 for the indemnity of the Bishop of Worcester, dated Nov. 28, 1582, if he granted a licence to enable "William Shagspere and Anne Hathwey," to marry after one proclamation of the banns. The bondmen were Foulke Sandells and John Richardson, both of Shottery, each of whom is described in the Latin part of the document as "Agricola;" it is evident that we must understand the "husbandman" of that day in a different sense to the modern meaning for a "labourer," since one of the sureties to the bond, John Richardson, died in possession of landed property to a considerable extent; and in the Inventory of his goods, among other *items*, it is shown that he had four horses, and 130 sheep; whilst the grain and hay in his barns were valued at £40, a large sum in those days (1594). The word "husbandman" will be further explained hereafter.

In reference to the Bond, discovered in 1836, and which is fully set out in Mr Halliwell's *Life of Shakespeare*, page 89, the late Mr Hunter observes,—"Let honour be given to whom honour is due. This document, the most valuable contribution which has recently been made to the materials for the Poet's life, escaped the research of Mr Malone, who spent much time on the records of the diocese of Worcester, and was reserved to be brought to light by Sir Thomas Philipps."

Prolusions, page 48, *note.* Foulke Sandells, the other friend of the future Poet, had been appointed by Richard Hathaway, Anne's father, to be one of the supervisors of his will, dated Sept. 1, 1581, and proved July — 1582, whereby Anne was to receive £6. 13*s.* 4*d.* "at the daie of her marriage[1]."

The apparent haste of the actual marriage ceremony, coupled with the birth of the eldest child in six months afterwards, is considered by some writers as having "denoted a foregone conclusion," that the parties "lov'd not wisely, but too well," and much strong censure has been indulged in by such critics. But it is refreshing to find that all authors do not view the affair in so unfavourable a light. A writer in the English Encyclopædia, under SHAKSPEARE, and he does not stand alone in his belief, states that an espousal before witnesses, if followed within a limited time by the marriage of the Church, was held to be valid, and that such a custom still prevails in Lutheran countries.

At the date of his marriage WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE was only eighteen years old, his wife Anne was eight years older; for though she was born two years before the Registers are commenced, at Stratford, to which parish the hamlet of Shottery belonged, the inscription upon her grave-stone states that she was of the age of 67 years, which places her birth in 1556. Her father, RICHARD HATHAWAY, was a substantial yeoman, farming his own land at Shottery, only a mile distant from Stratford-upon-Avon, and the picturesque tenement in which ANNE HATHAWAY resided is second only in interest to the house in which her great husband was born, but unlike that building it has undergone very little alteration since the time of Anne's living in it, as the repairs made to it in 1697, by John Hathaway, recorded on a stone let into one of the chimney stacks, with his initials and date cut thereon, did not, to judge by appearances, alter the original character of the building, whereas the truthfulness of the *restoration* of the Poet's birthplace must be accepted with caution, its "fire-new stamp" being far from pleasing to the eye of an Archæologist.

[1] See Appendix A, William Shakspeare's Marriage Bond.

Some writers consider that the difference in the ages of the Dramatist and his wife is alluded to by him in *Twelfth Night*, Act II. Scene 3, where the Duke, Orsino warns his page Cesario, not being then aware that it is Viola in disguise, against such inequality of years in wedlock :—

> " Let still the woman take
> An elder than herself," &c.

But Mr Halliwell strongly demurs to this opinion, arguing that the Poet could not have the bad taste to make such an allusion to his domestic affairs ; and after all, the duke's advice is exactly such as would naturally arise from Cesario's confession of affection set upon one several years older, the real meaning of the allusion being of course hidden from the duke.

There was an ancient family of the name of Hathaway in the county of Gloucester, who held considerable property therein at a very early period. In RUDDER'S *History of Gloucestershire*, under *Lidney*, we find, page 527,—" William Hatheway died seized thereof 10 Hen. 2, and was succeeded by Ralph Hatheway his son." Under *Minsterworth*, page 551,—" There is a considerable estate in this parish, called Hatheway, from Ralph Hatheway, who was seized thereof by the title of a manor, 5 Ed. 2." Under *Ruerdean* the same writer says, page 635,—" William Hatheway was lord of the manor of Ruerdean, 9 Ed. I ; his son William held it, 10 Ed. 2, and it came to his son William ; and Thomas Hatheway was seized thereof, 5 Rich. 2."

Mr Hunter says,—" In the 29th of Edward the Third, 1355, Henricus Hathaway de la Syche de parochia de Stanley (co. Warwick), gave lands there to two sons, Nicholas and John, as I have seen in an ancient charter." *Prolusions*, page 51.

The quaint old heraldic writer, GUILLIM, was allied to a family of the name of Hatheway, and in his work he gives a shield of two coats, viz. " He beareth *Argent*, a Lyon rampant, *Ermines*, gorged with a collar *Or*, langued and armed *Gules*, by the name of Guillim ;" impaling—" Paleways of six, *Argent* and *Sable*, on a bend *Or*, three pheons of the second, by the name of Hatheway." *Display of Heraldry*, London, 1660, page 378.

Without insisting that the Shottery family must be allied to the ancient house of Hatheway in Gloucestershire, we may bear in mind Mr Hunter's argument for a common origin, where the name is peculiar, as is that of Anne Shakspeare's family; and it is evident that her father was a person of respectability and good means, and his grandson, Richard Hathaway, who is styled "Gentleman," became High bailiff of Stratford in 1626.

In the Warwickshire Survey, in the time of Philip and Mary, it is recited that John Hathaway held property at Shottery, by copy of Court Roll, dated 20th of April, 34 of Henry VIII. (1542). *English Encyclopædia.* He was probably father of Richard, whose daughter Anne married the Poet; and that there was an early intimacy between the two families is evinced by John Shakspeare becoming a bondman for Richard Hathaway in 1566.

It is believed that two families of the name of Hathaway belonged to Shottery in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries; and among the monumental inscriptions on the floor of Trinity Church (of which a list has been kindly furnished by Mr W. G. Colbourne), many names appear which are not found in the pedigree of the Shakspeare-Hathaways, as Joseph, and his son, Beauchamp.

Anne Shakspeare's father, Richard Hathaway, bequeathed considerable property (according to the time) to his children; to his eldest son, Bartholomew, the farm; to his second and third sons, Thomas and John, £6. 13*s.* 4*d.* each: to his fourth son, William, £10: to his daughters Agnes (Anne) and Catherine, each £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*, to be paid on the day of their marriage; and to his youngest daughter, Margaret, £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*, to be paid when she was 17 years of age.

The last male descendant, by the name, of the Shakspeare-Hathaways of Shottery, appears to be John Hathaway, whose will was proved April 2, 1746: he had three sisters, 1. Janet, married to — Webb; 2. Sarah, who died single, 1785, and bequeathed the cottages at Shottery, which she had from her brother, to her nephew, John Hathaway Taylor, son of her sister Susan, who married William Taylor; their grandson, William Taylor, lived in the cottage until his death in 1849, having however sold it, Oct. 30, 1838, to Mr Thomas Barnes, who re-sold it to Mr William Thompson, Architect of Strat-

ford. At present, 1865, the centre cottage, part of that in which Anne Hathaway resided, is occupied by Mrs Baker, who was Mary Taylor, daughter of William Taylor aforesaid, married to George Baker, and their son, William Hathaway Baker, born Sept. 24, 1843, is still living.

Inscriptions on the floor of Trinity Church:—"Richard Hathaway of Shottery, died 15th April, 1692. Robert Hathaway, died 14th March, 1728, aged 64. Edmund Hathaway, died 14th June, 1729, aged 57. Jane, his wife, died 12th Dec. 1729, aged 64. John Hathaway, died 11th Oct. 1731, aged 39. Abigail, wife of John Hathaway, junr. of Luddington, died 5th of May, 1735, aged 29. Mary, her daughter, died 13th July, 1735, aged 10 weeks. Robert Hathaway, died the 1st of March, 1723, aged 21. Ursula, wife of John Hathaway, died the 23rd of Janry. 1731, aged 50. John Hathaway, sen., died the 5th of Sept. 1753, aged 73. John Hathaway of Luddington, died June 23rd, 1775, aged 67. S. H. 1756. S. H. 1785. Ann, daughter of Joseph and Mary Hathaway, died 25th of Dec. 1751, aged 16. Joseph Hathaway, died 5th of June, 1737, aged 28. Beauchamp, son of Joseph and Mary Hathaway, died 20th of June, 1707, aged 4."

The three children of WILLIAM and ANNE SHAKSPEARE were born in the Poet's native town, and were baptized in Trinity Church. Rowe is sadly wrong in speaking of the Poet's children, whom he describes as three daughters, naming Judith as the eldest; and he altogether overlooks her twin-brother Hamnet. The Poet's firstborn child was a daughter, whose baptism is thus recorded:—

> "May 26, 1583, Susanna daughter to William Shakspere."

No evidence has been yet obtained of the name of the sponsor, or person after whom this child was called Susanna; nor does that Christian name occur among families of Shakspeare for a considerable period; it appears in the 18th century in an Essex family, living at Hornchurch, and Rawreth, where a Susanna, and a Judith Shakspeare, have been found[1].

[1] At Tachbrook, co. Warwick, was baptized April 4, 1630, Judith, daughter of John and Christian Shakespeare. This John appears to be the son of Roger Shakspeare of Tachbrook, and Alice his wife, and born in 1596. The maiden name of Alice was Higgins, married Oct. 8, 1595.

According to BOSWELL'S *Malone's Shakspeare*, Ed. 1821, Vol. 2, App. p. 562, Abraham Sturley, who was an alderman of Stratford, and high bailiff in 1596, and with whom SHAKSPEARE was acquainted, had a sister Susanna, who became the second wife of the Poet's friend Richard Quiney; from her therefore Susanna Shakspeare may have been named. In some churches it was usual in the 16th century, and later, to add the names of the sponsors, or "pledges," on the baptismal register.

The Poet's next children were a twin son and daughter, who were doubtless named after their father's friends, Hamlet or Hamnet Sadler, and his wife Judith. To the former, who was a subscribing witness to his will, the Poet left —"xxvi^{s}. viij^{d}. to buy him A Ringe." In the body of the will he is styled "Hamlett;" as a witness he wrote "Hamnet Sadler." The twins were baptized in Trinity Church, on the same day, in the year 1585;—

> "Feb. 2, 1584-5. Hamnet and Judeth sonne and daughter to William Shakspere."

It is very possible that the twin-daughter had a second god-mother named Judith, for her father was intimate with a "Richard Tyler the elder," whose name was erased for some unexplained cause from SHAKSPEARE'S will, and a burial is recorded at Stratford of his daughter; HUNTER'S *Prolusions*, page 85;—

> "March 20, 1596, Juditha filia Mri.
> Ric. Tyler."

The burials of the children's known sponsors, are thus entered on the Stratford Registers;—

> "1623. March 23. Judith uxor Hamlet Sadler."
> "1624. Oct. 26. Hamlet Sadler."

Hamlet as a baptismal appellation is not uncommon in old families down to the seventeenth century. It may have been formed from Hamnet, and that from Hamon, a very early Norman name. The families of Massey, Fitton, Booth, Peche of Brunne, 1217, Morcote, Bardolf, 1250, Legh of Cheshire, L'Estrange, Belknap, Turberville, Leycester, Travers of Nateby, Ashley of Ashley, Harrington, Arden of Timperley, 1503, Dutton, Cauldwell, 1663, with others, fre-

quently have Hamon, Hamnet, and Hamlet, among their baptismal names. In 1319 Hamon de Chigwell was Mayor of London. Hampnet Clegg was one of the household, 1502, of Elizabeth of York, Queen to Henry the Seventh. In Stratford itself Hamlet Hassal was living in 1564, and Hamlet Holdar died in 1576. Mr Hunter says,—"Hamlet Smith[1] and Hamlet Sadler were relations, John Smith of Stratford, vintner, speaking in his will, 1601, of his son Hamlet Smith, and his brother Hamlet Sadler." *Prolusions*, page 52. The Poet's "Prince of Denmark" is called "Hamblett," and "Amlettus" in the old Chronicles; he flourished four centuries before the Christian era.

At the early age of little more than eleven years and a half, SHAKSPEARE lost his only son, whose burial is thus placed in the Stratford Register:—

"1596. August 11. Hamnet filius
William Shakspere."

It is the Compiler's belief that the Poet had the memory of his little son before him, when he drew the portraits of three charming characters in his plays, whom without doubt he regarded as about the age of his lost Hamnet; viz. Prince Arthur, in *King John*, written in 1596, according to Malone; Edward, Prince of Wales in *King Richard III.*, 1597; and Prince Mamilius, in *Winter's Tale*, 1604; whose innocent lives and early deaths are alluded to in the respective dramas with the most touching pathos. We may believe that the beautiful lines spoken by the Lady Constance, respecting her "pretty Arthur," express the poet-father's consolation under his loss;—

> "Father cardinal, I have heard you say
> That we shall see and know our friends in heaven,
> If that be true, I shall see my boy again."
>
> *King John*, Act III. Scene 3.

And there is another most affecting passage in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.*, and which is not found in the *True*

[1] Among the benefactors to the parish, whose names were inscribed "upon the front of the old gallery in the north aisle" of Trinity Church, is the following notice:—"Hamlet Smith, Gent. of this borough, gave £5. to be let out to poor tradesmen at 16d. in the pound annual interest," &c. WHELER, *History of Stratford.*

Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke (first edition printed in 1595, and the second in 1600), where an unhappy father has unwittingly slain his only son, and whose language—

> "My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre,
> For from my heart thine image ne'er shall go.
> . . . . . .
> Sad for the loss of thee, having no more;"—
>
> Act II. Scene 5:

is evidently from the hand of SHAKSPEARE, and we may accept it as an expression of his never-dying recollection of his own Hamnet.

SHAKSPEARE describes other children of tender age with singular felicity; as the "sweet young Rutland," in 3 *King Henry VI.*, pleading so earnestly to live; and that "parlous boy," in *King Richard III.*, "the little prating York;" and the brave-spirited "Young Marcius," in *Coriolanus*, who will fight when he is bigger. In his little "William Page," questioned in "his accidence," by his master, the quaint Sir Hugh Evans, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, we have a reminiscence of the Poet's own school-days; whilst in that "most acute juvenal" Moth, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, we see an admirable specimen of a quick-witted boy. The passage in *Winter's Tale*, Act I. Scene 2, where Polixenes alludes to his son Florizel's "varying childness," is full of paternal feeling. SHAKSPEARE loved children as he loved flowers, and frequently likens the former to the latter, and upon these two themes he has tenderly lavished some of the choicest of "his sweet and honeyed sentences."

The marriages of SHAKSPEARE'S two daughters took place during his lifetime at Stratford. The elder, SUSANNA, became the wife of a physician in practice there, of considerable reputation, and of a good family; the Register has this entry of their union:—

> "1607. Junii 5, John Hall, gentlemā and Susanna Shaxpere."

The marriage of the Poet's second daughter is thus recorded:—

> "1616. Feb. 10, Tho. Queeney tow Judith Shakspere."

In his will, which bears date March 25, 1616, SHAKSPEARE

always speaks of his eldest child as "my daughter Susanna Hall," but of her sister as "my daughter Judith," not less than five times, and does not allude to her marrying, except in prospect; from the omission of her marital name, and from the wording of the will, it may be surmised that Judith became a wife without her father's knowledge. In his will the Poet declares,—"Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my Daughter Judyth One hundred and fyftie poundes of lawfull English money, to be paied unto her in manner and forme followeing, That ys to saye, One hundred poundes in discharge of her marriage porcion," &c. This sum of £150, which is afterwards doubled, conditionally, was regarded in that age as a handsome settlement; and in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Justice Shallow tells sweet Anne Page that his cousin Slender will maintain her, as his wife, "like a gentlewoman," adding—"he will make you a hundred and fifty pounds jointure." Act III. Scene 4. A most interesting document relating to the Poet has yet to be found: *the Inventory of his goods was attached to the Will, and was taken into Court with it;* Mr Hunter says that he "would not be surprised if this were one day to appear;" and zealous archæologists are on the search for it, with good hope of success. Mr H. C. Coote, F.S.A., has brought the subject before the Society of Antiquaries. In this precious document we shall see what were the Poet's "goodes, chattel, plate, jewels, and houshold stuffe," set out in detail and appraised, including his "broad silver gilt bole" bequeathed to his daughter Judith.

The Rev. J. C. M. Bellew, in his work entitled *Shakespere's Home at New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon, &c.* 1863, has drawn a pretty picture of Judith's wedding, when "the merry marriage-bells rang out their welcome, and William Shakespere, leading Judith through troops of friends, presented her at the altar to the Vicar, and gave the woman to the man;" and then follows a description of the marriage-feast,—"Parson Rogers" (the vicar) "garnishing his periods with Latinity," with Ben Jonson and Drayton to "drink to the health and happiness of the bride and bridegroom," page 269. But there is not a tittle of evidence that SHAKSPEARE was present at Judith's marriage; nor do we find proof that his brother poets were in Stratford at the time; and great suspicion rests upon the assertion of the Rev. John Ward,

Rector of Stratford-upon-Avon, in his diary, 1662, that "Shakspeare, Drayton, and Ben Jonson had a merry meeting, and it seems drank too hard, for Shakspeare died of a fever then contracted." Mr John R. Wise calls this statement "a foolish tradition handed down on the authority of the good gossiping old vicar of Stratford." SHAKSPERE, *His Birthplace, and its Neighbourhood.* Ed. 1861, page 87.

JUDITH was four years older than THOMAS QUINEY, and she might apprehend that her father would object to this difference in their ages; for although he had married a wife eight years older than himself, the Poet only a few years before Judith's marriage had written these lines, the prudent advice from Duke Orsino to his page Cesario, addressing the latter as a male:—

> "Then let thy love be younger than thyself,
> Or thy affections cannot hold the bent:
> For women are as roses, whose fair flower,
> Being once display'd, doth fade that very hour."
>
> *Twelfth Night*, Act II. Scene 4.

Ten weeks after his second daughter's marriage WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE breathed his last, at his house, New Place; his death occurring, as it has been generally held, on the anniversary of his birth, viz. April 23; his burial taking place two days afterwards, a custom which was not unusual about that time; the entry on the Register thus records his interment:—

"1616. April 25, Will' Shakspere, gent."

The Poet's son-in-law, Dr Hall, was buried the day after death. There appears to have been much sickness prevailing in Stratford during the 16th and 17th centuries, which accounts for children receiving the rites of baptism so immediately after birth, and for burials taking place soon after death, in some cases on the same day. Three months after the Poet's birth a fever, or plague, raged in Stratford, and carried off about 200 persons, or a tenth of the population.

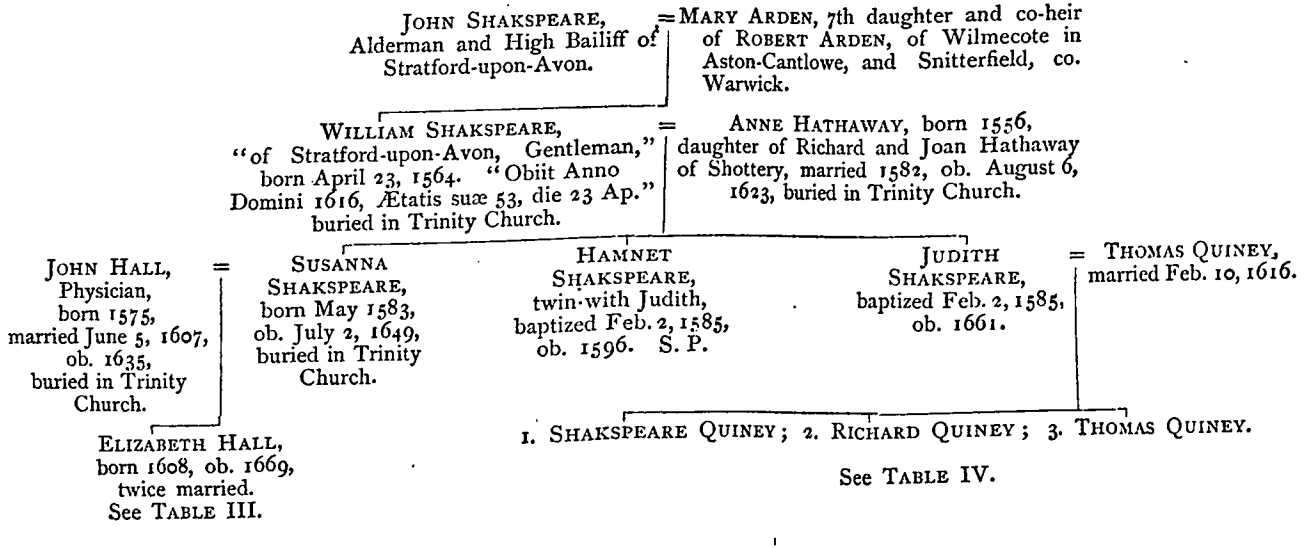
ANNE SHAKSPEARE outlived her great husband seven years; and according to her expressed wish her grave was made next to his; her burial, which was only two days after her death, as proved by the inscription upon her monumental slab, is thus registered:—

"1623. August 8, Mrs Shakspeare."

TABLE II.

THE POET'S FAMILY.

ARMS OF WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE of Stratford-upon-Avon. Quarterly 1 and 4, *Or* on a bend *Sable* a spear of the *first*, the point *Argent*, for SHAKSPEARE; 2 and 3, *Ermine* a fesse chequy *Or* and *Azure*, for ARDEN.


JOHN SHAKSPEARE, Alderman and High Bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon.
= MARY ARDEN, 7th daughter and co-heir of ROBERT ARDEN, of Wilmecote in Aston-Cantlowe, and Snitterfield, co. Warwick.
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, "of Stratford-upon-Avon, Gentleman," born April 23, 1564. "Obiit Anno Domini 1616, Ætatis suæ 53, die 23 Ap." buried in Trinity Church.
= ANNE HATHAWAY, born 1556, daughter of Richard and Joan Hathaway of Shottery, married 1582, ob. August 6, 1623, buried in Trinity Church.
JOHN HALL, Physician, born 1575, married June 5, 1607, ob. 1635, buried in Trinity Church.
=
SUSANNA SHAKSPEARE, born May 1583, ob. July 2, 1649, buried in Trinity Church.
HAMNET SHAKSPEARE, twin with Judith, baptized Feb. 2, 1585, ob. 1596. S. P.
JUDITH SHAKSPEARE, baptized Feb. 2, 1585, ob. 1661.
= THOMAS QUINEY, married Feb. 10, 1616.
ELIZABETH HALL, born 1608, ob. 1669, twice married. See TABLE III.
1. SHAKSPEARE QUINEY; 2. RICHARD QUINEY; 3. THOMAS QUINEY.
See TABLE IV.

The Poet's posterity only reached to two generations beyond himself; his eldest daughter, Mrs HALL, had one child, a daughter, ELIZABETH, born in 1608, whose baptism at Stratford is thus recorded:—

"1607-8. Feb. 21, Elizabeth, daughter to John Hall, gen."

ELIZABETH HALL was twice married; her first husband, THOMAS NASH, was a respectable inhabitant of Stratford: Mr Hunter states that he had been a student of Lincoln's Inn. He was eldest son of Anthony Nash of Welcombe, by his wife Mary, the daughter of Rowland Baugh of Twining, co. Gloucester, and grandson of Thomas Nash of Old Stratford, by his wife Anne, daughter and heir of James Bulstrode of Shutford, co. Oxon., whose wife was a Middlemore. The Poet bequeathed "to Anthonye Nashe, gent. xxvj^{s}. viij^{d}., and to Mr John Nashe xxvj^{s}. viij^{d}." to "buy them ringes." The last-named person was the brother of Anthony Nash. "Anthonie Nash" was a witness to an agreement between William Replingham, gent. and William Shackspeare, gent. 28 Oct. 1614, in respect of the former making good any injury done by him to any part of the land of the tithes held by William Shakspear." COLLIER'S *Life*, page 207, *note*. His death occurred in 1622; he was buried in Trinity Church:—

"1622. Novemb. 18, Anthonius Nash, Generosus."

Thomas Nash was fourteen years older than his wife, as testified by his baptism at Stratford:—

"1593. June 20, Thomas filius Anthonii Nash Gen."

The following entry on the Stratford Register relates to this first marriage of SHAKSPEARE'S only granddaughter:—

"April 22, 1626, Mr Thomas Nash to Mistriss Elizabeth Hall."

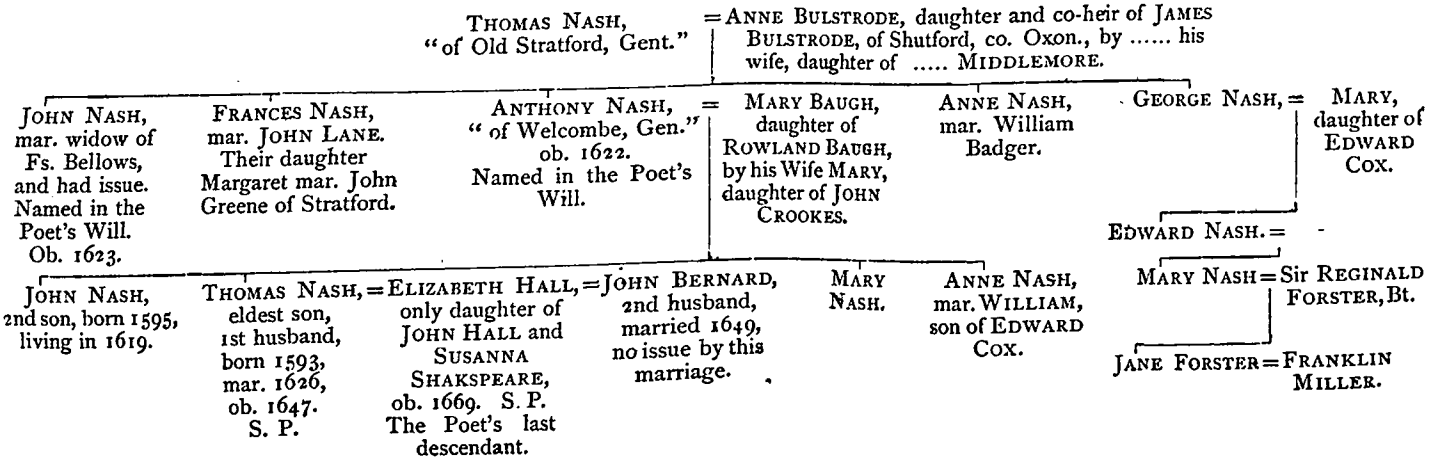
They had no children; Thomas Nash died April 4, 1647, and was buried in the chancel of Trinity Church; he made his will, dated August 26, 1642, and by a nuncupative codicil, on the day of his death, left among other bequests—"to his mother Mrs Hall £50; to Elizabeth Hathaway £50; to Thomas Hathaway £50; to Judith Hathaway £10; to his uncle Nash and his aunt; his cousin Sadler and his wife; his

TABLE III.

THE FAMILY OF NASH.

ARMS OF NASH of Old Stratford. *Azure* on a chevron, between three ravens' heads erased *Argent*, a pellet between four cross-croslets *Sable*.

ARMS OF BULSTRODE. *Sable* a buck's head caboshed *Argent* attired *Or*, between his horns a cross pateé fitchée of the *third*, and across his mouth an arrow *Or*.


THOMAS NASH, "of Old Stratford, Gent." = ANNE BULSTRODE, daughter and co-heir of JAMES BULSTRODE, of Shutford, co. Oxon., by ..... his wife, daughter of ..... MIDDLEMORE.
JOHN NASH, mar. widow of Fs. Bellows, and had issue. Named in the Poet's Will. Ob. 1623.
FRANCES NASH, mar. JOHN LANE. Their daughter Margaret mar. John Greene of Stratford.
ANTHONY NASH, "of Welcombe, Gen." ob. 1622. Named in the Poet's Will.
MARY BAUGH, daughter of ROWLAND BAUGH, by his Wife MARY, daughter of JOHN CROOKES.
ANNE NASH, mar. William Badger.
GEORGE NASH, =
MARY, daughter of EDWARD COX.
EDWARD NASH. =
JOHN NASH, 2nd son, born 1595, living in 1619.
THOMAS NASH, eldest son, 1st husband, born 1593, mar. 1626, ob. 1647. S. P.
= ELIZABETH HALL, only daughter of JOHN HALL and SUSANNA SHAKSPEARE, ob. 1669. S. P. The Poet's last descendant.
= JOHN BERNARD, 2nd husband, married 1649, no issue by this marriage.
MARY NASH.
ANNE NASH, mar. WILLIAM, son of EDWARD COX.
MARY NASH = Sir REGINALD FORSTER, Bt.
JANE FORSTER = FRANKLIN MILLER.

cousin Richard Quiney and his wife; his cousin Thomas Quiney and his wife; twenty shillings each to buy them rings." Lady Bernard also left handsome bequests to the Hathaways, viz. £40 to each of "the daughters of her kinsman Thomas Hathaway," Rose, Susanna, and Elizabeth; to another daughter, Judith, £5 *per annum*; to another, Joan, who married Edward Kent, £50, and to their son, Edward Kent, £30, to apprentice him. Two years after the death of Thomas Nash, his widow married secondly JOHN BERNARD Esquire, of Abington Manor, near Northampton (his second wife); this marriage was celebrated at Billesley, co. Warwick, about 3½ miles from Stratford, 5 June, 1649. No children were born of this marriage; and Lady Bernard, her husband having been knighted by Charles the Second, Nov. 25, 1661, died at Abington, where she was interred, as shown by the Register:

"Anno D^ni^ J. C. 1669.
Madam Elizabeth Bernard wife of
Sir John Bernard, Knt. was
buried 17th Febr. 1669."

No monument of any kind records the memory of the last descendant of the Poet SHAKSPEARE, and her husband does not appear to have appreciated the illustrious alliance. Lady Bernard's parents were buried in the chancel of Trinity Church, Stratford. Dr Hall died Nov. 25, 1635, and his skill as a physician is honourably noticed in the Register of his burial:—

"Nov. 26, 1635. Johannes Hall, medicus peritissimus."

His wife died five weeks after her daughter's second marriage, July 11th, 1649, and was laid in a grave next to her husband; her burial is thus registered:—

"1649. July 16. Mrs Susanna Hall, widow."

From his coat of arms, carved on his monumental slab, as will be noticed hereafter, Dr Hall must have been of good family, but no account is given of it in any biography of the Poet. In the List of the Gentry of Warwickshire, taken 12 Hen. VI., 1433, is the name of "Richard Hall de Stretford." In the Corporation Records of Stratford-upon-Avon, is the following entry under April, in the year 1558: "Fraunces

Harbadge Master bely that now ys, Adreane Quyny, Mr Hall, Mr Clopton, for the gutter alonge the Chapell in the Chapell Lane, John Shakspeyr, for not kepynge ther gutter cleane, they stand amerced." The fine in each case was 4*d.* HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 22. The first name on the list, that of the Bailiff himself, sometimes wrongly called "Berbage," by editors, is evidently the same "Francis Harbadge" who is in the list of the persons summoned to give evidence, 32 Eliz. at the *Inquisitio post mortem* of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (obt. Feb. 21, 1589); and among the names are those of Thomas Shackspere, probably the Poet's uncle, and John Fulwood. "Francis Harbage" is named several times in the Corporation Records, in the reigns of Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth. "Richard Harbadge, husbandman," was tenant of a house and garden, in the Rother Street, held of the Corporation, and in the lease appear the names of "Adreane Quyny, capitall alderman, John Taylor and John Shakspeyr, chamberlens." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 159. Of a very different family was John Burbage, high bailiff in 1556. In this year an action was heard before him, brought by "Thomas Siche de Arscotte in com. Wigorn. versus Johannem Shakyspere de Stretford in com. Warwici, glover, in placito quod reddat ei octo libras, &c. 17 June, 1556." HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 19. This is the only instance in which the Poet's father is styled a glover. Richard Burbage, the "English Roscius," and one of the Poet's "fellows," was the son of James Burbage, an actor, who built the Blackfriars Theatre.

Dr Hall had an extensive practice in Stratford and its neighbourhood, and some of the best county families were his patients. He drew up a collection of his cases in Latin, published a few years after his death under the title, "Select Observations on English bodies, or Cases both Empiricall and Historicall, performed on many eminent persons in desperate diseases. First written in Latin by Mr John Hall, a physician living at Stratford-upon-Avon, now put into English by James Cooke, practitioner in Physick and Chirurgery. 12mo. 1657." A second edition was published in 1679, and dedicated to Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, and a third edition appeared in 1683. Mr Hunter, from whom the above account is taken, also states,—"There is a testimony

from Dr John Bird, the Linacre Professor—'the learned author lived in our own times, and in the county of Warwick, where he practised many years, and in great fame for his skill, far and near. Those who seemed highly to esteem him, and whom, by God's blessing, he wrought those cures upon, you shall find to be, among others, persons noble, rich, and learned. And this I take to be a great sign of his ability, that such who spare not for cost, and they who have more than ordinary understanding, nay such as hated him for his religion, often made use of him.'" *Prolusions*, page 98. Cooke, the editor, gives an account of his interview with Dr Hall's widow, who brought forth for his inspection the books which her husband had written.

The will of Dr Hall is short and quaint, as quoted by Malone:—"The last Will and Testament nuncupative of John Hall of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, Gent., made and delivered the five and twentieth of November, 1635, *Imprimis*, I give unto my daughter Nash my house in Acton. *Item*, I give unto my daughter Nash my meadow. *Item*, I give my goods and money unto my wife and my daughter Nash to be equally divided betwixt them. *Item*, concerning my study of books, I leave them, said he, to you, my son Nash, to dispose of them as you see good. As for my manuscripts, I would have given them to Mr Boles if he had been here, but forasmuch as he is not here present, you may, son Nash, burn them, or do with them what you please.

"Witnesses hereunto Thomas Nash,
Simon Trapp."

Administration was granted to the widow Nov. 23, 1636. The second witness to the Will was Curate and assistant Minister at Stratford, appointed by the Corporation. In their Records occurs the following entry:—"Att this Hall it is agreed that Mr Trap, assistant minister, shall have besides the £10 apoynted by charter over and above fourty shillings per annum quarterly to be paide beginning at Midsomer last, to have the same during the Companyes plesure. 28 June, 1624." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 70.

It is necessary now to consider the family of the Poet's second daughter JUDITH, whose husband THOMAS QUINEY

was a vintner, or wine-merchant, of a family of some standing in Stratford, third son of Richard Quiney, between whom and the Poet a friendship existed, which was proved by the latter lending £30 to Richard Quiney, whose letter, wherein he asks for the loan, is the only epistle known to exist, addressed to WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE; this therefore *unique* document is preserved in the Museum at Stratford attached to his Birth-place. This highly interesting letter has been frequently printed, but it will bear repetition, for its quaintness; it is thus given in Mr HALLIWELLS *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 152.

"Loveinge contreyman, I am bolde of yow, as of a ffrende, craveinge yowr helpe with XXX li. uppon Mr Bushell's and my securytie, or Mr Myttens with me. Mr Roswell is nott come to London as yeate, and I have especiall cawse. Yow shall ffrende me muche in helpeinge me out of all the debettes I owe in London, I thank God and muche quiet my mynde, which wolde nott be indebeted. I am nowe towardes the Courte in hope of answer for the dispatche of my buyseness. Yow shall nether losse creddyt nor monney by me, the Lorde wyllinge; and nowe butt perswade yourselfe soe, as I hope, and yow shall nott need to feare, butt with all hartie thanckefullnes I wyll holde my tyme, and content yowr ffrende, and yf we bargaine further, yow shalbe the paie-master yowrselfe. My tyme biddes me hasten to an ende, and soe I committ thys (to) yowr care and hope of yowr helpe. I feare I shall not be backe thys night ffrom the Courte. Haste, The Lorde be with yow, and with us all. Amen. ffrom the Bell in Carter Lane the 25 October, 1598,

Yowrs in all kyndenes,
RICH. QUYNEY."

To this letter, which is addressed—"To my loveinge good ffrend and contreyman Mr Wm. Shackespere, deliver thees,"—is attached the seal of Richard Quiney, as shown by his initials thereon, with the arms of Quiney, of Staffordshire; viz. [*Or*] On a bend [*Sable*] three trefoils slipped [*Argent*]. Richard Quiney was chosen high bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon in 1601; he died during his year of office, and was buried in Trinity Church-yard:—

"1602. May 31. Mr Richard Quiney, Bailey of Stratford."

In the Stratford Archives is preserved a letter from "Ed. Worthington to the Worshipfull my good freind Mr Richard Quyney, bailiffe of the Borroughe of Stratford, an invitation to Beauchamps Court, 24 December, 1601." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 281. The owner of Beauchamps Court, in Alcester, was Sir Fulke Greville, Knight, Recorder of the borough, and father of the first Lord Brooke.

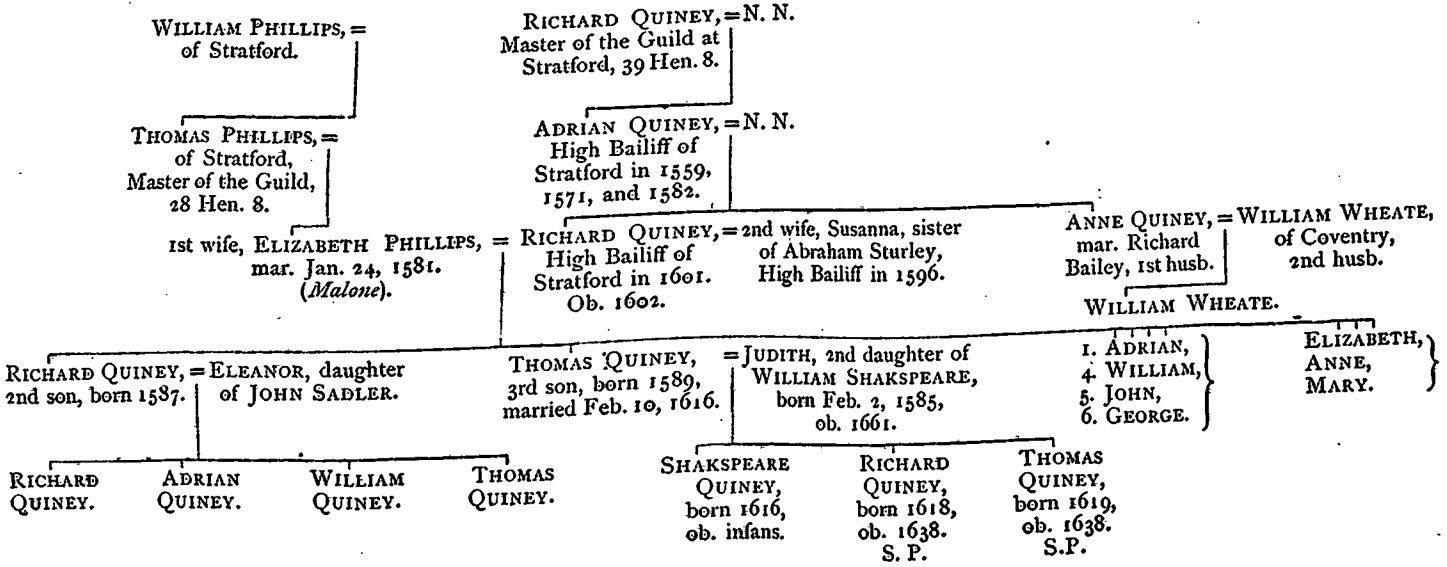
Adrian Quiney, Richard's father, had been bailiff three times according to Malone, viz. in 1559, 1571, and 1582, and he was probably son of Richard Quiney, Master of the Guild at Stratford, 34 Hen. VIII. 1543. Mr Halliwell gives in full a curious letter from Adrian Quiney, written about 1598, addressed—"to my lovynge sonne Rychard Quyney at the Belle in Carter Leyne, deliver thesse in London,"—in which he thus alludes to the Poet,—"yff yow bargen with Wm. . . . . Sha . . . . . or receve money therfor, brynge your money home that yow maye." *Life of Shakespeare*, page 150. Mr Halliwell also quotes a letter from Abraham Sturley, addressed,—"to his most lovinge brother Mr Richard Quinei, at the Bell in Carter Lane att London," dated Nov. 4, 1598, stating that his letter of Oct. 25, had come to hand, wherein he imported "that our contriman Mr Wm. Shak . . . would procure us monei," page 151.

Another letter from Abraham Sturley to his brother-in-law Richard Quiney, is given in Boswell's Malone's Shakespeare, Edn 1821: "This is one special remembrance of your father's motion. It seemeth by him that our countriman, Mr Shakespeare, is willing to disburse some money upon some od yarde land or other at Shottery, or near about us, he thinketh it a very fitt patterne to move him to deale in thereafter of our tithes. By the instructions you can give him thearof, and by the frendes he can make therefore, we thinke it a faire mark for him to shoote at, and not impossible to hitt. It obtained would advance him in deede, and would do us much good." We gain some insight of the Poet's character from these letters of Abraham Sturley, and Adrian and Richard Quiney, as well from the bequests in his Will; the former prove not only his ability but his readiness to assist his friends; the latter evince his kindness of heart to his rela-

TABLE IV.

THE FAMILY OF QUINEY.

ARMS OF QUINEY. *Or* on a bend *Sable* three trefoils slipped *Argent.*


WILLIAM PHILLIPS, of Stratford.
THOMAS PHILLIPS, of Stratford, Master of the Guild, 28 Hen. 8.
1st wife, ELIZABETH PHILLIPS, mar. Jan. 24, 1581. (*Malone*).
RICHARD QUINEY, Master of the Guild at Stratford, 39 Hen. 8. = N. N.
ADRIAN QUINEY, High Bailiff of Stratford in 1559, 1571, and 1582. = N. N.
RICHARD QUINEY, High Bailiff of Stratford in 1601. Ob. 1602. = 2nd wife, Susanna, sister of Abraham Sturley, High Bailiff in 1596.
ANNE QUINEY, mar. Richard Bailey, 1st husb. = WILLIAM WHEATE, of Coventry, 2nd husb.
WILLIAM WHEATE.
RICHARD QUINEY, 2nd son, born 1587. = ELEANOR, daughter of JOHN SADLER.
THOMAS QUINEY, 3rd son, born 1589, married Feb. 10, 1616. = JUDITH, 2nd daughter of WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, born Feb. 2, 1585, ob. 1661.
1. ADRIAN, 4. WILLIAM, 5. JOHN, 6. GEORGE.
ELIZABETH, ANNE, MARY.
RICHARD QUINEY.
ADRIAN QUINEY.
WILLIAM QUINEY.
THOMAS QUINEY.
SHAKSPEARE QUINEY, born 1616, ob. infans.
RICHARD QUINEY, born 1618, ob. 1638. S. P.
THOMAS QUINEY, born 1619, ob. 1638. S.P.

tives, "fellows," and acquaintances, and justify his well-known title, "the gentle Shakspeare."

THOMAS and JUDITH QUINEY had three children, who were baptized at Trinity Church :—viz.

1. "Nov. 23, 1616. Shakspere filius Thomas Quyny gent."
2. "Feb. 9, 1617-8. Richard filius Thomas Quinee."
3. "Aug. 29, 1619. Thomas, son of Thomas Quiney."

The eldest child died a few months after his birth, his burial being thus recorded :—

"May 18, 1617. Shakspere fillius Tho. Quyny, gent."

In the Chamberlain's Accounts, for the year 1617, it is stated that the sum of 4*d.* was paid for having the great bell rung "at the death of Thomas Quyniis child." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 27.

Of the two other sons the second barely attained to the age of twenty, and the youngest was only eighteen at his death; but these brothers died within a month from each other, it is believed through some sickness prevailing in the town ; their burials are thus recorded at Trinity Church :—

"1638. Jan. 28. Thomas filius Thomæ Quiney."
"1638. Feb. 26. Richardus filius Tho. Quiney."

It may be taken for granted that neither of them married and had children, for in the case of issue male surviving they would have inherited before the Harts, as the "right heirs" of the Poet, according to the limitation in his will; and Lady Bernard would not have forgotten to name in her will female cousins descended of her grandfather's blood, had there been any, bequeathing as she does large sums of money to the Hathaways who were descended from her grandmother's brother, and consequently more remote. Shakspeare's second daughter lived to the age of 76 years, a term much exceeding the number attained, with the exception of her aunt Joan Hart, by other members of the family; her burial is thus recorded at Trinity Church :—

"1661. Febū. 9. Judith uxor Thomas Quiney, Gent."

Thomas Quiney is supposed to have survived his wife, by Malone, who argues that Judith, being in her burial-register styled *uxor* and not *vidua*, must therefore have pre-deceased her husband. But instances wherein a widow is called "uxor,"

and "wife," appear in the Stratford Burial-registers and tombstones, notably so in the case of Anne Shakspeare. Thomas Quiney probably died in London, where his brother Richard had settled.

Mr Hunter states that Richard Quiney, the Bailiff, and his wife Elizabeth Phillips, had besides Thomas, who married Judith Shakspeare, five other sons, and three daughters; of the sons, Adrian, born 1586, William, born 1593, John, born 1597, and George, born 1600, appear to have died unmarried. The second son, Richard Quiney, born 1587, married Eleanor, daughter of John Sadler, of Stratford, related to Hamnet Sadler, probably his nephew, and had four sons, viz. Richard; Adrian colonel in "the Green regiment of the City of London;" William who resided at Shottery; and Thomas who settled in London.

As Abraham Sturley, in 1598, addresses Richard Quiney as "his most loving brother," some of the latter's children must be the issue of his (second) marriage with Susanna Sturley. Richard Quiney, who married Eleanor Sadler, was in partnership with his wife's brother, John Sadler, as grocers and druggists in London, at the Red Lion, Bucklersbury, a locality which the Poet has celebrated in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act III. Scene 3, where Sir John Falstaff tells Mistress Ford,—"I cannot cog, and say, thou art this and that, like a many of these lisping hawthorn buds, that come like women in men's apparel, and smell like Bucklersbury in simple time." Richard Quiney and John Sadler presented two silver-gilt maces to the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, in memory of their fathers' having been aldermen and bailiffs of the borough. See *Appendix*, B. These partners also left a lasting proof of their attachment to their native town. "John Sadler and Richard Quiney, Gentlemen, and Citizens of London, gave £150, to be lent out; the increase to be given to the poor of this borough for ever." R. B. WHELER, *History and Antiquities of Stratford-upon-Avon.*

Much interest attaches to George Quiney, born in 1600, who entered the Church, but died in his twenty-fifth year, and was buried at Trinity Church, 11th April, 1624. The following extract from the Stratford Corporation Records (HALLIWELL, page 70), relates to the appointment of the young clergyman as Curate:—

"At this Haule Mr George Queeney is chosen assistant mynyster uppon probacyon of good likynge hereafter in the doinge of his services in the place." 20 Sept. 1620.

This young divine, who must have been well known to the Poet, fell into a rapid decline, and was attended by Dr Hall, who has left, in his note-book of cases, a touching record of George Quiney's amiable disposition, and extensive knowledge for one so young:—"Multa frustra tentata: placide cum Domino dormit. Fuit boni indolis, et linguarum expertus, et pro juveni omnifariam doctus." HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 257. George Quiney's sisters were Elizabeth, Anne, and Mary; of these one married Richard Pile, chief serjeant-surgeon to King Charles II.; and another married — Lilburn, cousin-german to Col. John Lilburn. HUNTER'S *Prolusions*, page 92. Anne, daughter of the bailiff Adrian Quiney, sometimes wrongly called Abraham, married first Richard Bailey, and secondly William Wheate, of Coventry, and their great grandson, Thomas Wheate, of Glympton, M. P. for Woodstock, was created a Baronet in 1696; the title became extinct in 1816.

The respectable family of Baugh merits a few words. Edward Baugh of Twining, co. Gloucester, by his wife Margaret daughter of John Stratford, of Ffamtoff, was father of Rowland Baugh, also of Twining, who by his wife Mary daughter of John Crookes, of Hook-Norton, co. Oxon., had a family of six sons, and three daughters, who made good alliances. His sons were, 1. Rowland Baugh, who married Judith, daughter of Richard Allison; 2. Edward Baugh, whose wife was Constance daughter of Thomas Foliot; 3. William Baugh, who married Mary, daughter of William Wakeman; 4. John Baugh, whose wife was Elizabeth daughter of John Copley; 5. Thomas Baugh, who married Dorothy daughter of John Gower of Wormleigh; 6. Stephen Baugh, who "dyed in ye voyage with S^r^ ff^s^ Drake." The three daughters were, 1. Margaret the wife of Thomas Grimsditch of Grimsditch; 2. Alice the wife of Richard Wheler of Warwick; and 3. MARY, who by a remarkable mistake of the heralds is called, in the Visitation of 1619, *Harl.* MS. 1041. f. 133, "uxor Thomæ Nashe," whereas she was the wife of his father Anthony Nash, their son Thomas being the first husband of the Poet's granddaughter Elizabeth Hall, afterwards Lady Bernard.

The wife of Thomas Nash, grandfather of Elizabeth Hall's first husband, Anne Bulstrode, belonged to a family of good standing. Jane, daughter of William Bulstrode married Sir Walter Hungerford, Knight, second son of Robert, third Lord Hungerford; and a William Bulstrode was one of the four Gentlemen-ushers of the Queen's Chamber, present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520. The Middlemores, of Edgbaston, were an old family in Warwickshire, and well allied to houses of the county. Richard Middlemore, a first cousin of the half-blood to Walter Arden of Parkhall, married Margery, daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton. Jocosa Midlemore was elected Prioress of Henwood Nunnery, A.D. 1400; and another Joyce Midlemore in 1438, MONASTICON, Vol. v. p. 210, 1823. Robert Midlemore of Edgbaston was Sheriff co. Warwick, 9 Eliz. 1567.

The births, marriages, and deaths of the Poet's posterity have thus been set forth with precise care, to answer the still-repeated, though often-satisfied enquiry whether any of his descendants exist at the present time. It has been shown that his race never extended beyond grandchildren; that his only son Hamnet died in his twelfth year; it is therefore impossible that any one can claim to be lawfully derived from the Poet by male descent, that is through his son Hamnet. The children of SHAKSPEARE'S two daughters died either unmarried, or without issue, so that from the decease of his last surviving descendant, his granddaughter, Lady Bernard, in 1669, *the line of* WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE *has been extinct for two centuries.* Many persons are apt to confound collateral kindred with lineal descent, and speak of the "immediate descendants of a person," as if his posterity could be other than immediate; thus it would be absurd to say that a man was descended from his uncle as well as from his father. In Scripture language, however many generations intervened between a person and his ancestor, he was called his son; thus "David the son of Abraham," as every Hebrew would call Abraham his father. And in the *Merchant of Venice,* Shylock exclaims,

> "O father Abraham, what these Christians are."
>
> Act I. Scene 3.

The above caution is the more necessary to be borne in mind, for every now and then a claim is set up of "lineal

descent from the Poet." A remarkable instance is seen in the following extract, among the deaths, *Morning Herald*, June, 1857:—"On the 2nd instant at Hastings, in his 63rd year, deeply and deservedly regretted, William Hammond Esq. of Camden Road Villas, and Scott's Yard, London, and Exning, Suffolk, a Magistrate for the county of Middlesex, and for upwards of 40 years a respected merchant of the city of London. He died in Jesus. The deceased was one of the last lineal descendants of Shakspear."

To face page 397.]

TABLE V.

PEDIGREE OF THE HART FAMILY.

William Hart, of Stratford, "Hatter," died 1606. = Joan Shakspeare, 3rd daughter of John Shakspeare and Mary Arden his wife, born 1569, mar. cir. 1599, died 1646.

William Hart, an actor, eld. son, born 1600, ob. 1639. S.P.

I. Thomas Hart, 2nd son, born 1605, ob. 1661. = Margaret, dau. of — ... ob. 1682.

Mary Hart, born 1603, ob. 1607.

Michael Hart, 3rd son, born 1608, ob. 1618. S.P.

Michael Hart, eld. son, born 1633, ob. — S.P.

Mary Hart, born 1641, ob. —

II. George Hart, 3rd son, born 1636, ob. 1702. "Taylor." = Hester, dau. of Thos. Ludlate, mar. 1657, ob. 1696, ae. 62.

Thomas Hart jun., 2nd son, born 1634; living 1669, ob. — S.P.

Thomas Hart, 2nd son, born 1673, ob. 1691. S.P.

Susanna Hart, born 1663; married Daniel Smith, 1688.

Mary Hart, born 1671; mar. Stephen Spencer, 1697.

Hester Hart, mar. — Heron.

III. George Hart, 3rd son, born 1676, ob. 1745. = Mary, dau. of — Richardson, of Shottery, ob. 1705.

Elizabeth Hart, born 1658.

Jane Hart, born 1661.

Shakspeare Hart, eldest son, born 1666; "plumber," ob. 1747. = Anne Pace, mar. 1694, ob. 1733.

Thomas Hart, eld. son, born 1698, ob. — S.P.

William Hart, 3rd son, born — ob. — S.P.

Hester Hart, born 1702, mar. Geo. Savage.

Mary Hart, born 1705.

IV. George Hart jun., born 1700, ob. 1778. = Sarah, dau. of — Mumford, ob. 1754.

Anne Hart, born 1700, ob. 1738.

Katherine Hart, born 1703.

Thomas Hart, born 1711, ob. 1746. S.P.

William Shakspeare Hart, eldest son, born 1695, ob. 1750. = Mary Southam.

William Hart, 2nd son, born 1731, ob. 1743. S.P.

George Hart, died young.

Mary Hart, mar. Will. Smith; 8 children.

Frances Hart, mar. Will. Skinner of Shottery.

Sarah Hart, mar. Joseph M'Laughlin; no issue.

V. Thomas Hart, eldest son, born 1729, ob. 1793. "turner"; lived in "the Birth-place." = Alice, dau. of — Ricketts, ob. 1792.

Jemima Hart, born 1745.

Anne Hart.

Phillis Hart, born 1742.

William Shakspear Hart, born 1743, ob. 1744.

Thomas Hart, born 1745, ob. 1747.

Catherine Hart, mar. Bradford; no issue.

Frances Hart, born 1760, ob. 1774.

Jane Hart, mar. Iliffe.

Mary Hart, mar. Clarke.

Sarah Hart, mar. Joseph Maule.

VI. John Hart, eld. son, born 1753, ob. 1800, "chair-maker." = Mary, dau. of John Richardson of Tewkesbury, ob. 1794.

Nancy Hart, born 1767.

Thomas Hart, 2nd son, born 1764; "butcher," ob. 1800. = Mary, dau. of Thomas Kite; mar. 1791, ob. 1793.

Sarah Hart, born 1777. = William Whitehead.

VII. William Shakspeare Hart, born 1778. Ob. 1834, "turner at Tewkesbury." = Hannah, dau. of William Potter; ob. 1850.

John Hart, ob. infans, 1821.

a daw., ob. infans, 1793.

Thomas, mar. 1 ch.

William, mar. 12 ch.

John, mar. 3 ch.

George, mar.

Henry,

Martha, mar. Geo. Grubb.

Anne, mar. Henry Key, 7 ch.

Mary Anne Hart, died unmarried.

VIII. Thomas Shakspeare Hart, born 1803, ob. 1850. = Elizabeth Smith, mar. 1837, ob. —

Elizabeth Hart, mar. — Russell.

Hannah Hart, mar. Edwin Elliott; had a family.

Ellen Hart, mar. John Ashley; had a family.

Sarah Hart, mar. Will. Ashley; had a family.

Jane Hart, born March 23, 1838; living in 1864, at Birmingham.

IX. George Hart, born March 13, 1842; living in 1864 at Birmingham; since has emigrated to Australia.

Judith Hart, born 1840, June 7, ob. Feb. 3, 1842.

THE HART FAMILY.

As there are yet living many representatives of JOAN HART, the only married sister of the Poet, and therefore the only person through whom a descent can be claimed from their father, John Shakspeare, alderman, and high bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon, it must be interesting to consider Joan's family, especially as her brother's great name was adopted by some of her descendants.

JOAN SHAKSPEARE, second of that Christian name, third daughter of JOHN and MARY SHAKSPEARE, was married in 1599, as Malone conjectures, to WILLIAM HART, of Stratford-upon-Avon, hatter. They had three sons, and a daughter, Mary. The latter only lived a few years; her baptism at Trinity Church, Stratford, is thus given :—

"1603. Jan. 5. Maria filia Willielmi Hart."

And her burial there is thus recorded :—

"1607. Dec. 17. Mary, dawghter to Willyam Hart."

The baptisms of the three sons of WILLIAM and JOAN HART are thus recorded in the Registers at Trinity Church :—

"1600. Aug. 28. Wilhelmus filius Wilhelmi Hart."
"1605. Julii 24. Thomas filius Willielmi Hart, hatter."
"1608. Sept. 23. Mychaell sonne to Willyam Hart."

Their father died a week before his great brother-in-law, his burial taking place at Stratford, as appears by the Register :—

"1616. April 17. Will. Hart, hatter."

His wife, the Poet's sister, died thirty years later, aged 77; her burial is thus recorded at Stratford :—

"1646. Novemb. 4. Joan Hart, widow."

The Poet left bequests in his will to Joan Hart and her three sons, and his affection for his sister is shown by her having the house in Henley Street, where he was born, to live in at a nominal rent:—"Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my saied sister Joan xx^{li} and all my wearing Apparrell, to be paied and delivered within one yeare after my deceas; and I doe will and devise unto her *the house* with thappurtenaunces in Stratford, wherein she dwelleth, for her naturall lief under the yearlie rent of xij^{d}. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto her three sonnes, William Harte, (Thomas) Harte, and Michaell Harte, fyve Poundes apeece, to be paied within one yeare after my decease." The eldest son does not appear to have been married; his burial at Stratford is thus registered:—

"1639. March 29. Will'mus Hart."

This William Hart was an actor, and is mentioned in a Royal warrant 17 May, 1636, with several others,—"his Majesties comedians, and of the regular company of players in the Blackfryars London." HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 129.

Malone could not find the burials of the other sons, Thomas and Michael Hart, and hence he fell into the mistake of supposing that the latter might be the father of Charles Hart, the celebrated tragedian, born about 1630, and who died in 1683, and was buried August 20, according to Lysons, at Stanmore, in Middlesex. But the death of his supposed father, when only ten years old, sets the question at rest; his burial is thus registered at Trinity Church, Stratford:—

"1618. Nov. 1. Micael fil' to Jone Harte, widow."

There is no proof that Charles Hart, the actor, was related to the Stratford Harts. Mr Collier says,—"A person of the name of Hart in 1622 kept a house of entertainment close to the Fortune Theatre, and he may have been the son of Shakespeare's sister Joan, and the father of Charles Hart the actor, who died about 1679." *Life of Shakespeare*, page 206, *note*. Mr R. B. Wheler (1816), in his Table of the Hart descent, puts Charles Hart as the son of William, the eldest son of William and Joan Hart; but he survived Lady Bernard fourteen years, and his name does not appear in her will, whereas he could not have been overlooked had he been,

as sometimes supposed, the nearest in blood to Joan Hart, to whom he would have been eldest grandson.

The second son of William and Joan Hart, viz. THOMAS HART (I) carried on the line, who by his wife MARGARET..... had two sons, THOMAS HART, and GEORGE HART. It is as well to quote here from the will of Lady Bernard, who died in 1669,—"Item, I give and devise unto my kinsman Thomas Hart, the son of Thomas Hart, late of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, all that my other messuage or tenement situate in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, commonly called the Maidenhead, to him and his heirs, and in default to his brother George." As the latter did come into possession it is clear that his brother Thomas died without surviving male issue. There is a baptism in the Stratford Register :—

"1633. Sept. 29. Michael filius Thomæ Hart."

This appears to be a son of Thomas and Margaret Hart, and if so must refer to an elder brother of Thomas and George Hart. Malone quotes the following extract from the Stratford Register of baptisms ;—

"Thomas son of Thomas Hart was baptized April 13, 1634 ;"

this son was therefore a seven-months' child.

The same writer states that "the Register does not ascertain the time of his death, nor that of his father." The widow of the latter must have lived to a great age, judging from the date of her burial :—

"1682, November 28. Margaret Heart, widow."

The baptism of a female child, quoted by Malone from the Stratford Register, can only refer to a daughter of Thomas and Margaret Hart :—

"1641. June 18. Maria filia Thome Hart."

Their youngest son, GEORGE HART, (II) carried on the family; he was baptized at Trinity Church, 18 Sept. 1636, and married, 9 January 1657-8, HESTER, the daughter of THOMAS LUDIATE of Stratford; by whom he had three sons and five daughters. Of the latter, ELIZABETH was baptized 9 January, 1658; JANE, 18 March, 1661; SUSANNA, 18

March, 1663; and MARY, 31 March, 1671. The following extracts from the Registers at Stratford relate to the marriages of the two last-named daughters:

"1688. Apar. 16. Dani'l Smith to Shusannor Hartt."
"1697. Oct. 12. Stephen Spencer of Tardebick to Mary Hart of Stratford."

The fifth daughter, Hester Hart, married —— Heron. There was a Daniel Smith, of Stratford, who died in 1612, who is probably the "Danyell Smythe" who appraised the goods of Mr Thomas Trussell, deceased, Oct. 13, 1595.

The burials of George Hart and his wife are thus entered on the Stratford Register:—

1696. Ap. 29. Hester uxor Georgii Hart."
1702. May 3. George Hart."

At Trinity Church, Stratford, is the following monumental inscription to their memory:—

"Under this place lieth the bodies of George Hart and Esther his wife. She died ye 27th day of April, 1696, aged 62."

The three sons of GEORGE and HESTER HART were, SHAKSPEARE HART; GEORGE HART; and THOMAS HART; of the last named there is no evidence that he was married, he was baptized March 3, 1673, and was buried Dec. 29, 1691. Shakspeare Hart was baptized at Stratford 18 Nov. 1666, and married there in 1694, as appears from the Register:—

"1694. April 10. Shaksper Hart to Anne Pare."

Some writers, following Malone, call the name of Shakspeare Hart's wife Prew instead of Pare: they had two sons, and two daughters; the latter were baptized at Stratford:—

"1700. August 9. Ann filia Shakspear and Ann Hartte."
1703. July 19. Katheren fillia Shakspear and Anne Hartte."

The following entry at Stratford relates to the baptism of the younger son;—

"1711. June 15. Thomas the sonn of Shakespar Hartt."

And the baptism of the elder son is thus given :—

"1695. Septemper 14, William filius Shakespar Hartt.'

SHAKSPEARE HART followed the trade of a plumber and glazier in Stratford; and Mr Halliwell quotes from the Corporation Records several payments to "Shaxper Hart," for "glazing and ploming," from 1685 to 1737. He died in 1747, having sold, in the year preceding his death, some of the freehold property in Stratford, which came to his father, George Hart, under Lady Bernard's will. Another part of the property, consisting of three cottages, was sold in 1771, by Thomas Hart; and the remainder, including the Poet's birth-place, was sold in 1806, by William Shakspeare Hart (VII) to Mr Thomas Court. SHAKSPEARE HART died in 1747; the burial of his wife ANNE PARE must be intended in the next extract, since all the other wives of the Harts can be identified by their Christian names being inserted in the registers of their burials :—

"1753. July 10. Widow Hart."

The burial of their second son Thomas is thus given in the Stratford Register :—

"1746. March 12. Tho. son of Shakspear Hart."

That of one of their daughters is thus recorded :—

"1738. March 29th. Anne daughter of Shakespear Hart."

Mr Bellew, in his Pedigree Table of the Harts, published in *Shakespere's Home*, &c., places the above-named Thomas as the son instead of the brother of William Shakspeare Hart, giving however the correct date of his burial,—"12 Mar. 1746." The same writer has also greatly prolonged the life of the daughter, Anne Hart, as he places her burial,—"5 Feb. 1760."

The surviving son of SHAKSPEARE and ANNE HART, viz. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE HART, married MARY SOUTHAM, by whom he had, with a daughter, a son, William Shakspeare Hart, baptized 8 January, 1743, and buried 8 March, 1744. Mr R. B. Wheler (1816) mentions another son, Thomas, born in 1745, and buried 12 March, 1746—7. The father wa buried 28 Feb. 1749—50, and thus ended the male line of

Shakspeare Hart. The daughter of William Shakspeare Hart and his wife Mary was Catherine, baptized 10 May, 1748; she married — Bradford, but died, it is believed, without issue.

Among the "receipts and vouchers," Vol. III. in the Stratford Corporation Records, is a notice, about the year 1698— "76. Mr Thomas Southam, his bill for Bristoll lime, twenty-two crests for the Chapell wall and almshouses, worke done att the Markitthouse, &c." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 427. This person may have been the father of William Shakspeare Hart's wife; and he is no doubt the Thomas Southam, who was Chamberlain in 1699, and Mayor in 1705, and again in 1718. There was a James Southam in 1700; and George Southam was Mayor in 1682.

We now return to the third son of GEORGE and HESTER HART, viz. GEORGE HART (III), who was baptized at Stratford, 20 August, 1676; he had by his wife MARY RICHARDSON, three sons, and two daughters; of the latter the baptisms at Stratford are thus entered:—

"1702. Feb. 20, Hester filia George Harte."
"1705. Octob. 7, Mary filia George Harte."

Hester Hart married George Savage, a dancing-master.

Mr Bellew, in his Pedigree Table of the Harts, places the birth of the above-named daughter, Mary, in "Oct. 7, 1709," or four years after her mother's death; this may be a printer's error, but the Tables of descent betray a great carelessness in other instances, rendering them comparatively worthless. His Pedigree of Hart is deficient in many names, and stops short at the sixth generation from Joan Shakspeare.

The three sons of George and Mary Hart were, Thomas, born in 1698, and died *sine prole;* William; and George, usually styled "George Hart, junior," whose baptism is thus oddly recorded at Stratford:—

"1700. Novemb. 29, Jorg filius of Jorg and Marey Hartt."

The mother appears to have died in child-birth of her second daughter Mary, since the same date records the baptism of the child, given above, and burial of the parent at Stratford:—

"1705. October 7, Mary uxor George Hartte."

Her husband survived her forty years, and his burial at Stratford is thus registered:—

"1745. Aug. 29. George Hart."

GEORGE HART *junior* (IV) married SARAH MUMFORD, sometimes wrongly called Mountford, her real name being proved by the following extract from the Stratford Register of her marriage:—

"1728. Feb. 20. George Hart to Sarah Mumford, by Banns."

They had three sons and six daughters; of the latter two were baptized at Stratford:—

"1742. Jan. 25. Fillis, daughter of George Hart."
"1745. June 19. Jemima, daughter of George Hart."

Of the remaining daughters, MARY HART, born in 1737, married WILLIAM SMITH, of Stratford; they had eight children, of whom four died young, the remainder were three sons, and a daughter, SARAH SMITH, who married HENRY ASTLEY, and had issue, THOMAS, HENRY, and SARAH; of the sons, 1. JOSEPH MALLISON SMITH, born in 1763, married ELEANOR JENKINS, and had issue, CHARLES and MARY; 2. GEORGE SMITH, born in 1768, married ANN MARSHALL, and had three sons, JOHN, WILLIAM, and GEORGE; 3. WILLIAM JONES SMITH, who settled at Gloucester, married, and had a family. (R. B. Wheler, 1817.)

The other daughters of GEORGE and SARAH HART were FRANCES, and SARAH, both married; FRANCES to WILLIAM SKINNER of Shottery; and SARAH to JOSEPH MCLAUGHLIN of Stratford-upon-Avon; no issue. The sixth daughter was ANNE HART.

The family of MUMFORD, or Mountford, has belonged to Stratford for three centuries. In the Corporation Records are found, Simon Mountford, 36 Eliz.; William Momford, 40 Eliz. respecting the demise of a garden at Stratford; Richard Mountford was chamberlain in 1628, and he appears to have been an alderman in 1638. Wheler gives monumental inscriptions to several of the name; among them to two sons of Stephen and Susanna Mumford, 1746, and 1757. Stephen Mumford died in 1782. Mr. W. G. Colbourne states that the name was in Stratford until within the last few years. He

found a monumental inscription to the memory of the above-named Susanna Mumford, who died August 10, 1764.

Of the three sons of GEORGE and SARAH HART, the second son, WILLIAM HART, baptized at Stratford 9 July, 1731, was buried there 28 April, 1745; and GEORGE HART, third son, died young. The eldest son, THOMAS HART (v), born 1729, carried on the line. Their mother was buried at Stratford:—

"1754. Aug. 6. Sarah, wife of George Hart."

The father's burial, also at Stratford, is thus recorded:—

"1778. July 8th. George Hart."

Their eldest son, THOMAS HART, a turner by trade at Stratford, is thus noticed by Malone, "This Thomas Hart, who is the fifth in descent from Joan Hart, our poet's sister, is now (1778) living at Stratford, in the house in which Shakspeare was born."

"In the window of Shakespeare's house facing the fireplace was formerly the circular pane of glass, about six inches in diameter, ornamented with the arms of the merchants of the wool-staple, which was produced by Malone as an evidence that John Shakespeare dealt in wool; but there can be little doubt, from the testimony brought forward by Mr Wheler, that the glass originally came from the Guild Chapel, and was inserted in the window in Henley Street by Shakespeare Hart, a glazier, a Hart of the third descent from Shakespeare's sister. According to Mr Wheler, "old Thomas Hart constantly declared that his great uncle Shakespeare Hart, being employed, as he certainly was upon such occasions towards the close of the seventeenth century to repair the windows of the Chapel, brought it from thence, and introduced it into his own window."—HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 40.

THOMAS HART, baptized 9 May, 1729, married ALICE RICKETTS, by whom he had two sons, JOHN HART, and THOMAS HART, and five daughters; of the latter three of the baptisms at Stratford are thus recorded:—

"1760. Aug. 8. Frances, the daughter of Thomas Hart."

"1767. Jan. 16. Nanny, daughter of Thomas Hart."

"1783. April 23. Jane, daughter of Thomas Hart."

JANE HART married a person of the name of ILIFFE. Of two other daughters, MARY HART married — CLARKE, and SARAH HART became the wife of JOSEPH MAULE. Malone states that FRANCES, the daughter of Thomas and Alice Hart, was buried Oct. 31, 1774.

The eldest son's baptism is thus registered :—

"1753. Aug. 18. John, son of Thomas Hart."

That of the second son, also at Stratford :—

"1764. Aug. 10. Thomas, son of Thomas Hart."

Their mother died in 1792, and was buried at Stratford :—

"1792. June 21. Alice Hart."

The husband survived his wife one year, dying in 1793.

Mr W. G. Colbourne has kindly forwarded the following monumental record of Thomas and Alice Hart, at Trinity Church, Stratford :—

"In Memory of Thos. Hart, who was the fifth descendant in a direct line from Joan, eldest daughter of John Shakespeare, and Sister to the Immortal Willm. Shakespeare. He died May 23rd, 1793, aged 64. Also Alice his Wife, who died June 20th, 1792, aged 60."

Their second son, THOMAS HART, married 15 Sept. 1791, MARY, daughter (by his wife Ann Spiers) of THOMAS KITE of Clifford, in the county of Gloucester, but only three miles from Stratford-upon-Avon, and where Mary Hart was buried, at the age of twenty-six, with an infant daughter, dying 8 Dec. 1793. Her husband, THOMAS HART, followed the business of a butcher at Stratford, where he was living in 1794; but he died at Woolwich, in Kent, in February, 1800.

The only one left at that date to continue the male line of Hart, descended from Joan Shakspeare, was JOHN HART (VI) elder brother of Thomas, last noticed. He quitted the town which had been the residence of the Shakspeares and Harts for more than two centuries, and settled at Tewkesbury, and there married MARY RICHARDSON. According to a writer in the *Tewkesbury Magazine*, 1834, John Hart was placed by his father as an apprentice to Mr John Richardson, Chair-maker, of Tewkesbury; and at the end of his term he married

his master's daughter Mary, and carried on business for himself in the town as a chair-maker, but afterwards went to London, and worked there during seven years for Mr Thompson, chairmaker in Clerkenwell. At the end of that time returning to Tewkesbury he resumed his business there, and continued in it till his death in 1800. A writer under the initials A. B., in *Notes and Queries*, 3d Series, April, 1864, states that John Hart had two sons, WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE HART, the eldest, and JOHN HART;—the latter died unmarried in 1821, and one daughter, SARAH HART, who married WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, by whom she had a family of five sons and two daughters, viz. 1. THOMAS WHITEHEAD, who settled at Cheltenham, married, and had two children; 2. WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, at Tewkesbury, married, and had twelve children; 3. JOHN WHITEHEAD, at Bulstone, married, with three children; 4. GEORGE WHITEHEAD, married, no issue; 5. HENRY WHITEHEAD, single. Of the daughters of WILLIAM and SARAH WHITEHEAD, MARTHA married GEORGE GRUBB of Oldbury, and ANNE married HENRY KEY of Winchecombe, and had seven children.

JOHN HART, who settled in Tewkesbury, died there in 1800, and the stonemason, in his epitaph, has given to him an illustrious descent, to which he is not entitled. The abovementioned correspondent, "A. B." quotes the inscription on a headstone on the north side of the Abbey Church, Tewkesbury:—

"In Memory of John Hart, who died
Jan. 22nd 1800, the sixth descendant
from the Poet Shakespear, aged 45 years."

Whereas he was sixth in lineal descent from the Poet's sister, JOAN wife of WILLIAM HART. It is to be hoped that this serious mistake is the result of ignorance on the part of the stonecutter, and not of intention by the family. The burial at Stratford of John Hart's wife seems to be referred to in the following entry on the Register at Trinity Church:—

"1794. July 30. Mary Hart."

Their eldest son, WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE HART (VII) was a turner at Tewkesbury, where, Mr Hunter says, "he exhibited a walking-stick which he alleged to have been Shakespeare's." *Prolusions*, page 47. He married HANNAH, daughter

of WILLIAM POTTER, by whom he had one son, THOMAS SHAKSPEARE HART (VIII), who was seen by Mr Halliwell at Tewkesbury, and to whom he stated that he was eighth in descent from Joan Shakspeare. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE HART had also five daughters, viz. 1. ELIZABETH, who married — RUSSELL; 2. MARY ANNE, died single; 3. ELLEN, who married JOHN ASHLEY; 4. SARAH, who married WILLIAM ASHLEY; and 5. HANNAH, who married EDWIN ELLIOT, lace-weaver, living at Beeston, co. Notts. All these three last-named sisters had families.

The correspondent "A. B." quotes the following epitaphs at Tewkesbury; he says,—"In the old Baptist burial-ground there is a head-stone with the following—

"In memory of John Turner, who
departed this Life, May 18th., 1800,
aged 54 years. Also of Wm. Shakespear
Hart, who died Nov. 22, 1834, aged
56 years. Likewise Hannah, widow
of the above W. S. Hart, died Febry.
13th. 1850, aged 67 years."

Their son was interred in the same burial-place with his parents; the following epitaph being upon another head-stone:—

"To the memory of Thomas
Shakespear Hart, who died
Nov. 18th., 1850, aged 47 years."

According to "A. B." this last-mentioned Hart, the name of his wife is not stated by him, left two children, GEORGE HART (IX), and JOAN HART, the first revival of the name, who were living at Birmingham, in 1864; and this GEORGE HART appears to be *the only male Hart now in existence representing* JOAN SHAKSPEARE, from whom he is ninth in descent. It may assist the genealogical enquirer to enumerate the lineal order of succession of the Harts from the Poet's sister JOAN, the wife of WILLIAM HART: 1. THOMAS HART; 2. GEORGE HART; 3. GEORGE HART; 4. GEORGE HART, JUN.; 5. THOMAS HART; 6. JOHN HART; 7. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE HART; 8. THOMAS SHAKSPEARE HART; 9. GEORGE HART, living in 1864. These numerals are prefixed to the respective names in the Pedigree, Table V.

It will be seen that the female descendants of WILLIAM and JOAN HART have intermarried with several families, mostly in humble stations, and it would be a work of great labour to trace them through their numerous progeny. In the pursuit of one name, among the number, the Compiler is obliged to confess that, albeit not easily daunted by genealogical difficulties, he cannot screw up his courage to the sticking-place in an attempt to follow out the offspring of the marriage of Susanna Hart and Daniel Smith, or that of Mary Hart and William Smith; that last name appals the stout heart and makes the firm nerves tremble of the most determined pedigree-hunter.

Mrs Fletcher of Gloucester, granddaughter of Mrs Kingsbury, who was a sister of Mary Richardson, wife of John Hart (VI) has very kindly furnished the Compiler with some names and dates, not found in the usual accounts of the Hart family; thus she mentions that George and Joan Hart had a sister Judith, born June 7th, 1840, and died Feb. 3, 1842, and that their mother's name was ELIZABETH SMITH. Mrs Fletcher has in her possession the walking-stick and delft-jug, which, it is said, once belonged to the Poet, and which were exhibited by her at the Tercentenary Festival, at Stratford, in 1864. This jug, of a cream colour, and somewhat in the shape of a modern coffee-pot, has been long in the family, and was the property of Sarah, eldest daughter of the third George Hart (*jun.*), who presented it, a short time before her death, to Mr John Richardson, whose widow gave it to her eldest daughter, Martha, Mrs Kingsbury. It is about 8 inches high, and 16 inches round in the largest part, and is divided horizontally into eight compartments, whereon are raised figures representing the chief deities of heathen mythology.

Although Mrs Fletcher is not, as she is frequently asserted to be, a descendant of Joan Shakespeare, being only related to the wife of John Hart, yet it is interesting to believe that she may derive her descent from an early friend of the Poet, his bond-man in 1582, John Richardson, of Shottery; from which place, according to the *Tewkesbury Magazine*, 1834, came Mr John Richardson of Tewkesbury, and also Mary Richardson, said to be of the same family, wife of the second George Hart; and probably a search among the registers at Stratford would connect these names together as

belonging to the family of Shakspeare's early friend, who died in 1594, and had by his wife Mary a son, William Richardson of Shottery, whose wife Elizabeth administered in 1625; he was a witness to the will of Bartholomew Hathaway, brother of the Poet's wife.

In the *Tewkesbury Magazine* for 1834, the following notice of the Birthplace appears:—"SHAKSPEARE'S HOUSE.—The house in which Shakspeare's father lived, and in which he was born, is now divided into two—the northern half being, or having lately been, a butcher's shop—and the southern half, consisting of a respectable public-house, bearing the sign of the Swan and Maidenhead."

Of the two houses left in his will by Shakspeare to Susannah Hall, and which came to Lady Bernard, the same writer says—"These houses, in one of which the great Poet was born, continued in the family until after the death of John Hart, in 1800; they had however been long under a mortgage, and his widow sold them by auction, it is said, for the trifling sum of £230, deriving a balance, after discharging the mortgage and expenses, of little more than £20."

THE SHAKSPEARE MONUMENTS IN TRINITY CHURCH, STRATFORD-UPON-AVON.

The monumental records of the Poet and his relations occupy the entire width of the Chancel, at Trinity Church, in front of the communion rails. His own world-renowned monument is an architectural composition of stone and imitation of marble, placed on the north wall, standing out on brackets. It consists of two columns, supporting an entablature, of the Corinthian order, enclosing a circular-headed recess, or niche, within which is placed the half-length figure of SHAKSPEARE, seated, in habit as he lived, with a book open before him on a cushion. This bust was executed only seven years after his death by a good sculptor, Gerard Johnson. Above the cornice is a shield with the arms of SHAKSPEARE, and his crest upon an esquire's helmet, surmounted by a *caput mortuum;* and on either side of the shield is a sitting figure of a boy, one holding a spade, the other an inverted torch. Beneath the bust is a deep tablet, on which is cut an inscription in Latin, presumed to be from the pen of Dr Hall, with some verses in English, both in capital letters, some of which are contracted:—

"Judicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, populus mæret, Olympus habet.
Stay, passenger, why goest thou by so fast?
Read, if thou canst, whome envious Death hath plast
Within this monument: Shakspeare, with whome
Quick Nature dide: whose name doth deck ye tombe
Far more then cost; sith all y^t^ he hath writt
Leaves living art but page to serve his witt.
Obiit Ano. Dn^i^. 1616.
Ætatis 53, die 23. Ap."

From the date on the monument it is inferred that April 23rd was that of the Poet's birth and decease; and some writers have alluded to the coincidence that the "divine Raphael" died on the anniversary of his birth; but this can hardly be considered a case in point, for the great Painter was born, and died, on a Good-Friday, a movable Holy-day.

Close to the north wall is the grave of ANNE SHAKSPEARE, placed next to that of her husband, according to her wish; upon her grave-stone is the following inscription, on a brass plate; the Latin verses being no doubt composed by Dr Hall, in the name of his wife:—

HEERE LYETH INTERRED THE BODY OF ANNE WIFE OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE WHO DEPTED THIS *life* THE 6 DAY OF AVGV 1623 BEING *of* THE AGE OF 67 YEARES.

"Vbera, tu mater, tu lac, vitamq. dedisti;
Væ mihi; pro tanto munere saxa dabo!
Quam mallem, amoveat lapidem bonus Ang'l'ore.
Exeat christi corpus imago tua.
Sed nil vota valent; venias cito, Christe, resurget,
Clausa licet tumulo mater, et astra petet."

The above inscription refutes the notion that the Poet's widow married a second husband, one Richard James, a mistaken idea arising from the wording in the register of what are evidently the burials of two different persons, occurring on the same day:—

"1623. August 8. } Mrs Shakspeare, Anna uxor Ricardi James."

No clergyman could insert such a description of one person; and the inscription upon Anne Shakspeare's grave would record a falsehood, if she had re-married, and no one can suppose that Dr and Mrs Hall could be parties to such a fraud.

Immediately adjoining Anne Shakspeare's grave, on the south, is the slab which covers the mortal remains of the Poet, and inscribed with the well-known lines of prohibition, of which the following is a faithful transcript: the letters have probably been re-cut in exact imitation of the original incision.

GOOD FREND FOR IESVS SAKE FORBEARE
TO DIGG 'HE DVST ENCLOASED HEARE
BLESE BE YE MAN Y SPARES HSE STONES
AND CVRST BE HE Y MOVES MY BONES.

A person of the name of Dowdall, writing to Mr Edward Southwell in 1693, ascribes the four lines to the Poet himself, and says,—"Not one, for fear of the curse above-said, dare touch his grave-stone, though his wife and daughters did earnestly desire to be laid in the same grave with him." Mr Hunter remarks of the Poet's monument,—"There can be no doubt that it was raised by Dr Hall and his wife, the Poet's favourite daughter," and attributes to Dr Hall the brass to the memory of Anne Shakspeare, the Poet's widow, and considers that he had the four famous lines cut:—"Some despise these lines, to me they appear quite in Shakespeare's vein, and singularly excellent *in their kind*, save that the last line is a little too harsh." *Prolusions*, page 96, *note*. Mr Hunter then quotes the following fine lines from Spenser, to show the dread which SHAKSPEARE must have had of his body being disturbed:—

"The wondrous workmanship of God's own mould,
Whose face He made all beasts to fear, and gave
All in his hand, was dead, we honour should.
Ah! dearest God, me grant, I dead be not befouled."

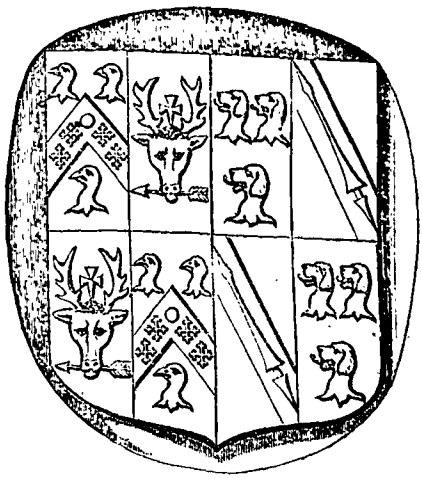
Fairy Queen, Book I. Canto X.

Mr John R. Wise, who writes so well and lovingly of the Poet's *Birth-place and its Neighbourhood*, citing the verses which some writers have condemned, says,—"and those lines on his grave-stone—which have for so long passed as unmeaning doggrel, are to me inexpressibly beautiful. I do not for one moment suppose that Shakspere wrote them; but I do think that whoever wrote and placed them there, felt he was expressing, to the best of his powers, Shakspere's own feelings on the subject." Page 21.

Immediately adjoining SHAKSPEARE'S grave on the south is that of Dr Hall's son-in-law, THOMAS NASH, above whose epitaph is a well-cut shield of two coats of arms; viz. NASH and BULSTRODE Quarterly, impaling HALL and SHAKSPEARE Quarterly. These arms, enclosed within a circle, do not

appear to have been described in any biography of the Poet; they are therefore herein defined, the tinctures, within brackets, being added from Glover's Ordinary of Arms.

Two coats, each Quarterly of four; FIRST, 1 and 4, (*Azure*) on a chevron between three ravens' heads erased (*Argent*) a pellet between four cross-croslets (*Sable*), for NASH[1]; 2 and 3, (*Sable*), A buck's head caboshed (*Argent*) attired (*Or*), between his horns a cross patée (of the third) and across his mouth an arrow (*Or*), for BULSTRODE; impaling SECOND, 1 and 4, (*Sable*) Three talbots' heads erased (*Or*) for HALL; 2 and 3, (*Or*) on a bend (*Sable*) a spear (of the first) the point steeled, for SHAKSPEARE.



E

HEERE RESTETH Y BODY OF THOMAS NASHE ESQ. HE MAR. ELIZABETH, THE DAVG : & HEIRE OF IOHN HALLE, GENT. HE DIED APRILL 4. A. 1647. AGED 53.

"Fata manent omnes, hunc non virtute carentem,
vt neque divitiis, abstulit atra dies
Abstulit at referet lux ultima; siste, viator,
si peritura paras per male parta peris."

Next to the grave of Thomas Nash, to the South, is that of his father-in-law, Dr HALL, having on the monumental slab

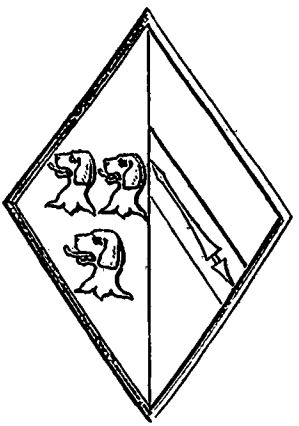
[1] William Nash, Esq., Lord Mayor of London, 1772, bore the same arms as Nash of Stratford-upon-Avon.

an epitaph, above which is a shield of the arms of HALL impaling SHAKSPEARE.

HEERE LYETH Y^E^ BODY OF IOHN HALL
GENT : HEE MARR : SVSANNA Y^E^ DAVGH
& coheire
TER OF WILL : SHAKESPEARE, GENT. HEE
DECEASED NOVE^R^ 25 A^O^ 1635, AGED 60.

" Hallius hic situs est, medica celeberrimus arte ;
Expectans regni Gaudia læta Dei ;
Dignus erat meritis qui nestora vinceret annis,
In terris omnes, sed capit æqua dies ;
Ne tumulo quid desit adest fidessima coniux,
Et vitæ comitem nunc quoq. mortis habet."

The fifth and last grave, immediately adjoining her husband's on the South, is that of the poet's eldest daughter; on the slab is a shield of arms in a lozenge, viz. HALL impaling SHAKSPEARE, with an epitaph; the verses are supposed to be the composition of one of the Puritan divines, with whom Dr and Mrs Hall, and their daughter, are known to have been acquainted.



HEERE LYETH Ye BODY OF SVSANNA
WIFE TO IOHN HALL, GENT: Ye DAVGH
TER OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. GENT:
SHEE DECEASED Ye ijth OF IVLY. Ao
1649. AGED 66.

"Witty above her sexe, but that's not all,
Wise to salvation was good Mistris Hall,
Something of Shakespeare was in that, but this
Wholy of him with whom she's now in blisse.
Then Passenger, hast nere a teare
To weepe with her that wept with all;
That wept yet set her self to chere
Them up with comforts cordiall.
Her love shall live, her mercy spread,
When thou hast nere a teare to shed."

The monumental inscriptions and arms were carefully copied on the spot by the Compiler, Nov. 2, 1863.

THE FAMILY OF ARDEN.

ROBERT ARDEN'S *Status.*

With perhaps only a single exception all Shakspearean editors, biographers, and commentators have united in the belief that the Poet's maternal grandfather, ROBERT ARDEN, of Wilmecote, in Aston-Cantlowe, co. Warwick, was not only "a gentleman of worship," but allied to the ancient house of the Ardens of Warwickshire, and therefore entitled to bear their coat-armour.

Admitting that no genealogy, however exalted, can add lustre to the great renown of SHAKSPEARE, and to no one else may his own language be more fitly applied—

> "Honours best thrive,
> When rather from our acts we them derive,
> Than our fore-goers[1],"—

it will not be useless to us, nor can it be unworthy of him to trace his ancestry on the "spindle side," a mode of derivation considered by many writers to be preferable to any other, and which, if substantiated, becomes a necessary chapter in the Poet's biography.

But, first, it is proper to state the objections which have been recently raised against the position claimed for Robert Arden; next, to remove those obstacles; and then to enter upon his pedigree. These objections appear in a work of which its title denotes the nature of the subjects treated of therein, viz. *The Herald and Genealogist*, (Vol. I. Ed. 1863), which is ably conducted by a literary gentleman favourably known to archæologists, and therefore statements which appear in his publication deserve attention, though they may

[1] *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act II. Scene 3.

not always insure acquiescence: and it is the hope of the Compiler of the ensuing remarks to be able to convince, not only those who support Robert Arden's claims to gentility, but even their one opponent, by the production of documentary and other evidence.

The objections arise chiefly from the circumstance that ROBERT ARDEN of Wilmecote is styled "husbandman," in two Latin deeds, bearing date 1550; from which it is inferred that he could not be related to the Ardens of Park-hall, descended from the old Warwickshire family. The adverse critic, whose name is not affixed to the contribution in the *Herald and Genealogist*, alluding to the wills of Robert Arden and Agnes his widow, contends that "neither document presents evidence of a status in society higher than that of the husbandman." Another objection is that the coat of arms of Arden of Wilmecote, allowed by the heralds to be impaled with the arms of Shakspeare, differed from that of the Ardens of Warwickshire: and the said critic is wroth with the heralds for ascribing those arms to Robert Arden; and he makes some statements respecting John Shakspeare, which are contradicted by documents in the Archives of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon. If these objections can be overcome there will remain only to give the pedigree of Arden from a time before the Conquest, in fact of the oldest family in Warwickshire.

Mr Halliwell, alluding to the designation of ROBERT ARDEN, in the two Latin deeds of 1550, and it does not appear elsewhere, observes that "husbandman" does not convey the idea of a "heavy ploughman," or "denote an inferior condition." *Life of Shakespeare*, page 97. The best evidence to be produced of his actual standing is gained from the extent of his possessions whilst living, and from the Inventory of his goods taken after his decease. It is well known that his youngest and apparently favourite daughter MARY, afterwards the wife of JOHN SHAKSPEARE, had for her share under her father's will, besides that in other property, the entire freehold estate called "Asbies," in Aston-Cantlowe, consisting of at least fifty-six acres of land, with a house, and appurtenances. We also ascertain from several documents the precise extent of Robert Arden's freehold property in Snitterfield, viz. sixty acres of arable land, ten of meadow, and thirty of

furze and heath, with houses, two gardens, two orchards, and appurtenances. Thus we find the "husbandman" in actual possession of not less than 156 acres of unencumbered freehold estate, with houses thereon, besides gardens and apple-orchards, the last being no doubt a most valuable part of the property. Besides these estates, there are proofs that Robert Arden purchased property in Snitterfield on two separate occasions, viz. in 1519, and 1529.

The Inventory of his goods, taken *post mortem*, presents a list of items quite in keeping with such landed property, but out of all question for "a heavy ploughman," to use Mr Halliwell's happily-expressed term. The *verbatim* list, which is very interesting, will be referred to hereafter, but a few of the items are here enumerated to show what was the real position of Robert Arden, as gleaned from his goods and chattels. Out of doors his live stock consisted of 8 oxen, 2 bullocks, 7 cows, 4 calves, 4 horses, 3 colts, 52 sheep, and 9 swine; and besides he had bees and poultry. Then there are items of the wheat in the field and in the barns, the barley, oats, pease, hay and straw, wood in the yard, battens in the loft; all of which are appraised. Within doors the domestic furniture and utensils are of an ample kind; but it is from some particular articles that the owner's standing may be best established. There are no less than "two painted clothes in the hall," "five painted clothes in the chamber,"—or parlour; and "four painted clothes" elsewhere; with "5 board cloths," or table-coverings, "2 towels, and one diaper towel, a feather-bed, 2 mattrasses, 8 canvasses, a coverlet, 3 bolsters, a pillow, 7 pairs of sheets;" riches which might exist in the dreams of "a heavy ploughman," but which he could not hope to realize, any more than "the poor monster," Caliban, the wealth revealed in his delightful visions;—

> "In dreaming,
> The clouds, methought, would open and shew riches
> Ready to drop upon me, that, when I wak'd,
> I cry'd to sleep again."
>
> *Tempest*, Act III. Scene 2.

The "eleven painted clothes" must mean either tapestries of the loom, or painted hangings on cloth in imitation of them, appropriate enough for a "gentleman of worship," but quite out of place in the dwelling of a "husbandman," as the

critic understands the word, as would be the arrangements of the house, with its hall, its chamber or parlour, its kitchen, and other accommodation, implied by the language of the Inventories of Robert and Agnes Arden; in which respect Robert Arden's abode corresponds, in its plan or arrangement, with houses extant in various parts of England, which belonged to persons whose known position is precisely that which is claimed for him, namely, a gentleman of good descent, and entitled to coat-armour.

There are frequent allusions in SHAKSPEARE'S plays to "painted cloths," which were much used as a substitute for tapestry. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v. Scene 2, Costard tells the discomfited Sir Nathanael, in their *Pageant of the Nine Worthies*,—"You will be scraped out of the painted cloth for this." In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act iv. Scene 5, Mine Host of the Garter Inn tells Simple, who comes to speak with Sir John Falstaff, who lodges there "at ten pounds a week,"—

> "There's his chamber, his house, his castle, his standing-bed and truckle-bed; 'tis painted about with the story of the prodigal, fresh and new."

These passages, and others of a like nature in the Poet's works, indicate the subjects illustrated by the tapestry hangings and painted cloths of the time; the story of the Prodigal Son, also alluded to in 2 *King Henry IV.* Act II. Scene 1, being a very favourite theme.

To arrive at the real meaning of the word "husbandman," as understood in former days, let us turn to that "pure well of English undefiled," our glorious Authorized Version of the BIBLE, wherein no word is out of place, and we shall find a marked distinction between the husbandman, as a landed owner, and the labourer or workman, to whom he pays wages. "And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard." Gen. ix. 20. "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman." St John xv. 1. In both these passages the word for husbandman is in the Latin Vulgate, *Agricola*, which answers to the Greek *Geōrgos*, the word used in the last quotation, in the Greek version. But where a labourer or workman is named in the New Testament, both in the Greek and Latin texts the term employed denotes toil, or

manual labour, admirably expressed in the French tongue by *travail*, *ouvrage*, and *peine*. There is a very interesting passage in Wiclif's Bible, which at once shows the relative position of employer and servant:—"The kyngdome of hevenes is lyk to an husbondeman that wente out first bi the morowe to hyre werkmen into his vyneyerd." St Matth. xx. 1. In our present Translation, "householder" is put for Wiclif's husbandman, a sufficient explanation, whilst in the Vulgate the corresponding word "Pater-familias," is a very strong expression for ruler-ship[1]; and in the Greek version, *Oiko-despotēs*, is still more powerful. At verse 11, where it is stated that the first-comers murmured against "the good-man of the house," the same Latin and Greek words are used as in the first verse. Two quotations taken from our best poets will serve to mark the real position of the husbandman as a land-proprietor, and quite distinct from that of a hired servant.

> "It chancèd after upon a day,
> The husbandmans selfe to come that way,
> Of custome for to surviewe his grounde,
> And his trees of state in compasse round."
>
> SPENSER. *Shepherd's Calendar. Februarie.*

> "The royal husbandman appear'd,
> And plough'd, and sow'd, and till'd,
> The thorns he rooted out, the rubbish clear'd,
> And bless'd th' abundant field."
>
> DRYDEN. *Threnodia Augustales.*

From the Stratford-upon-Avon Corporation Records, Mr Halliwell mentions several leases, wherein the calling or occupation of the tenants is specified; thus besides tradesmen we find a shepherd, a labourer, a day-labourer, whose rents accord with their lowly means; whilst in other instances, wherein the word husbandman is introduced, some of the persons are known to be of good position, even to filling the office of high bailiff; and others are the owners of considerable landed property, and elsewhere styled "gentleman," or "esquire."

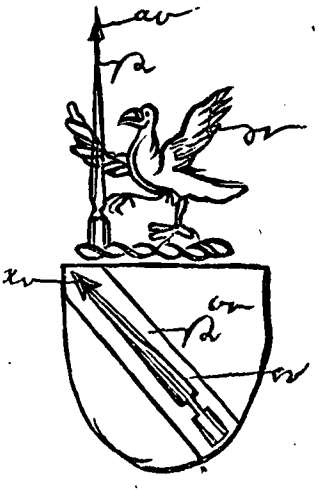
1 "Simile est regnum cœlorum homini paterfamilias qui exiit primo mane conducere operarios in vineam suam." *Vulgate.* S. Mat. xx. 1.

Mr H. C. Coote, F.S.A., has pointed out to the Compiler, the following passage, proving that *husbandman* was sometimes equivalent to *tenant-farmer;*—"The husbandman sits at a rackt rent...at Michaelmasse time poor men must make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents." GOODMAN'S *Fall of Man.*

It may be urged that it is one thing to establish Robert Arden as a person of good substance, and quite another to infer that he must therefore belong to the old Ardens of the county; which brings us to examine the second objection of the writer in the *Herald and Genealogist*, who doubts the connection of Robert Arden of Wilmecote with the Ardens of Park-hall and a branch of the family seated at Yoxall in co. Stafford, because, as he states, the coat of arms allowed to be quartered by John Shakspeare's family differs from the arms of the Ardens of Park-hall and Yoxall; the writer says:—

"The arms of Arden of Park Hall, in the parish of Curdworth, of which John Arden was chief, were *Ermine, a fess checquy or and azure*—a feudal coat derived from that of the Earls of Warwick, Checquy or and azure a chevron ermine.

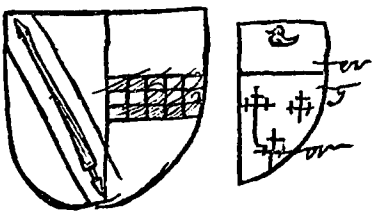
"The coat which was granted by Dethick and Camden to be quartered with Shakespere for Arden of Wilmcote was *Gules three crosslets fitchée and a chief or, with a martlet for difference,* a coat totally different from the former.



"There was every inclination on the part of Dethick, or whoever was the herald who made this sketch[1], to assign to Mistress Shakespere the coat of the Warwickshire Ardens; but his resolution failed. We see that, after the fess checquy was sketched in the first instance, it is scratched through, and the coat of cross-crosslets and a chief is placed in the margin instead. It evidently occurred to the herald's

[1] Tricked in the margin of the draft grant of 1599.

recollection that the Ardens of Park-hall were still flourishing among the gentry of Warwickshire—a family which in the three generations contemporary with Shakespere matched with Throckmorton, Corbet, and Fielding; and he could not venture so far as to proclaim, without proof, that their humble namesakes at Wilmcote were an offshoot from them. That such



was really the case is still very probable; though not in the way which Mr Malone and his followers in Shakespearian Biography have assumed." Page 503.

The same writer then continues—

"The coat of the crosslets fitchée was really that of the Ardernes of Alvanley in Cheshire, and which has descended to the Lords Alvanley of our own day....There would of course be the same reasons against the coat of Alvanley being assigned as a quartering to Shakespere, as applied to Arden of Park-hall, besides the greater improbability that the Ardens of Wilmcote had branched off from that more distant race; but as Cheshire was further away, there was not the same danger of dispute." Page 504.

The heralds had no occasion to travel into Cheshire for Robert Arden's arms, as will be seen presently. Having alluded to Malone's making out that the Wilmecote Ardens were descended from Robert, a younger brother of (Sir) John Arden of Park-hall, the esquire for the body to King Henry VII., and that Mr Hunter accepted that affiliation, the critic remarks at page 501,—

"Malone had discovered and published the grants made by Henry VII. to a Robert Arden, who is described in the patents as *unus garcionum cameræ nostræ.* They consisted of the keepership of two parks, and a gift of the manor of Yoxall in Staffordshire; but Mr Hunter himself suggests, '*that these grants* to Arden which Mr Malone has published *belong to Arden of Wilmcote may be doubted* till some more decisive evidence is produced.' Page 37.

"Had Mr Hunter turned to the parish of Yoxall in Shaw's *History of Staffordshire,* he would have found still further reason to doubt the identity of the grantee of Yoxall and the

yeoman of Wilmcote. The epitaphs of the Ardens in the church of Yoxall there printed come down as late as the year 1783: and one of them (dated 1729), which commences—

> 'Near this Monument, in the burying-place of the Family since their coming to Longcroft, lie the remains of HENRY ARDEN, esq. of the antient and worthy Family of the Ardens of Warwickshire,'

is accompanied by the Warwickshire coat, viz. Ermine a fess chequy gules and azure[1] (Shaw, Vol. I. p. 100). Further, in p. 102 of the same work will be found the pedigree of Arden of Longcroft, in the parish of Yoxall, deduced from Simon Arden, second son of Thomas Arden, of Park-hall, co. Warwick, esq., down to the Rev. John Arden, "now living at Longcroft, and minister of King's Bromley," whose youngest son had been born in March, 1796. The said Simon, at the head of the pedigree is styled 'Symon Arden *esquire*,' at the subsidy gathered in 32 Eliz. (1590). On the other hand the researches of Mr Payne Collier have determined the contemporary status of the Ardens of Wilmcote. In two deeds, bearing date 1550, Robert Arden, of Wilmcote, appears only a 'husbandman,'—'Robertus Arden de Wilmecote in parochia de Aston Cantlowe in comitatu Warwici, *husbandman*,' *Life of Shakespeare* 1844, p. lxxiii."

It will be seen presently that the "Esquire" of Yoxall, and the "husbandman" of Wilmecote, are rated to the subsidies at precisely the same sum; but as the former was assessed in 1590, and the latter in 1523, the amount paid by Robert Arden must have expressed the largest value. The critic continues his objections:

"Yet neither Mr Collier, nor Mr Halliwell, nor any other of the recent biographers, has proceeded to doubt the engrafting of the Ardens of Wilmcote upon the great house commemorated in the Visitations; which engrafting, as we have remarked, was done by Malone, and not questioned by Hunter. The latter relied upon the assertion of the heralds (in the grants of arms to Shakespere) that 'Robert Arden was a *gentleman*,' and '*entitled to the same coat-armour*' as John Arden Esq., who died in 1526. We now find that he

[1] *Sic* in the quotation; but the fesse should be—chequy *Or* and *Azure*.

was a *husbandman*, and on the heralds' own confession we shall see that he was *not entitled to the same coat-armour* as the great family. This admission on the part of the heralds escaped the notice of Mr Hunter, and it has hitherto escaped every one else; and it affords a remarkable example how much the valuable aid afforded by heraldry to historical researches is disregarded by those to whom it would prove most useful." Page 501.

The Compiler has inverted the order of the critic's remarks, to fit the argument. Now the very Simon Arden *esquire*, before mentioned, who *purchased* the manor of Longroft, (see Shaw) and between whom and the *husbandman*, or *humble yeoman* of Wilmecote such an invidious distinction has been drawn, was Sheriff of the county of Warwick, and Fuller thus places him, with his arms, among the *Worthies* of that Shire :—

> "11 Eliz. Sim. Ardern, ar.—G. three cross crosselets fitché, a chief O."

which is precisely the coat, less the martlet, tricked by the heralds for the amended impalement of Arden with Shakspeare. So much for the coat of crosslets being taken from the Cheshire Ardens, and for the undeserved sneer against the heralds. Fuller was quite aware of the arms usually ascribed to the Ardens, for he assigns them to the father of Walter Arden, in his list of the sheriffs of Leicester and Warwick counties :—

> "16 Hen. 6. Robertus Ardern, Erm. a fess checky O and Az."

In truth the Warwickshire Ardens had several coats of arms besides the two already specified; Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, the great authority, ascribes to them,—"Ar a fesse chequy or and az, between three crescents gu." Also, "Ermine a fesse azure:" Also, "Ermine on a fesse gules three roses or;" Also, "Ermine on a fesse Gules three fusils or;" these are all blazoned in that splendid work, DRUMMOND'S *Noble British Families*, in which *there are more than thirty other coats for* ARDEN! But the most important instance, justifying the insertion in the Grant to John Shakspeare, is given in GLOVER'S ordinary of Arms (by Edmondson), for "ARDEN, or ARDERNE, (Warwickshire and Bedfordshire), Gu. three

cross crosslets fitchée or, on a chief of the second a martlet of the first;" the coat, even including the martlet, actually tricked in the margin of the Grant. We have thus an amount of evidence that is irresistible. As a proof how variously the Warwickshire Ardens bore their arms, Lennard and Vincent, in the Visitation of 1619, have tricked no less than five coats in the Pedigree in *Harl.* MS. 1167, *Brit. Mus.* viz. 1. "Gules three crosslets fitchée and a chief Or," for Herald the grandson of Alwyn, the coat, less the martlet said to belong to the Cheshire Ardens; 2. "Chequy a chevron Ermine," for Sir Thomas Arden of Rotley; 3. "Ermine, a fesse chequy A and B," for William Arden of Rodbourn; 4. "Ermine a fesse chequy O and B between three crescents G," for Sir Henry Arden of Park-hall; and 5. for his son, Sir Ralph Arden of Park-hall, "Ermine a fesse chequy O and B."

Before the Compiler puts forth his own idea of the derivation of Robert Arden from the ancient family, it is but proper to state the opinions of others on this point, founded upon the language of the heralds in the grant of arms to JOHN SHAKSPEARE—"that the said John hath maryed Mary, daughter and one of the heyres of Robert Arden, of Wilmcote, in the said counte, esquire" (Gent. *was first written and it is altered to esquire*). Note in the *Herald and Genealogist*, page 511.

Mr J. Payne Collier (*Life of Shakespeare*, page 44), speaking of Mary Shakspeare's father, Robert Arden, remarks,—"Sir John Arden, the brother of his grandfather, had been Esquire of the Body to Henry VII., and his nephew had been page of the bed-chamber to the same monarch, who had bountifully rewarded their services and fidelity. Sir John Arden died in 1526, and it was his nephew, Robert Arden, who purchased of Rushby and his wife the estate in Snitterfield in 1520. He was father of the Robert Arden who died in 1556, and to whose seventh daughter, Mary, John Shakespeare was married."

If the Page, or Groom of the Chamber, is really one of the Park-hall Ardens, the Compiler suggests that he was not the nephew, but the brother of Sir John Arden, viz. Robert the fourth son of Walter Arden, for the following reasons;—King Henry VII. bestowed upon his Groom of the Chamber his first gift, "the Keepership of the royal park at Aldecar," Altcar, co. Lancaster, on Feb. 22, 1502, at which time Walter

Arden was alive, who only provides for his son Robert to the extent of v marcs by the year; and before that date Robert Arden of Wilmecote had become possessor, with his father Thomas, of the Snitterfield estate. In the September of 1502 the royal favourite was appointed "Bailiff of Codnore, and Keeper of the park there;" Codnor is in the co. Derby. Lastly, in Sept. 1507, Robert Arden had from the King *a lease* for 21 years of the manor of Yoxall, co. Stafford, at the rent of £42 *per annum.* This favour is frequently mis-called *a gift.* The fourth son of Walter Arden could hardly have had a son old enough to be rewarded by Henry VII., in 1502, with the keepership of two parks. The grants, in Latin, to Robert Arden, are set forth in the *Appendix*, BOSWELL'S *Malone's Shakspeare*, Vol. II. pp. 544, 545.

Mr J. O. Halliwell considers that there is no good proof that the Robert Arden, groom of the chamber to Henry VII. was related to the Ardens of Wilmecote; but he thinks that they were connected with the Esquire of the King's body, Sir John Arden. *Life*, p. 17.

It is acknowledged by all writers that this Sir John Arden was the eldest son and heir of Walter Arden, of Park-hall, Esquire, whose third and fourth sons, according to Dugdale were THOMAS, and Robert Arden, and it is very possible that this Robert is the Groom of the Chamber, but certainly he is not the Poet's maternal ancestor, who in the Compiler's belief is to be found in THOMAS ARDEN, *second* son of WALTER ARDEN, and this connecting link in the pedigree has hitherto escaped the notice of every biographer of SHAKSPEARE, although Mr Hunter's sagacity enabled him to arrive very nearly at the truth, and the Compiler is indebted for his discovery of this connecting link to the aid of some of Mr Hunter's remarks, but more especially to the notice of a deed in the Stratford Corporation Records so carefully searched through by Mr Halliwell. This important document is a Grant, dated in May 1501, 16 Henry VII. of an Estate at Snitterfield, co. Warwick, by John Mayowe to Robert Throckmorton, Thomas Trussell, Roger Reynolds, William Wodde, "et Thomæ Ardern de Wylmecote et Roberto Ardern filio ejusdem Thomæ Ardern, &c." *Life of Shakespeare*, page 9. The Latin date is—"die Lunæ, proximo post festum Invencionis Sanctæ Crucis, Maij. 1501." This

property, purchased by Thomas and Robert Arden, consisted of 100 acres, and was settled, in 1550, in trust for six of his daughters, by Robert Arden. The Grant by Mayowe, which throws such light on the Arden connection, is also alluded to in Mr Halliwell's *Stratford Records*, page 291, under "*Miscellaneous Documents;* vol. 2, No. 83."

We thus behold seated at Wilmcote, so early as the year 1501, a ROBERT ARDEN and his father THOMAS ARDEN, both named in the purchase of an estate which came to Robert's children. We shall next find that they resided there together, or in the neighbourhood of each other, down to the year 1546-7, a fact which is established by Mr Hunter, who mentions—"Thomas and Robert Arden living at Wilmcote in the 15th of Henry the Eighth, 1523-4, who are each assessed upon goods of the value of £10. In the 38th of that reign, 1546-7, Thomas Arden was living, if not at Wilmcote, yet in the parish of Aston Cantlowe, and was assessed on lands valued at forty shillings per annum. The reader may be cautioned against smiling at the smallness of these sums." *Prolusions*, page 34. Mr Hunter continues,—"Now with these facts before us, let there be compared the clause in the will of a John Arden, as cited by Malone (BOSWELL'S *Malone*, II. p. 33), who is described in the Arden pedigree as 'Esquire for the body to Henry the Seventh,' and who is the well-known member of a very eminent Warwickshire family,—'Item, I will that my brothers, Thomas, Martin, and Robert, have their fees during their lives.' Let any one observe the date of this will, which is June 4, 1526, and bear in mind that Robert Arden of Wilmcote was 'a Gentleman,' and entitled to the same coat-armour which this testator John Arden used, and he may be disposed to come to the conclusion that the Thomas and Robert Arden of Wilmcote of 1524 are the two brothers of those names mentioned in the will, and that this Robert or another Robert, the son of Thomas or Robert, is the Robert Arden of Wilmcote who made the will in 1556, and left a good amount of property to his youngest daughter Mary, one of his co-heiresses, who in the next year became the wife of John Shakespeare." P. 34.

If Mr Hunter had known so much as Mr Halliwell's researches have brought to light, and that THOMAS and ROBERT ARDEN of Wilmecote *were not brothers, but father and son*,

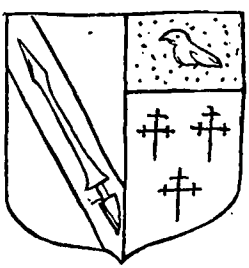
that excellent writer would not merely have surmised, but would have been convinced, that MARY SHAKSPEARE'S father *was* "Robert, the son of Thomas," and we should now have the weight of his great authority in establishing that connection, whereas the Compiler can only hope that he has made the case sufficiently clear. In alluding to the grant from Mayowe in 1501, to THOMAS and ROBERT ARDEN, Mr Halliwell remarks,—"These were ancestors on the mother's side of William Shakespeare, this Robert Arden, or his son, being the individual named in the above deed (*one of* 1550)." *Life*, page 9. That author, therefore, like Mr Hunter, nearly arrived at the true descent, without however seeing the exact degree of relationship between MARY SHAKSPEARE'S father and WALTER ARDEN. The Compiler therefore considers that his version of the Poet's maternal descent would have the sanction of the *late* Mr Hunter, and of an author for whom such a prefix it is to be hoped is far distant.

The Rev. J. C. M. Bellew, in SHAKSPERE'S *Home at New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon*, 1863, derives Mary Shakspeare from Sir John Arden's brother Robert Arden, father of another "Robert Arden, Groom of the Chamber to Henry VII.," father of a third Robert Arden, whose daughter Mary became John Shakspeare's wife. But this pedigree, copied out of Boswell's Malone, and in which dates of births and marriages are entirely assumed, cannot be allowed to stand, since it takes no notice of Thomas Arden, who is expressly shown to be the father of Robert Arden, of Wilmecote, in Mayowe's grant of 1501. Malone's mistake has been repeated by Dr Stebbing, and many other writers to the present day.

DUGDALE, in his *Warwickshire*, under *Curdworth*, page 676, gives the Arden pedigree, and he ascribes to WALTER ARDEN and his wife ELEANOR HAMPDEN, six sons, and two daughters; viz. (Sir) JOHN, MARTIN, THOMAS, ROBERT, HENRY, WILLIAM, ALICE, and ELIZABETH. The four last-named sons are bracketed together. Unfortunately the historian confines his researches, with one exception, to the line of the Park-hall Ardens, beyond that merely stating that MARTIN ARDEN had a daughter ELIZABETH, who was the wife of WILLIAM RUGELEY. "In the Harleian copy (1167, f. 57, 58) of the Visitation of Warwickshire by Lennard and Vincent in 1619, in the British Museum, only Martin of all the brothers

of Sir John Arden is mentioned, with his daughter and heir whom Thomas Gibbons married." HUNTER'S *Prolusions*, page 35. "In another pedigree of Arden, Harl. 1110, f. 25. Walter Arden's sons are said to be John, Martin, Robert, and Henry." *Ib.* page 35, *note*. In the Visitation, Harl. MS. 1167, the sons are called "John, son and heir, Martin 2 son, Thomas, Robert, and Henry." In the Harl. MS. 1563, the sons are "John, Thomas 2 son, Martin 3 son, Robert, and Henry;" f. 21. This entry seems to have escaped Mr Hunter's notice. But the Compiler was not content with the extract from Sir John Arden's will, in which he names his brothers, and with the conflicting statements by the heralds, he therefore searched for the will of the father, WALTER ARDEN, which is only in part quoted by Dugdale, and of which a certified copy will be found in these pages. By this it is evident that THOMAS is the second son, being named before Martin, and next after the eldest son (Sir) John Arden; the testator then speaks of his "other sonnes Robt. Henry and William." The second son, and a son-in-law, are witnesses to the will, viz. "John Charnell and Thomas Ardern Squiers." As the names of Walter Arden's youngest sons, Henry and William, do not appear in the Will of their brother, Sir John Arden, we may conclude that they died before the year 1526.

If it has been satisfactorily proved that Robert Arden of Wilmecote was, as the heralds, the illustrious Camden, and his chief Dethick call him, "a gentleman of worship," and allied to the old house of Arden, it is clear that he was entitled to bear their Arms, whether it should be the usual coat,—*Ermine* a fesse chequy *Or* and *Azure*, or the one with the cross-crosslets; and in support of the tricking in the margin of the draft Grant of 1599, it is but just to mention, that in the College of Arms is a Book marked—"R. 21. on outside, and G. xiij. on inside," wherein is sketched a shield of the well-known arms of "Shakespere impaled with the Aunecyent armes of the said Arden of Willingcote;" and this latter coat is tricked,—Gules three cross-crosslets *Or*, on a chief of the second a martlet of the first. Vide *European Magazine*, Vol. LXX. Page 226.



Sept. 1816. The further objections to the Grant of Arms, as put forth by the writer in the *Herald and Genealogist*, having reference chiefly to John Shakspeare's position, will be discussed hereafter.

Having thus established, it is to be hoped to absolute conviction, that the father of MARY SHAKSPEARE, ROBERT ARDEN, was the son of THOMAS ARDEN, who was the second son of WALTER ARDEN of Park-hall, the recognized descendant of AILWIN, the SAXON VICECOMES, or SHERIFF of WARWICKSHIRE, in the time of Edward the Confessor, it becomes a pleasing task to trace the Family of ARDEN, of whom Mr Drummond says—"There are not many members of the House of Peers of an origin so illustrious" (*Noble British Families*); and from whom have descended, through female heirs, many knightly and noble houses, yet extant, who are thus, as Mr Hunter says, "participators of the blood that flowed in the Poet's veins."

THE FAMILY OF ARDEN OF WARWICKSHIRE.

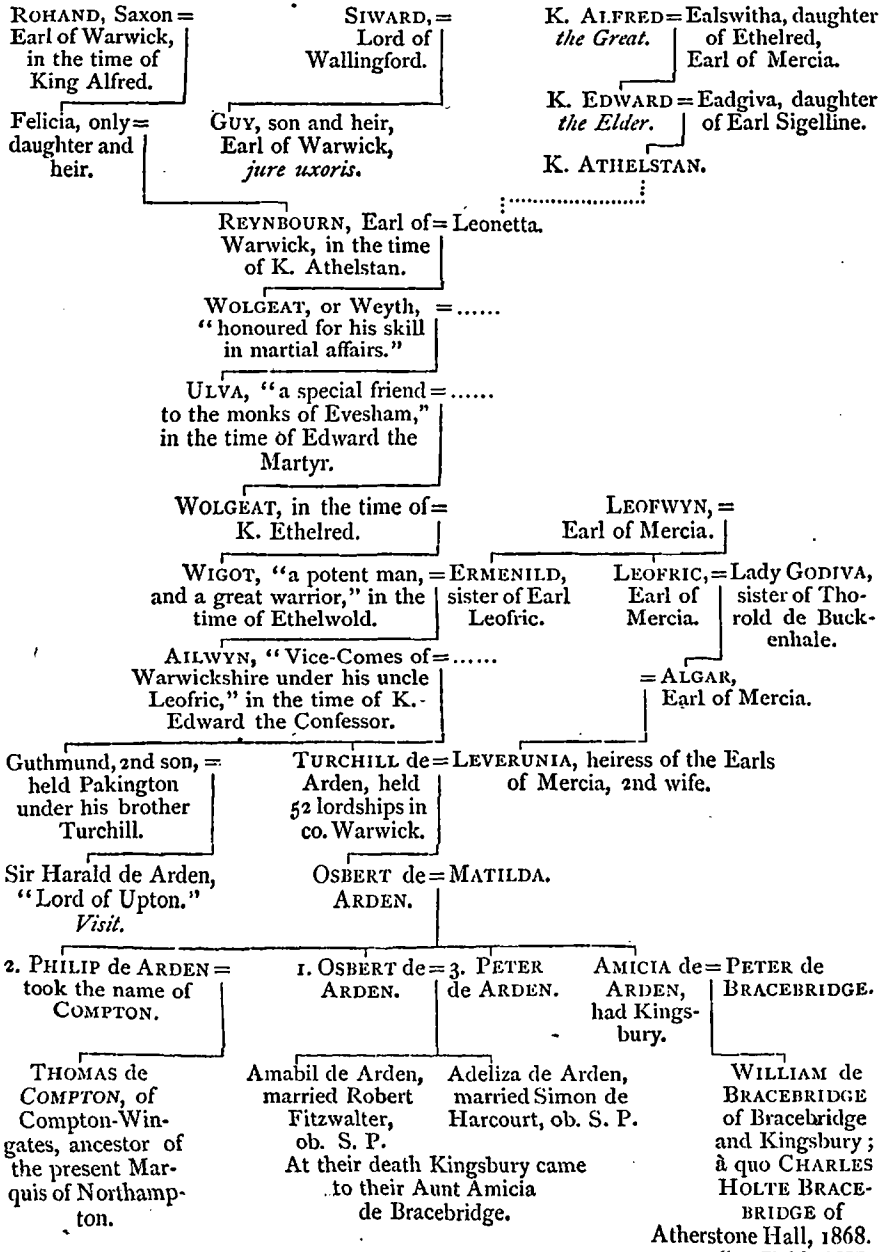
"Ay, now am I in Arden."
As You Like It.

DUGDALE in his *History of Warwickshire*, page 299 (Ed. 1656), relates from the old chroniclers, that in the time of Alfred the Great and Edward the Elder ROHAND was the Saxon Earl of Warwick, who is called "the most valiant of a thousand;" he had an only daughter, FELICIA, who married GUY, son of Siward, lord of Wallingford, and who became, *jure uxoris*, Earl of Warwick. This Guy, whose name is so famous to this day, had a son called REYNBOURNE, who was stolen by foreign merchants, and carried into Russia, and one of Earl Guy's train, called "a gallant knight, Sir Heraud de Arderne," went in search of his young lord. The earl himself also set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and returning in the guise of a Palmer arrived at the court of King Athelstan, at the time, A.D. 926, when he was sorely besieged by the Danes at Winchester, and to whom he would be compelled to become a vassal, unless he could find a champion to overthrow in single combat a gigantic Dane, or "Saracen," called Colbrand. The disguised Palmer enquires of Athelstan if no one among his warriors is willing to encounter the Dane, and the king mournfully answers in the negative, adding—"I had once a valiant knight, which was Earl of Warwick, called Guy, and he had a courageous servant, named Sir Heraud de Arderne, would to God I had him now." The Palmer, after some preparation, for he was weak from travel and sickness, fights with Colbrand, slays him, and then discovers himself privately to the

TABLE VI.

PEDIGREE OF ARDEN OF WARWICKSHIRE.

Compiled chiefly from DUGDALE'S Text and DRUMMOND'S Tables.


ROHAND, Saxon = Earl of Warwick, in the time of King Alfred.
SIWARD, = Lord of Wallingford.
K. ALFRED = Ealswitha, daughter of Ethelred, Earl of Mercia.
the Great.
K. EDWARD = Eadgiva, daughter of Earl Sigelline.
the Elder.
K. ATHELSTAN.
Felicia, only = daughter and heir.
GUY, son and heir, Earl of Warwick, jure uxoris.
REYNBOURN, Earl of = Leonetta.
Warwick, in the time of K. Athelstan.
WOLGEAT, or Weyth, = ... "honoured for his skill in martial affairs."
ULVA, "a special friend = ... to the monks of Evesham," in the time of Edward the Martyr.
WOLGEAT, in the time of = K. Ethelred.
LEOFWYN, = Earl of Mercia.
WIGOT, "a potent man, = and a great warrior," in the time of Ethelwold.
ERMENILD, sister of Earl Leofric.
LEOFRIC, = Earl of Mercia.
Lady GODIVA, sister of Thorold de Buckenhale.
AILWYN, "Vice-Comes of = ... Warwickshire under his uncle Leofric," in the time of K. Edward the Confessor.
= ALGAR, Earl of Mercia.
Guthmund, 2nd son, = held Pakington under his brother Turchill.
TURCHILL de = Arden, held 52 lordships in co. Warwick.
LEVERUNIA, heiress of the Earls of Mercia, 2nd wife.
Sir Harald de Arden, "Lord of Upton." Visit.
OSBERT de = ARDEN.
MATILDA.
2. PHILIP de ARDEN = took the name of COMPTON.
1. OSBERT de = ARDEN.
3. PETER de ARDEN.
AMICIA de = ARDEN, had Kingsbury.
PETER de BRACEBRIDGE.
THOMAS de COMPTON, of Compton-Wingates, ancestor of the present Marquis of Northampton.
Amabil de Arden, married Robert Fitzwalter, ob. S. P.
Adeliza de Arden, married Simon de Harcourt, ob. S. P.
At their death Kingsbury came to their Aunt Amicia de Bracebridge.
WILLIAM de BRACEBRIDGE of Bracebridge and Kingsbury; à quo CHARLES HOLTE BRACEBRIDGE of Atherstone Hall, 1868.
See Table XII.

king, but begs permission to retire from active life, and he became a hermit, fixing his abode at the place since called after him "Guy's Cliff," near Warwick. Of this well-known and charming spot the quaint Fuller speaks in terms of rapture, as "a most delicious place, so that a man many miles riding cannot meet so much variety as there one furlong doth contain.....Many *Hermites* (and Guy Earl of Warwick himself being sequestered from the world) retreated thither." *Worthies.* Vol. II.

DUGDALE relates, after the old chroniclers, that Guy "for three days together took almes at the hands of his own Lady, as one of those xiii poor people unto the which she daily gave relief her self, for the safety of him and her, and the health of both their souls." Page 301.

On the cliff, not far from the church, a gigantic figure was cut out of the rock by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to commemorate the adventure of his ancestor Guy, with—

"Colbrand the giant, that same mighty man,"

as SHAKSPEARE calls the Danish champion, in his *King John.*

Gerard Legh reckons Guy among the *Nine Worthies.* "Duke Josua, Hector, David, Alexander, Judas Machabeus, Julius Cæsar, King Arthur, Charlemayne, and Syr Guy, Earl of Warwick;" and ascribes to Guy for his Arms;—"who beneath Checky *Or* and *Azure* a cheveron *Ermine.*"

Instead of Guy, Earl of Warwick, most writers place Godfrey of Bouillon among the "Nine Worthies," who are sometimes thus curiously classed: "3 Assaralits (*Israelites*); 3 Infidels; 3 Christians." In France, *Les Neuf Preux* were Joshua, Gideon, Samson, David, Judas Maccabeus, Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon. In *Love's Labour's Lost,* SHAKSPEARE introduces Hercules (*in minority*), and Pompey *the big,* in the amusing *Pageant of the Nine Worthies,* where "every one pursents three." Act V. Scene 2.

DUGDALE, under "Guy's Cliffe," page 154, gives a view of that romantic place, and of "the statue of the sometime famous Guy standing here wth in the Chapell of S. Mary Magdalen." His heater-shaped shield has thereon—Chequy *Or* and *Azure* a chevron *Ermine.*

Sir WILLIAM BETHAM in his *Tables* states that Guy's son, "Raynsburg, Earl of Warwick married Leonat, daughter of King Athelstan." The old chroniclers love to record that Athelstan gave his daughter, "the beautiful Lady Leonetta in marriage" to Reynbourn, the son of his deliverer, Earl Guy; this union was the beginning of that alliance with the kings and earls of Mercia, which runs so much in the line of the early Arden pedigree; for King Athelstan's grandfather, Alfred the Great, married Ealswitha, daughter of Ethelred, or Etheland, Lord of Gainsborough, and an earl in Mercia, whose wife Eadburga was daughter of Wigmund (son of Wiglaf, the titular King of Mercia under Egbert), and the Lady Elfled, daughter of Ceolwulf, 16th King of Mercia. BETHAM'S *Tables*, 597—602.

In his Table of the Pedigree of Arden, DUGDALE under *Curdworth*, page 676, only commences with the Saxon Sheriff Ailwin, but Mr DRUMMOND, in his great work, *Noble British Families*, states in his Pedigree of Arden, taking it however from Dugdale's text, that Earl Guy's son REYNBOURNE, who was restored to his home, married Leonetta, "the beautiful daughter of King Athelstan," and their son WOLGEAT, called Weyth the *Humed*, was "a person much honoured for his skill in martiall affairs, and a friend to the monks of Evesham;" his son ULFA, or Uva, a devout man, is called "another special friend to the monks of Evesham," to whom he gave Wixford and Little Grafton, in the reign of Edward the Martyr. DUGDALE, quoting from W. Pierpoint, calls him —"Ufa, potens homo, & Vice-Comes super Warwykeschire;" he died *cir.* 974. Ulfa's son was WULFGEAT, who had his estate taken from him by King Ethelred, in 1006. His son, "a potent man, and a great warrior," in the time of King Ethelred and the Danish kings, named WIGOT, married Ermenild, daughter of LEOFWINE, EARL of MERCIA, sister of Leofric, commonly called Earl of Coventry, and their son was AILWIN, the Vice-Comes, or Sheriff of Warwickshire "under his uncle Leofric," as Dugdale states. Leofric, who is now chiefly known from his connection with Coventry, where he richly endowed an Abbey, and which city his Countess Godiva freed from toll through her famous ride on horseback, held one of the five great earldoms, into which England was almost entirely divided in the Anglo-Saxon times,

having Mercia for his portion, as Northumbria was held by "the warlike Siward" of SHAKSPEARE'S *Macbeth;* and these two powerful nobles were the main supporters of Edward the Confessor against the intrigues of his ambitious father-in-law, Godwin, and his restless sons, Sweyn and Harold, who ruled over the remaining earldoms, Kent, Wessex, and East Anglia.

Under *Clifton*, page 6, DUGDALE says,—"In the time of K. Edward the Conf. this Town was possest by *Alwine*, who is commonly called *Alwinus vicecomes;* a great man in those days, and lineall ancestour to that worthy and long lasting family of *Arden*, that hath flourished ever since in this County, as I shall shew, when I come to Curdworth in Hemlingford Hundred." In *Domesday Survey* it is stated—"Alwin the Sheriff gave Cliptone (*Clifton*) to the Church (of Coventry) with the consent of King Edward and his sons, for the health of his soul, and with the approbation of the County." In the *Visitation of Warwickshire* by Lennard and Vincent, in 1619, *Harl.* MS. 1167 (*Brit. Mus.*[1]), the following heading is placed in the pedigree of Arden, which forms the basis of the Tables of Descent in this Compilation, and the notes of the heralds will be marked by inverted commas, and quoted as "*Visit.*" with the number of the *Harl.* MS. in which they occur. "The house of the Ardens is meerly English of the auncient bloud of the Saxons, and they were before the Conquest lordes of Warwick, and of the most part of Warwicksheire, and although they found some extraordinary favor to enjoy their landes, yet were they continually vexed by the Normans untill they were forced to forgoe a great parte to the Earles of Warwick, and to hold the rest of them by knightes service, from which tyme they lived in good accord with the Earles, and in quiet with the rest." f. 57, in *Harl.* 1167.

From the Sheriff AILWIN Drummond's Pedigree of Arden agrees in most particulars with that in Dugdale, but in both writers there are evidently some generations omitted, which are supplied in the Visitation Tables, and therefore inserted

[1] "*The Visitation of the County of Warwick taken A° 1619 by Samson Lennard Blewmantle & Augustin Vincent Rouge Croix being Marshalls and Deputies for William Camden Clarentiux King of Armes.*" The Compiler takes this opportunity to acknowledge the friendly attentions of Mr R. Rivington Holmes, F.S.A.

in this Compilation, as well as the differences between the historians and the heralds, when the latter give sufficient reasons for the substitution.

"Alwynus, Vice Comes," as he is styled in the Conqueror's survey of Warwickshire, had two sons, TURCHILL, of whom presently, and GUTHMUND, who held a lordship from his brother, as we learn from *Domesday Survey;* "Gudmund holds of Turchil his brother PATITONE," &c. *Great Pakington.* Guthmund's son is called by the heralds, "Sir Harald de Arden, lord of Upton," to whom they give for Arms, "Gules, three cross-crosslets fitchée Or, a chief of the second." DUGDALE alludes to a gift by "Herald son of Gunfrid (*Guthmund*) to Geoffrey de Arden, a monk of Coventry, son of Siward." Of the Sheriff's eldest son Turketil, or TURCHILL, DUGDALE writes,—"This Turchill resided here in Warwick, and had great possessions in this County, when Will. Duke of Normandy invaded England, and vanquisht K. Harold, and though he were then a man of especial note and power yet he did give no assistance to Harold in that Battail, as may easily be seen from the favour he received at the hands of the Conqueror, for by the General Survey begun about the 14. of K. William's Reign, it appears that he then continued possest of vast lands in this Shire, and yet whereof was neither the borough, or castle of Warwick any part." Page 302. It is easy to account for Turchill's not taking part with Harold, for his relations the Earls of Mercia, Leofric and his successors Algar and Morcar, were constantly opposed in arms to Harold, and in fact the kingdom of Mercia, as it may be called, never acknowledged him as King of England (PALGRAVE).

DUGDALE gives the following list of forty-eight lordships belonging to Turchill, and most of the places will be recognized, their names scarcely differing from those in present use; some of these lordships remained in Turchill's posterity for six hundred years. "Curdworth, Eckenhall (*Exhall*), Minworth, Wolfamcote, Rieton (*upon-Dunesmoor*), Pakington, Langdone, Mackstoke, Merston, Elmedone, Dosthill, Wigginshille, Whitacres, Bercheston (*Barston*), Badsley (*-Ensor*), Ledbroke, Caldecote, Rodbourne, Causton, Birdingham (*Birdingbury*), Napton, Fleckno, Hodenhill (*Hodnal*), Willoughby, Bilton, Walcote, Shuckborrow (*Superior*), Newton,

Holme, Church-over, Ashow, Harbury, Baginton, Binley, Weston (*under-Wetherly*), Brandon, Lillington, Radford (*-Semely*), Rotley, Compton (*-Wingates*), Miton, Wimpston (*Wormleighton*), Bericote, Fulredy, Esendone (*Eatington*), Chesterton, Coughton, and Nuneaton." Page 302. To this number should be added—"Rocheberie," now *Rugby*, and "Lilleford," now *Little Lawford*, also Church-Bickenhill, and Sawbridge, making in all fifty-two lordships.

Some of the lordships held by Turchill de Arden had belonged to his father, as stated in *Domesday Survey*. Thus of RIETON (*Ryton-upon-Dunsmoor*), "Ailwin his father held it freely in King Edward's time." Of BARTANESTONE (*Barston*), "Ailmar held it, and by the King's license sold it to Alwin, the sheriff, the father of Turchil." Of FLECKENHO it is said,—"Alwin the Father of Turchil held it." Of LILLEFORD (*Little Lawford*),—"Ailwin held it freely in King Edward's time." Of BERICOTE,—"Alwin, the father of Turchil held it." And of ETONE (*Nuneaton*),—"Alwin held it freely in King Edward's time."

The historian DUGDALE tells us that many of Turchill's possessions were taken from him by King William Rufus, and bestowed with his title of Earl of Warwick upon one of the fortunate Norman captains, Henry de Newburgh, who also assumed as his cognizance,—

"The rampant bear chain'd to the ragged staff,"

of which SHAKSPEARE speaks in the *Second Part of King Henry VI.* Act v. Scene 1; and which was in truth the ancient device of the Arden family, coming to them from Guy, Earl of Warwick. This badge was ever afterwards borne by the holders of the earldom of Warwick, descending, through female heirs, successively to the families of Mauduit, Beauchamp, and Nevill; and the present Earl of Warwick (Greville) has for his crest a sejant Bear chained to a staff raguly. The Bear and Ragged Staff was also a cognizance of the Dudleys, Earls of Warwick, who were descended from the Beauchamps. A break in what may be termed the family descent of the Earldom occurred after the death of Ambrose Dudley, in 1589, when the title was bestowed upon Robert Rich, third Lord Rich, in 1618, but at the death of his descendant, in 1759, the title was given in the same year to the family of Greville, to whom Warwick

Castle had been granted in 1605, and with whom it has since remained. DRUMMOND'S statement that HENRY DE NEWBURGH married MARGARET, the daughter of TURCHILL, is confirmed by the Visitation of 1619,—"Margaret daughter of Turchil and the Countess of Perche married Henry Beaumont, Lord of Newburgh, and first Earl of Warwick, after the Conquest, 1123." *Visit. Harl.* 1167.

It was the policy of the Conqueror that his Norman followers should intermarry with the native English, and thus it frequently happened that when the father was despoiled of his inheritance it was bestowed, with his daughter's hand, upon the new possessor. Stripped of the greater part of his lordships, Turchill retired to that well-wooded side of the Shire, which SHAKSPEARE has rendered so famous, by making it the principal scene of action in his delightful Comedy, *As You Like It;* for although the retreat of the banished Duke in the play is supposed to be the Forest of Ardennes in France, as it is in the original story, Lodge's *Rosalynd,* it is very evident that the Poet was thinking all the time of his Warwickshire wood-land, with which he must have been familiar from boy-hood, and in which he no doubt often roamed:—.

> "Where nightingales in Arden sit and sing
> Amongst the daintie dew-empearlèd flowers,"

as his friend and fellow county-man Michael Drayton says, who thus alludes to the famous Forest:—

> "Muse, first of Arden tell, whose footsteps yet are found
> In her rough woodlands more than any other ground,
> That mighty Arden held even in her height of pride,
> Her one hand touching Trent, the other Severn's side."
>
> *Polyolbion,* Book XIII.

From this part of the Shire, in which Curdworth, Minworth, Barston, Great Packington, &c. are situated, TURCHILL therefore, after the Norman fashion, adopted his surname de Eardean, Arderne, or Arden, by which his posterity was henceforth known. CAMDEN says, "Ex hac Turkillus de Ardern, qui hic floruit magno honore sub Henrico primo, nomen assumpsit." *Britannia,* p. 501, Ed. 1600.

Several places are identified with the famous Forest; as

Henley-in-Arden; Hampton-in-Arden; Stoneleigh-in-Arden; Weston-in-Arden.

TURCHILL was twice married; by his second wife LEVERUNIA, daughter, according to Drummond, of ALGAR, son and successor of LEOFRIC, EARL of MERCIA, he had a son, OSBERT DE ARDEN, whose daughter and heir, AMICE carried the ancient seat of the Mercian kings, called after them Kingsbury, to her husband PETER DE BRACEBRIDGE, of Bracebridge, co. Lincoln, and one of their descendants, ALICE BRACEBRIDGE, became the wife of Sir JOHN ARDEN, Knight, elder brother of THOMAS ARDEN, maternal great-grandfather of WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, and another descendant of PETER and AMICE DE BRACEBRIDGE is the present CHARLES HOLTE BRACEBRIDGE, of Atherstone Hall, Esquire.

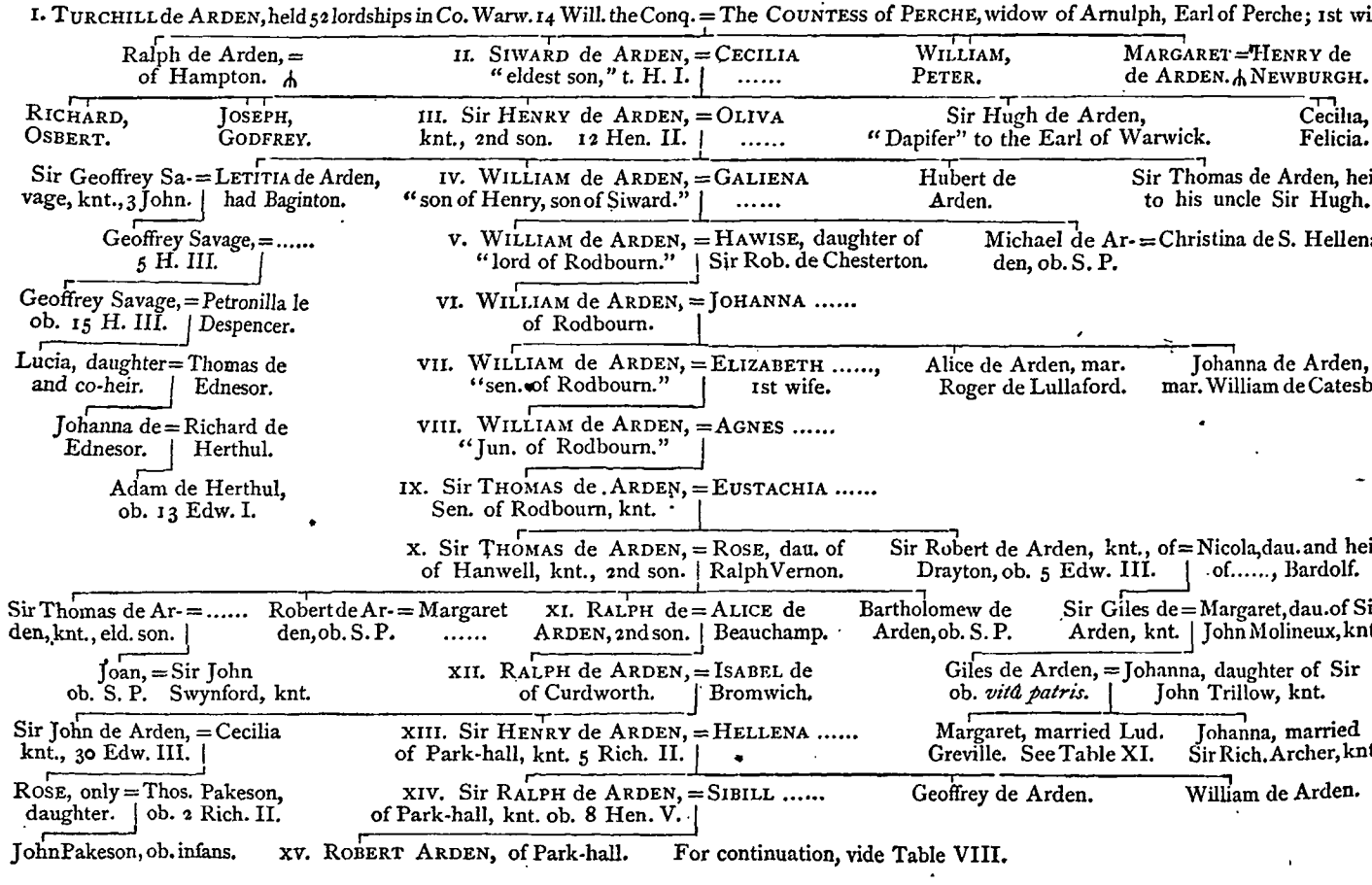
The fact of Turchill being twice married is established by Dugdale's account of the remarkable controversy which sprang up between Sir Thomas de Arden, great grandson of Turchill by the first wife, and John de Bracebridge, great grandson by the second wife, respecting the right to Kingsbury;—"the said Thomas stating that they were both descended from the same stock, viz. from Turchill, yet he claimed nothing thereby, because the said Turchill had two wives, and that it was from the first that the said Thomas descended, but that this land being the inheritance of Leverunia, his second wife, who held it all her life, and after her death Osbert her son, and after him another Osbert that had several daughters, which died without issue, it came to Amicia, their aunt, mother to him, the said John Bracebridge, &c."

TURCHILL DE ARDEN by his first wife, who must be the COUNTESS of PERCHE, had, besides his daughter Margaret already noticed, several sons, of whom Peter became a monk in Thorney Abbey, and Radulph de Arden of Hampton, and William de Arden, who are named as witnesses to a charter from Henry de Clinton to Kenilworth Priory, *temp.* Hen. I., and which their nephew, Sir Henry de Arden, endowed with lands from Baginton (*Monasticon*, vol. VI.). The above-named Radulph, or Ralph, was "Justice Itinerant in 5 Stephen, and 35 Henry II.," DRUMMOND, and had three sons, of whom Roger de Arden by his wife, a daughter of Alan

son of Turfinus, had a son, William de Arden, 5 Hen. III., who by his wife Amicia de Tracy had Sir Hugh de Arden, and two daughters, Olivia de Arden, the wife of Robert le Megre, who had a son William le Megre, and Hawise de Arden, the wife of Richard de Peche, of Wormleigton, co. Warwick, and their son, Sir John, was summoned to Parliament, 14 Ed. 2, 1321, as Baron Peche, of Wormleigton; he was Governor of Warwick Castle, and afterwards of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; this line ended in an heiress, Margaret Peche, who married Sir William de Montfort, of Coleshill.

But the direct male line of Arden is continued by Turchill's "eldest son by his first wife" (Dugdale), SIWARD DE ARDEN, who "had great lands in Arden, and other places in Warwickshire" (*Visit. Harl.* 1167); "Siward gave a mill and some land to the monks of Thorney; he was a witness to divers grants of lands made by Geffrey de Clinton to Kenilworth Priory, of which this latter was the founder." DRUMMOND. By his wife CECILIA (DRUMMOND) Siward had two daughters, Cecilia and Felicia, and several sons, of whom the younger were Richard, Osbert, Joseph, and Guy, or Godfrey, a monk at Coventry; the eldest son was Sir HUGH DE ARDEN of Rotley, Dapifer or Sewer to his kinsman William de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, 1153—1184; he gave a large amount of lands in Curdworth to the Abbey of St Mary de Pré, in Leicester (where Cardinal Wolsey died). In a charter to the Abbey by King Henry the Second, confirming the several grants, that of Sir Hugh is thus noticed:—"Ex dono Hugonis de Ardena ecclesiam de Crudworth, et heremitagium, et nemus de Berwood, cum molendino." *Monasticon*, Vol. VI. p. 466. Another son of SIWARD DE ARDEN, Sir HENRY DE ARDEN, held, in 12 Hen. II., five knights' fees of the before-named Earl of Warwick, as did his brother Sir Hugh. The latter died without issue, but it would appear that he was married, for in a grant to the Nuns of Henwood, in Solihull, of a part of Langdon, t. of Hen. II., by the then lord, Ketelburne, it is stated that it is given "with all customs and liberties in as ample manner as he the said Ketelburne held his own court, with customs and liberties from Hugh de Arden his superior lord;"—and in this charter among the witnesses are "Hugo de Ardena et Adela uxor ejus, et Wil-

TABLE VII., continued from TABLE VI., compiled chiefly from LENNARD and Vincent, Visitation of 1619.


I. TURCHILL de ARDEN, held 52 lordships in Co. Warw. 14 Will. the Conq. = The COUNTESS of PERCHE, widow of Arnulph, Earl of Perche; 1st wife.
Ralph de Arden, = of Hampton.
II. SIWARD de ARDEN, = "eldest son," t. H. I.
CECILIA .....
WILLIAM, PETER.
MARGARET = HENRY de de ARDEN. NEWBURGH.
RICHARD, OSBERT.
JOSEPH, GODFREY.
III. Sir HENRY de ARDEN, = knt., 2nd son. 12 Hen. II.
OLIVA .....
Sir Hugh de Arden, "Dapifer" to the Earl of Warwick.
Cecilia, Felicia.
Sir Geoffrey Savage, knt., 3 John. = LETITIA de Arden, had Baginton.
IV. WILLIAM de ARDEN, = "son of Henry, son of Siward."
GALIENA .....
Hubert de Arden.
Sir Thomas de Arden, heir to his uncle Sir Hugh.
Geoffrey Savage, = ... 5 H. III.
V. WILLIAM de ARDEN, = "lord of Rodbourn."
HAWISE, daughter of Sir Rob. de Chesterton.
Michael de Arden, ob. S. P. = Christina de S. Hellena.
Geoffrey Savage, = Petronilla le ob. 15 H. III. Despencer.
VI. WILLIAM de ARDEN, = of Rodbourn.
JOHANNA .....
Lucia, daughter and co-heir. = Thomas de Ednesor.
VII. WILLIAM de ARDEN, = "sen. of Rodbourn."
ELIZABETH ....., 1st wife.
Alice de Arden, mar. Roger de Lullaford.
Johanna de Arden, mar. William de Catesby
Johanna de Ednesor. = Richard de Herthul.
VIII. WILLIAM de ARDEN, = "Jun. of Rodbourn."
AGNES .....
Adam de Herthul, ob. 13 Edw. I.
IX. Sir THOMAS de ARDEN, = Sen. of Rodbourn, knt.
EUSTACHIA .....
X. Sir THOMAS de ARDEN, = of Hanwell, knt., 2nd son.
ROSE, dau. of Ralph Vernon.
Sir Robert de Arden, knt., of Drayton, ob. 5 Edw. III. = Nicola, dau. and heir of....., Bardolf.
Sir Thomas de Arden, knt., eld. son. = ...
Robert de Arden, ob. S. P. = Margaret .....
XI. RALPH de ARDEN, 2nd son. = ALICE de Beauchamp.
Bartholomew de Arden, ob. S. P.
Sir Giles de Arden, knt. = Margaret, dau. of Sir John Molineux, knt.
Joan, = Sir John ob. S. P. Swynford, knt.
XII. RALPH de ARDEN, = of Curdworth.
ISABEL de Bromwich.
Giles de Arden, = Johanna, daughter of Sir ob. vitâ patris. John Trillow, knt.
Sir John de Arden, knt., 30 Edw. III. = Cecilia
XIII. Sir HENRY de ARDEN, = of Park-hall, knt. 5 Rich. II.
HELLENA .....
Margaret, married Lud. Greville. See Table XI.
Johanna, married Sir Rich. Archer, knt.
ROSE, only daughter. = Thos. Pakeson, ob. 2 Rich. II.
XIV. Sir RALPH de ARDEN, = of Park-hall, knt. ob. 8 Hen. V.
SIBILL .....
Geoffrey de Arden.
William de Arden.
John Pakeson, ob. infans.
XV. ROBERT ARDEN, of Park-hall.
For continuation, vide Table VIII.

lielmus de Ardena et Agnes uxor ejus." *Monasticon*, Vol. v. pp. 210, 212.

Speaking of the Grant by Geoffrey de Clinton to Kenilworth Priory, DUGDALE says that it was confirmed "by Hugh de Arden, and Henry, sons of Siward, with the consent of their other brothers, who in consideration thereof received from Bernard, the first Prior of that House, 10 marks of silver, and for Cecilia their mother one mark." *Warwickshire*, under *Pakington*. Page 724.

SIWARD'S second son, Sir HENRY DE ARDEN, "lord of Rotley and Rodburne in Warwickshire" (*Visit. Harl.* 1167), had by his wife OLIVA, a daughter LETITIA, who carried Baginton to her husband, Sir GEOFFREY SAVAGE, Knight, and three sons, Herbert, of whom nothing is known, Sir THOMAS DE ARDEN, of Rotley (heir to his uncle Sir Hugh), and Sir WILLIAM DE ARDEN, who in 3 King John are both named as witnesses with Geoffrey Savage to an agreement between Waleran de Newburgh, then Earl of Warwick, 1184 to 1205, and Ralph, Lord Basset, regarding the impaling of Drayton-Basset Park. DUGDALE'S *Warwickshire*, page 664.

Part of the dowry of Oliva, the wife of Sir Henry de Arden, was the lordship of Causton, near Dunchurch, and they confirmed a gift by Ingelram Clement to the monastery of Pipewell, in consideration whereof the monks gave to Oliva a palfrey and a cow. DUGDALE'S *Warwickshire*, under *Causton*, page 192. The second son of Sir Geoffrey Savage and Letitia daughter of Sir Henry and Oliva de Arden, was Geoffrey, 2 R. I., and 5 Hen. III., father of a third Geoffrey Savage (obt. 15 Hen. III.), who by his wife Petronilla, daughter of Hugh le Despencer, had three sons, who died S. P., and two daughters, Philippa, who married Hugh de Meinill, and Lucia, who married Thomas de Ednesor, and their daughter Johanna became the wife of Richard de Herthul, and their son Adam de Herthul (obt. 13 E. I.) was father of Sir Richard de Herthul, Knt. (obt. 18 E. II.), whose son was Sir Adam de Herthul, Knt. (obt. 11 E. III.), who had a grandson also called Adam. A Thomas Herthul (qui. obt. 20 Hen. VI.), evidently of the same family, was father of John, who married Agnes, daughter of John Fulwood of Tanworth, and their son John Herthul had a daughter and heir, Margery, who married Richard Palmer. DUGDALE, under *Baginton*, p. 150, and

Wodlow, p. 373. This Richard Palmer may be the ancestor of Robert Arden's friend, Adam Palmer, judging from the Christian name of the latter being thrice found in the Herthul pedigree, and from the intermarryings of Fulwood, Palmer, Trussell, and Herthul.

In the Visitation of 1619, the heralds call a grandson of Thomas de Arden of Rotley, Ralph de Arden of Hampton, and give him three sons, Ralph, an archdeacon, lord of Hampton, Peter, clericus, and Roger de Arden, lord of Hampton-in-Arden, who had two sons, William de Arden, lord of Hampton-in-Arden, and Walter de Arden. They ascribe to William de Arden a son, Hugh de Arden of Hampton and Knoll, 1 H. III., which he held of the Lord Mowbray, 35 H. III., and two daughters, Hawise, ux. Ric. de Peche, and Oliva ux. — le Megre. *Harl.* 1167. These are the same descents which Drummond gives to Ralph de Arden, the Justice Itinerant, whom he calls the son of Turchill. These discrepancies do not affect the main line of male descent of Arden.

The eldest son of Sir HENRY DE ARDEN and OLIVA, Sir THOMAS DE ARDEN of Rotley, had a son of the same name, whose male line ceased with his great grandson, Thomas de Arden, 19 E. I.; who had two sisters, Juliana, wife to Jo. Soare, and Lettice, wife of Sir William Lodbroke, and their son was Sir John Lodbroke. *Visit. Harl.* 1167.

The second son of Sir HENRY DE ARDEN and "OLIVA his wife," was WILLIAM DE ARDEN, "2 son, t. of John, lord of Rodborne," *Visit. Harl.* 1167; "son of Henry, son of Siward," DUGDALE, p. 219; "a great benefactor to the nuns of Henwood," *ib.* who by "GALIENA his wife," had two sons, of whom the second, Michael, married Christiana de S. Hellena, who survived him (*Visit. Harl.* 1167); and the eldest was WILLIAM DE ARDEN, "lord of Rodbourne."

After his statement that the first William de Arden was "a good benefactor to the Nuns of Henwood," DUGDALE continues,—"Neither was he less liberal to the Monks of Combe, as appears by what they had of his gift in this place (Rodbourne). To him succeeded Will. his son and heir, who exceeded his father in bounty to these Monks, for he bestowed on them above 200 acres, and half a yard land, with pasture for 600 sheep, five sows with their pigs, one Boar, 2 teams of

oxen, 5 kyne, with their calves, and one Bull, 2 young Heifers with their Calves, and his Sheep-cotes on the hills for their Sheep, all in this his lordship of Rodbourne. Neither was Michael his son streight-handed to them." Page 219.

The second WILLIAM DE ARDEN, by "HAWISE his wife, buried in the chapel of Henwood"(*Vis.*), had a son, WILLIAM DE ARDEN, who by JOHANNA his wife had a son, WILLIAM DE ARDEN, "senior of Rodbourne," and two daughters, Alice, the wife of Roger de Lullaford, and Johanna, the wife of William Catesby (*Visit. Harl.* 1167). WILLIAM DE ARDEN, "senior," by his first wife ELIZABETH, was father of WILLIAM DE ARDEN, "*junior*," who by his wife AGNES had a son, SIR THOMAS ARDEN of Rodbourne, who married EUSTACHIA —— and had two sons, Sir ROBERT ARDEN of Drayton, and Sir THOMAS ARDEN of Hanwell. *Visit. Harl.* 1167. It will be observed in this descent that there are five generations of the name of William between Sir Henry de Arden (whose wife was Oliva) and Sir Thomas De Arden of Hanwell, whereas DUGDALE only gives one William de Arden as coming between those two knights; but it is evident that he has dropped several generations, as he does not show one during the long reign of Henry III. (56 years); and he places one Arden in 10 John, and his grandson in 23 Ed. III., a difference of 141 years. But it is curious to find that both DUGDALE and DRUMMOND give the five Ardens of the name of William precisely in the order of descent as shown in the Visitation, already quoted, although out of due place; but they stop short with William Arden, *junior*, and they carry on the descents through Thomas de Arden, whom they call a son of the first William de Arden, thus confounding him with the son of the fifth William de Arden, and to whom we now return, viz. Sir THOMAS DE ARDEN of Rodbourne, who by his wife EUSTACHIA had two sons, THOMAS of Hanwell, of whom presently, and Sir ROBERT, the eldest, of Drayton, who is called by DUGDALE in his *Warwickshire*, page 677, Sir Robert de Arden, Knight, Governor of Banbury Castle, 15 E. II., and died 5 E. III. BANKS, however, alluding to the omissions in DUGDALE'S *Baronage*, states that this Robert de Arden was summoned as a Baron to Parliament in 1 Ed. III., as Lord Arden. In the Visitation of 1619, *Harl.* 1167, f. 51, and *Harl.* 1563, f. 51, he is called

Sir ROBERT DE ARDEN of Drayton, Knight, who by his wife Nicola, daughter and heir of — Bardolf[1], had, with a daughter NICOLA, married to Richard, son of Sir Ralph Basset, Kt., a son, Sir GILES DE ARDEN, Knight, whose wife was MARGARET, daughter of Sir JOHN MOLINEUX, Knight, and their son, GILES DE ARDEN, (*obt. vit. pat.*), by his wife, JOHANNA, daughter of Sir JOHN TRILLOW, Knight, had two daughters, his co-heirs, of whom the second, JOHANNA, married Sir RICHARD ARCHER, Knight, and the eldest, MARGARET, married LUDOVICK GREVILL, and their son WILLIAM GREVILL is the ancestor of the Warwickshire family of that name, who became LORDS BROOKE, and EARLS of WARWICK, and who quartered the arms of Arden in consequence of their descent from Sir Robert, or Lord Arden, as will be seen hereafter. Sir RICHARD ARCHER and his wife JOHANNA ARDEN had a daughter JOHANNA, who married Sir JOHN DINHAM, Knight.

"The Inquisition taken at Oxford after the death of Sir Giles Arden, Knight, 5 Ric. II., declares that Margaret and Johanna, daughters of Giles Arden, son of the said Sir Giles Arden, Knight, are heirs of the said Sir Giles Arden, Knight," *Visit. Harl.* 1167. Sir JOHN DINHAM'S second daughter JOAN (by his wife Joan Archer) married JOHN, eighth Lord ZOUCHE of HARRINGWORTH, whose male line ended in Edward, twelfth lord, of whose two daughters and co-heirs, Elizabeth Zouche married Sir William Tate, and from them is descended the present Baroness Zouche, whilst the other co-heir, Mary Zouche, married Sir Thomas Leighton, and their daughter Elizabeth was the wife of Sherrington Talbot, of Laycock, whose descendant in the fifth generation, Martha Talbot, married the Rev. William Davenport, D.D., and their daughter Mary became the first wife of John Shakespear, son of Alderman John Shakespear, of Shadwell." See TABLE XIII.

The male line of Arden is carried on by Sir Robert's brother, viz. Sir THOMAS ARDEN, of Hanwell, knighted 5 Ed. I., who married ROSE, daughter of RALPH VERNON of Hanwell, by whom he had four sons, of whom the younger,

[1] Agnes Beauchamp, one of the daughters of Thomas third Earl of Warwick, married first — Cooksey, and secondly — Bardolf.

Robert and Bartholomew, are only noticed by name in their mother's settlement; the eldest son was Sir THOMAS ARDEN, "miles, ob^{t}. sine hærede mascula" (*Visit. Harl.* 1167), but having a daughter, ROSE, who married Sir JOHN SWYNFORD, Kt. The remaining and second son, RALPH ARDEN, continues the male line. His mother, Rose Vernon, "gave in her widowhood to Ralph her son her manor of Pedimore and lands in Curdworth, Minworth, Moxhull, Echenours, and Overton, held of William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Matilda his wife." *Visit. Harl.* 1167.

The name of RALPH ARDEN'S wife is not given by DUGDALE and DRUMMOND in their Pedigree Tables, but this omission may be supplied by a statement in DUGDALE'S *Baronage*, under *Beauchamp of Essex*, that a RALPH DE ARDERNE married ALICE, one of the five sisters and co-heirs of STEPHEN DE BEAUCHAMP, of Fairstead, Essex, allied to the great house of BEAUCHAMP, EARLS of WARWICK; and this marriage is confirmed by what will be stated presently.

BANKS, in his *Peerage*, Vol. I. page 31, Ed. 1807, under *Beauchamp of Essex*, names four sisters of Stephen de Beauchamp, *scil.* Isold, wife of Richard de Subarie; Maud of William de Wastail; Alice of Ralph de Ardern; and Idonea of Henry D'Aunay. Their father, Stephen de Beauchamp, who married Isolda de Ferrers, eldest daughter of Robert, first Earl of Derby of that name, was the son of Walter Beauchamp, Baron of Elmly. However, RALPH ARDEN was father of another RALPH ARDEN, who was "in 17 Ed. II., certified to be one of the principal Esquires in this County." DUGDALE, 678. He married ISABEL, daughter and heir of ANSELM DE BROMWICH, co. Warwick (DUGDALE); "Isabella soror Will^{mi}. Bromwich" (*Visit. Harl.* 1167), by whom he had two sons, Sir John Arden of Curdworth, "miles 30 Ed. III.," who by his wife Cecilia had an only daughter and heir, Rose, who married Thomas Pakeson, who "was attainted for felony 43 E. III., and dyed 2 R. II., leaving John his son, 7 years of age." DUGDALE, page 677. This son probably died soon after, or he would no doubt have been restored in blood and estate. Rose Pakeson in her widowhood released her interests to her uncle; this was the second son of Ralph and Isabel Arden, Sir HENRY ARDEN of Park-hall, who in 4 Ric. II. had a release from his niece, the said Rose, "of all

her interest to the manours of Pedimore, and the lands in Curdworth, Minworth, Sutton, and Moxhull, of her father's inheritance." DUGDALE, page 678. The same writer says, at page 685, under *Moxhull*, which is a member of Curdworth,—"John de Blaygreve in 30 E. III. payd to Sir *John de Arden*, K^t^. and *Henry* his brother, Executors to *Raph de Arden* their father, the sum of vi*s*. viii*d*. for reasonable Aid due upon the marriage of Sibell his eldest daughter, in respect of the lands in Moxhull, which he held of him by military service, and at the same time xxxiii*s*. iiii*d*. for a relief due to the before specified Raph for those lands." Sir HENRY DE ARDEN seated at Park-hall in Curdworth, and which long remained with his descendants, became a Commissioner for preserving the peace of the county, 48 Ed. III.; the next year was knighted, "and having," Dugdale says, "a special relation to Thomas de Beauchamp, then Earl of Warwick, obtained from him in 1 Rich. II., in consideration of his good and acceptable service done and to be done, a grant of the manors of Crome-Adam and Grafton-Flenorth in Worcestershire, to hold for life, paying only a Red Rose at the Feast of the Nativity of S^t^. John the Bapt. for all services."..... In 5 Richard II., "he was joined in commission with the Earl of Warwick and others to suppress the rebels in the county (*this was the rising of Jack Straw*), and left issue Ralph, who was one of the retinue of the before specified Earl at the siege of Calais; he died 8 Hen. V., whereupon Joan Beauchamp, lady of Bergavenny, had the custody of Robert his son, then but eight years of age." Page 678. This extract seems to justify placing the name of ALICE, daughter of STEPHEN DE BEAUCHAMP, for the wife of Sir HENRY DE ARDEN'S grandfather, RALPH ARDEN, and it accounts for his grandson, Robert Arden, being made a ward of Joan Beauchamp. In the Visitation of 1619, Ralph Arden's wife is called "Alicia filia de Bellocampo." *Harl.* 1167. And in confirmation of this alliance between Arden and Beauchamp we may be allowed to notice a bequest in the will of Elizabeth, Lady Latimer, 28 Sept. 1480,—"also my god-daughter Elizabeth Arden V marks of money." Sir N. H. NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. I. p. 361. Lady Latimer was a daughter of Richard Beauchamp, fifth Earl of Warwick, and her god-child was probably the daughter

of Walter Arden, of Park-hall, who became the wife of Walter Leveson. See TABLE VIII. DRUMMOND and the heralds (*Visit. Harl.* 1167) mention two sons of Sir Henry Arden not in DUGDALE'S Tables, Geoffrey and William; and a coat of arms is ascribed to him in Lapworth Church,—*Ermine*, a fesse chequy *Or* and *Azure*, in the dexter chief a crescent *Gules*. One of the incumbents of the living of Lapworth was Robert Arden, M.A., who was presented by the Patrons, Merton College;—"Magr. Rob. Arden in Art. Magr. 7 maii, 1488." DUGDALE, page 587.

The son of Sir HENRY DE ARDEN, "RALPH ARDEN, miles, confirmed to his mother HELLEN for life the manors of Park-hall, Castle Bromwich, Pedimore, and lands in Curdworth, Minworth, and Aston, dated 7 H. IV." *Visit. Harl.* 1167. He also assigned to his mother, the said Helene, the manors of Wapenham and Sulgrave in co. Northampton, during her life, with a remainder of Wapenham to his brother Geoffrey and his heirs male, and of Sulgrave to his brother William for life. *Visit.* Sir RALPH ARDEN'S son, by his wife SIBILL, ROBERT ARDEN, born 1 Hen. V., 1413, became Sheriff for the counties of Leicester and Warwick in 16 Henry VI., 1438, and Knight of the shire of Warwick, 29 Hen. VI., 1451; but taking part against the House of Lancaster, in the beginning of the civil wars of that reign, he was attainted in 1452, as DUGDALE relates;—"Robert Arden sided with the Yorkists in those quarrels whereof our Historians make ample mention, and attempted the raysing forces in Shropshire, but being laid hold on before their success at S. Albans had made them so powerful, he was attainted of high Treason by *James*, Earl of Wiltshire, Richard Bingham, and John Portington, Judges appointed to try him and others of that party, and lost his life for the same offence on Saturday next after the Feast of S. Lawrence the Martyr, 30 Hen. VI., the custody of his lands being committed to Thomas Littleton, Serjeant-at-Law, Thomas Greswould, and John Gamell, Esquires." Page 678. The heralds, Lennard and Vincent, express their opinion very strongly upon the death of this Robert Arden; they thus record under his name in their Table of descent, *Harl.* MS. 1167, f. 57;—"Robert Arden of Parkhall in the parish of Curdworth attainted by H. VI., the usurping king, because he took part

TABLE VIII., continued from TABLE VII.

XV. ROBERT ARDEN, Sheriff, co. Leic. and Warw. 16 Hen. VI., ob. 1452, "relinquens 7 prole." *Visit.* = ELIZABETH, dau. and sole-heir of RICHARD CLODSHALE, Sheriff co. Leicester, 4 Hen. VI. Brought the Manors of Saltley, Water-Orton and Pedimore.

XVI. WALTER ARDEN, of Park-hall, restored by Edw. IV., ob. 1502. = ELEANOR, daughter and co-heir of JOHN HAMPDEN, of Great Hampden, by his wife ELIZABETH, daughter of Sir JOHN WHALESBOROUGH, Knt.

- 2. THOMAS. 4. ROBERT. 5. HENRY. 6. WILLIAM.
- MARTIN ARDEN, 3rd son, of Euston. = MARGERY, daughter of HENRY EAST, of Yardley.
- XVII. Sir JOHN ARDEN, of Park-hall, Knt., Esquire of the body to Hen. VII., ob. 1526. Eld. son and heir. = ALICE, daughter of RICHARD BRACEBRIDGE, of Kingsbury.
- JOYCE ARDEN, mar. JOHN CHARNELLS, of Snarston.
- ELIZABETH ARDEN, mar. WALTER LEVESON.
- MARGARET, ALICE. (*Dugdale.*)

THOS. GIBBONS, 2nd husb. = ELIZABETH ARDEN. THOMAS GIBBONS. = WILLIAM RUGELEY, 1st husb., ob. S. P.

XVIII. THOMAS ARDEN, of Park-hall, eldest son and heir, ob. 1562. = MARY, daughter of Sir THOMAS ANDREWS, of Cherwelton, Knt.

JOHN ARDEN, 2nd son, ob. 17 Hen. VIII. S. P. M.

- SIMON ARDEN, of Longcroft, 2nd son, see Table X.
- JOYCE ARDEN, mar. RICHARD CADE, of London.
- ELIZABETH ARDEN, married Beauprée.
- XIX. WILLIAM ARDEN, of Park-hall, eldest son, ob. *vita patris*, 1545. = ELIZABETH, daughter of EDW. CONWAY, of Ragley, by his w. Anne, d. & h. of Richard Burdett.
- MARY ARDEN, mar. THOMAS WAFERER.
- CICELY ARDEN, mar. HENRY STIRLEY.
- 3. RICHARD. 4. EDWARD. 5. GEORGE.

FRANCIS ARDEN, 2nd son, of Pedimore. = ...daughter and heir of EDMUND FOX.

- BRIDGET ARDEN, mar. HUGH MASSEY.
- XX. EDWARD ARDEN, of Park-hall, eldest son, ob. 1584, attainted. = MARY, dau. of Sir ROBERT THROCKMORTON, Knt., by his w. Muriel, d. of Thos. Ld. Berkeley.
- ANNE ARDEN, m. John Barmesley of Barmesley.
- BARBARA ARDEN, m. RICH. NEVILL, son of John, Ld. Latimer.
- JOYCE ARDEN, m. JOHN LODBROKE.

- 2. THOMAS. 3. GEORGE. 4. FRANCIS. 5. JOHN. KATHERINE ARDEN. = Sir EDWARD DEVEREUX, Knt., Bart.
- MARGARET ARDEN. = JOHN SOMERVILLE.
- XXI. ROBERT ARDEN, of Park-hall, eldest son, ob. 1635. = ELIZABETH, daughter of REGINALD CORBET, Ju. Com. Pl. by his wife Alice Gratewood, niece and co-heir of Sir Rowland Hill, Knt.
- MURIEL ARDEN. = WILLIAM CHARNELLS, of Snarston.
- ELIZABETH ARDEN. = SIMON SHUCKBURGH, of Shuckburgh.

Sir Edw. Devereux, Knt., 3rd son, *à quo* the present Visc. Hereford, 1867.

Alice, ux. — Arden. Elizabeth. ux. Tho. Warwick.

XXII. Sir HENRY ARDEN, of Park hall, knighted by James I., ob. *vita patris*, 1625. = DOROTHY, daughter of BASIL FIELDING, of Nuneham Park.

MARGARET ARDEN. = WALTER FERRERS.

- 1. ELIZABETH ARDEN. = Sir WILLIAM POLEY, Knt. of Boxtead.
- 2. GODIVA = Sir HERBERT PRICE, Knt. had Park-hall, which was sold by their representatives to Sir John Bridgman, Knt., 1637.
- XXIII. ROBERT ARDEN, last of the male line of Park-hall, ob. Cœlebs, 1643.
- 3. DOROTHY ARDEN. = Col. HERVEY BAGOT.
- 4. ANNE ARDEN, had Saltley. = Sir CHARLES ADDERLEY, Knt.
- CHRISTIAN ARDEN. = THOMAS BASIL. *Drummond.*

SUSAN POLEY, mar. 1st Anthony Massey, 2nd Richard Savage.

XXIV. ARDEN BAGOT, *à quo* the Rev. RALPH BAGOT, of Pipe Hayes.

XXIV. ARDEN ADDERLEY, *à quo* Rt. Hon. CHARLES BOWYER ADDERLEY, M. P. 1868.

with Richard Duke of York, true heir of the crown, and was cruelly executed at Ludlow."

It was very natural that Robert Arden, from his connection with the Beauchamps, should take part with the Duke of York, whose wife, Cicely Nevill, was aunt to "the King-Maker," the great Earl of Warwick, who then held that title in virtue of his having married Lady Anne Beauchamp. At the end of the note of Robert Arden's fate the heralds add,—"relinquens 7 prole;"—but only name one son, Walter. It is highly probable that one of the children was Robert Arden, who was presented to the Rectory of Lapworth in 1488.

ROBERT ARDEN, of Park-hall, was patron of the living of Barcheston, one of Turchill's lordships, and presented to it Thomas Stockton in 1439, and Thomas Pyjon in 1449. He married ELIZABETH, only daughter and heir of RICHARD DE CLODSHALE, Sheriff co. Leicester, 4 Hen. VI., of an old family settled at Saltley, co. Warwick, which manor Elizabeth brought to her husband, together with that of Water-Orton.

The only issue of ROBERT and ELIZABETH ARDEN named in the Visitation is a son, WALTER ARDEN, in whom we behold the undoubted maternal ancestor of the Poet, and from this time we fortunately have some valuable records, if not all still in existence, yet preserved to us in the pages of DUGDALE, who in his *Warwickshire*, under *Aston-juxta-Birmingham*, has given illustrations of most interesting memorials of Walter Arden and his family; some of which, alas! have disappeared for ever, which is the more to be regretted because they must have perished through neglect, and from ignorance of their value as records of an old family of great renown.

In the church of St Peter and St Paul, at Aston, near Birmingham, WALTER ARDEN was buried, according to the directions in his will; and his high position in the county, notwithstanding his father's attainder, is proved by the fact that there were no less than three separate memorials to him in Aston Church, of which more presently, as it is necessary first to allude to his marriage and children. In the Visitation of 1619, the heralds state,—"Walter Arden on his supplication restored by Ed. IV., and recovered lands as the true heir of Roger de Bishopton, his antecessor." *Harl.* 1167.

WALTER ARDEN'S mother was fourth in descent from WALTER DE CLODSHALE, who married ALICE, the daughter

and heir of ROGER DE BISHOPTON. Walter Arden's wife belonged to a family of great historic renown; she was ELEANOR, second daughter and co-heir of JOHN HAMPDEN, of Great Hampden, co. Bucks., ancestor of his distinguished namesake, the Patriot in the Commonwealth days. This alliance deserves especial notice; the above-named JOHN HAMPDEN, Sheriff co. Bucks. and Beds., 29 Hen. VI., 1451, married ELIZABETH, third daughter and co-heir of Sir JOHN WHALESBOROUGH, Knight, of Whalesborough, co. Cornwall, whereof he was Sheriff, 37 Hen. VI., and to this marriage the historian of the House of Hampden alludes, as—"an occasion of great alliance to the House of Hampden by means of sondery great famylies whereof she was descended, especially by the marriages of her three sisters, whereof Ermanye the eldest was married to the Lord Scales; Anne the second, first to the Lord Moleyns, and after to Sir Edmond Hampden, brother to the said John; and Alice the youngest to one Fitz-Rauff, a Knight of Herefordshire:"—quoted in LIPSCOMB'S *History of Buckinghamshire*, Vol. II. page 231. Sir Edmond Hampden, above-named, was Chamberlain to Edward Prince of Wales, son of King Henry VI., and was slain at Tewkesbury, 1471. He and his brother, John Hampden, were sons of EDMUND HAMPDEN, Knight of the Shire of Bucks, 1, 3, and 4 Hen. IV., and 3 Hen. V., whose wife was JOAN, daughter of Sir ROBERT BELKNAP, Knight, co. Warwick.

The family of Belknap held a high position. Edward Belknap was Sheriff co. Leicester, 17 Hen. VII. Sir Edward Belknap, probably the Sheriff, was one of the Masters of the Ordnance in 1514, and at the Meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520, he was one of four knights, "Messire Edouart Belknap, Messire Nicolas Vaux, Messire Johan Peche, Messire Morice Barquely, qui donneront Ordre aux Gentilz Hommes tant en marchant que eulx arretez a l'Entreveue de deux Roys." Dr DUCAREL, *Anglo-Norman Antiq.* Ed. 1769. p. 46.

The Lord Scales, before-named, is the character of that title in the Poet's *Second Part of King Henry VI.*, wherein he appears as the Guardian of the Tower of London at the time of Jack Cade's rebellion.

The name of "Th. Hamden of Hamden," appears in one

of the very few Writs issued in the short reign of Edward the Fifth, calling upon certain members of good family "to receive Order of Knighthood at his Coronation to be solempnised the XXII Day of this present Moneth." Dated V day of June, 1483. RYMER'S *Fœdera*, Vol. XII. page 1856.

As the Compiler is not aware that Walter Arden's will has ever been published, *in extenso*, and as it has an important bearing upon some points in dispute, it is here set forth from a certified copy procured by him from Doctors' Commons.

"IN THE NAME OF O^r^ LORD GOD Amen, the last day of the moneth of Juyll in the yer of our Lord God m^o^ vij^c^.[1] and in the yere and reigne of Kinge Henry the vij^th^ the xvij. I Water Arderne Esquire sike in my body as Neverthelesse I have sufficiently my minde make this my p'sent Testament and last Will in man' and forme followinge, First I bequeth my soule to Almyghtie God the Holy Trinity, the fader, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, and oure Lady Saint Marye moder crist, and to all the Holy companye of Hivn, and my body to be buryed in the Churche of Saint Peter and Paule of Aston beside Byrmyngh'm, Also I bequeath to the Vicar of Aston for my mortuarye any thithes forgotin my best Oxe, and to the Cathedrall church of Coventr' and light iij^s^. iiij^d^. and that att the tyme of my buriall be made vj. torches and xij lb. waxes to be made in light, And vj. poore men to have vj. blak guones to bere the said vj. torchies, this to be doon w^t^ part of xx^te^ marks that was awarded to be paid to me by my Sonne John for my buriell, And the residue therof to be disposed by myn Executrix at myn exequies for my soule and all cristin soules, And I will also that a Trentall of Masses be doon for my soule, the soules of my fader and moder and all cristin soules, And I will that my sonne Thomas have dureing his lief x marcs whiche I have givin to him. And that my sonne Martyn have the Maner of Natfeld dureing his lief according as I therof made hym estate yf it canne be recorded, And if not thenne I will that the same Martyn and eny of my other sonnes Robt Henry and William have eche of theym v m'rcs by yer duryng

[1] A. D. 1502.

eche of ther lifes. And that my feoffees of my landes make eche of them a sufficient astate of landes and tenements to the yearely value of v m'rcs duryng eche of ther lifs. And I will that my Wife Elianore have the Man' and place of the Logge and all Landes medewes pastures and Woods thereto lying duryng her lief. And that my feoffees thereof make to hir a sufficient astate duryng the same time. And I geve to the same my Wife all my goods and Cattells. And the same Elianore my Wife of this p'sent Testament and last Will I make my soole Executrix, and Edward Besknap and John Berybrigge Squires and John Butteler of Solyhull to ou'see this my Testament and last Will to be p'formed. These Witnesseth Richard Styeke Vicar of Aston, John Charnell and Thomas Ardern Squires, Richard Wright Prest, John Styeke Prest, Henry Badeley, Richard. Flecher, William Waleyce, Thomas Sandland, Thomas Bull, and other, the day and yere aboue said. Sealed with my seal."

"Probatum fuit sup' scriptum testamentum apud Lambith. *Extracted from the principal Registry of Her Majesty's Court of Probate. In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.*"

DUGDALE and DRUMMOND agree in ascribing to WALTER ARDEN and his wife ELEANOR six sons and two daughters; the latter, according to those writers, were MARGARET, and ALICE, and the sons, JOHN, MARTIN, THOMAS, ROBERT, HENRY, and WILLIAM; these sons are all named in Walter Arden's will, but THOMAS, who in the Compiler's belief is the grandfather of MARY SHAKSPEARE, is evidently the second son. In Lennard and Vincent's *Visitation* of 1619, two other daughters of WALTER ARDEN are called JOYCE the wife of JOHN CHARNELLS (a witness of Walter Arden's will) of Snarston, co. Leicester, and ELIZABETH, the wife of WALTER LEVESON of Wolverhampton, *Harl.* 1563, f. 33. Walter Leveson was descended from Richard, son of Walter Leveson, *temp.* Ed. I. from whose eldest son John are derived the Levesons (Gower) of Titsey Park, Surrey. See *Visitation Harl.* 14,311. John Charnells was of an old Warwickshire family which intermarried several times with Arden and Bracebridge, seated at Bedworth, *temp.* H. III. of which they were lords, presenting to the living, from 1300 to 1400.

In Aston Church (near Birmingham), which is only a few miles from Park-hall, the seat of the Ardens, were the following memorials to WALTER ARDEN, which are engraved in DUGDALE'S *Warwickshire;* viz. a fine sepulchral brass, and a noble raised, or "altar-tomb;" and he describes a stained-glass window thus, in the Erdington Chantry, page 641 :—"In one of the like windows on the North side are the portraitures of the same *Walter Ardern* and *Alionore* his wife, kneeling, whose monument is in the Chancell; and in the same surcoats of Armes as there upon are exprest. Over his head is this scroule, Jesu fili Dei miserere mei. Over her, Mater Dei memento mei. And under them both, this written, Orate pro bono statu Walteri Arderne armigeri et Elionore uxoris ejus." This highly interesting family record has disappeared since DUGDALE described it.

In the midst of the Chancel floor was a sepulchral brass, figured in DUGDALE, representing the effigies of WALTER ARDEN and his wife ELEANOR, with this inscription round the four sides of the slab, in Old English text:—

"Of your charyte pray for the sowlis of Walter Arderne squyer and Elianore his wyf: the which Walter deceased the fyfth day of August in the yeare of our lord God a thousand and fyve hundred and two, on whose sowlys almighty Jhū have mercy. Amen."

WALTER ARDEN is represented bare-headed, but otherwise in a complete suit of plate-armour, over which is his surcoat, *Ermine* a fesse chequy *Or* and *Azure;* in the sinister corner is a shield with the arms of HAMPDEN impaling WHALESBOROUGH; in the dexter corner a shield with the arms of ARDEN. In base is a shield of eight quarters; 1. ARDEN; 2. CLODSHALE; 3. HAMPDEN; 4. WHALESBOROUGH; 5. HAMPDEN; 6. WHALESBOROUGH; 7. ARDEN; 8. CLODSHALE. Beneath the feet of WALTER ARDEN is a small brass plate with the figures of his sons, who are therein seven in number, being one more than recorded in the Pedigree Tables: the corresponding brass plate for the daughters was lost, but the indent on the stone shows that one formerly existed, and the space is just sufficient for four children.

But the most prominent memorial to WALTER ARDEN was a raised tomb, formerly placed in the body of Aston Church, but since DUGDALE'S time removed to the North wall of the Chancel. Upon it are the full-length recumbent effigies in alabaster of WALTER ARDEN and his wife ELEANOR HAMPDEN (which are well engraved in DRUMMOND'S *Noble British Families*, although he omits the coats of arms on the shields); WALTER ARDEN is represented in a complete suit of plate-armour, with his surcoat, and his wife in the costume of the period; Walter Arden's feet rested upon a boar, the crest of the family, and those of his wife on a dog; the figures are somewhat mutilated. In front of the tomb DUGDALE shows two rows of shields, six in each tier, whereof those in the lower range are quite plain, but those in the upper row were charged with the arms of five successive generations of Arden. The series is a valuable help to the genealogist, confirming the pedigrees in DUGDALE, DRUMMOND, and the Visitation of 1619. The first shield has the arms of ROBERT ARDEN, father of Walter Arden, viz. *Ermine*, a fesse chequy *Or* and *Azure*, impaling CLODSHALE, *Gules* nine estoiles, 3, 3, and 3, between two bars undée *Or*. On the second shield are the arms of WALTER ARDEN, as before, impaling those of his wife, viz. two coats, *Argent* a saltier *Gules* between four eagles displayed *Azure*, for HAMPDEN, impaled with—*Argent* three bends within a bordure *Sable* bezantée, for WHALESBOROUGH. The third shield is for Walter's eldest son and heir, Sir JOHN ARDEN, who carried on the line of the Parkhall Ardens, and which it is necessary to pursue before coming to the junior branches. In speaking of John Arden's marriage it is proper to point out the mistake of the heralds, in the pedigree of Arden in *Harl.* 1110, f. 25, who make out the wife of Walter Arden to be "a daughter to Willm. Brassbrige of Kilesbury in com. Warwick, Esq.;" evidently mistaking the father for the son. DUGDALE gives a curious account of JOHN ARDEN'S marriage, when he must have been under age:—"This *Walter* left issue *John Arden*, his son and heir, one of the Esquires of the Body to K. H. VII., which *John* wedded Alice, daughter to *Ric. Bracebridge* of Kingsbury, Esq. But concerning this marriage there arose no small difference betwixt the Parents on each side: *Walter Arden* (the Father) alledging that the said Richard and his servants had

stolen away his son. Howbeit at length by a reference to Sir *Simon Mountfort* of Coleshill, Kt. and Sir *Ric. Bingham* (the Judge who then lived at Middleton), it was determined that the marriage should be solemnized betwixt them in February 13, Ed. 4 (1472–3); and in consideration of CC marks portion, a convenient jointure settled; as also that for the trespass done by the said *Richard* Bracebridge in so taking away the young gentleman, he should give to the before specified Walter Arden the best Horse that could by him be chosen in Kingsbury Park." Page 678.

The family of BRACEBRIDGE is one of very old standing in the County; we have seen that PETER de BRACEBRIDGE married a granddaughter of TURCHILL de ARDEN, and her grandmother Leverunia inherited Kingsbury as the representative of the Mercian Earls, who had a palace at that place, of which the tradition still lingers. "That this place in the Saxon times was a seat belonging to some of the *Mercian* kings is not to be doubted, the *name* itself importing no lesse." DUGDALE, page 759. In *Domesday Survey* we find,—"The Countess (Godiva) held Chinesberie (Kingsbury)....In King Edward's time it was worth 6 pounds, and afterwards 7 pounds, now 13 pounds by weight[1]." This lordship remained in the family of Bracebridge until the reign of Elizabeth, when it was sold to —— Cave; afterwards it was purchased by the late Sir Robert Peel, Bart., whilst the lineal descendant and representative of the family, CHARLES HOLTE BRACEBRIDGE, Esquire, of Atherstone Hall, co. Warwick, still retains a rent-charge of £40. *per annum*, which he explains in a letter to the Compiler,—"the parish is divided into three farms, which with the Hall and Mill make five shares of quit-rent (*olim* £43), now £40." Mr Bracebridge also describes the present hall at Kingsbury;—"The house is of Henry 7th's time, built with its great manor-court chamber within a fortress, of which the curtain wall and the octagonal towers remain, probably of the time of King John."

The third shield on the Aston tomb belongs to Sir JOHN ARDEN, whose arms, as before, impale those of BRACEBRIDGE; viz. Vaire, *Argent* and *Sable*, a fesse *Gules*. This JOHN ARDEN, knighted and otherwise rewarded by Henry VII., is the person

[1] Probably a multiple of 100 will express the value of money at the time of Domesday Survey.

alluded to by all biographers of SHAKSPEARE as the great-uncle, or great-great-uncle of the Poet's mother, although they are not aware from which of his brothers she is descended. Sir John Arden died in 1526, having in his will bequeathed to Aston Church, for his "Mortuary or cors presente a black gelding ambling;" and also "for tithes and offerings negligently forgotten iij^{s}. iiij^{d}.;" and also his "white Harneis complete." Sir John Arden enlarged the Park at the family seat by the purchase of 150 acres of meadow land, 2 Hen. VIII.; and at his death the estate at Curdworth came to his eldest son and heir, THOMAS ARDEN. DUGDALE, in his *Warwickshire*, under *Langley*, page 499, says of that manor, which had belonged to the Trillow family,—"John Arden of Park-hall, Esquier, after the marriage of Thomas his son and heir, settled it (*inter alia*) upon him.....which Thomas in 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary levied a fine thereof." Thomas Arden married MARY, daughter of Sir THOMAS ANDREWS, of Cherwelton, co. Hants., Knight, by whom he had, with four daughters, five sons, WILLIAM the eldest and heir, SIMON, RICHARD, EDWARD, and GEORGE, who was a captain in the army, and was killed at Dunkirk. The second son, SIMON ARDEN, Sheriff, co. Warwick 11 Eliz. purchased the manor of Longcroft, in the parish of Yoxall, co. Stafford, where his lineal descendant, WILLIAM ARDEN, Esquire, resides at the present date, 1868, whose pedigree will be alluded to hereafter, as he and his elder brothers now represent the male line of the old Warwickshire family of the Ardens.

The four daughters of THOMAS and MARY ARDEN were, 1. JOYCE, the wife of RICHARD CADE, of London; 2. ELIZABETH, married to — BEAUPREE of Wales; 3. CICELY, to HENRY STIRLEY, of Woodburne, co. Notts.; and 4. MARY, the wife of THOMAS WAFERER, of London. LENNARD and VINCENT. *Visitation* 1619. *Harl.* 1563. Glover ascribes *Arms* to "Wafferer," Beaupree, Stirley, and Cade of Romford, Greenwich, and Derbyshire.

The fourth shield on the Aston tomb bears the arms of THOMAS ARDEN, as before, who died 5 Eliz. 1563, impaling ANDREWS, viz. *Gules* a saltier *Vert* fimbriated *Or*.

The eldest son of THOMAS and MARY ARDEN, WILLIAM ARDEN, died in his father's life-time, 36 Hen. VIII., leaving by his wife ELIZABETH, daughter of EDWARD CONWAY, of

Ragley, co. Warwick, Esquire, four daughters, a younger son, FRANCIS ARDEN, and his eldest son and heir, the unfortunate EDWARD ARDEN, who succeeded to Park-hall at the death of his grandfather. Either this Edward Arden, or his uncle, of the same name, was Sheriff, 16 Eliz., according to Fuller. The fifth shield on the Aston tomb is charged with the arms of WILLIAM ARDEN, as before, impaling CONWAY; viz. *Sable*, on a bend cotized *Argent* a rose between two annulets *Gules*. The sixth shield is a repetition of the first. In the event of a restoration of the blazonry of the shields, (at present wanting), which is likely to take place, the sixth shield might have the arms of EDWARD ARDEN impaling THROCKMORTON. Edward Conway, of an ancient family, was Gentleman-Usher to King Henry VIII.; he married Anne, daughter and heir of Richard Burdet, of Arrow, co. Warwick[1], and was father of Sir John Conway, Knight Banneret, whose son of the same name, Governor of Ostend, married Elena, daughter of Sir Fulke Greville, and their son, Sir Edward Conway, was created Baron Conway of Ragley, and whose grandson, Edward, Earl Conway, adopted as his heir, Francis Seymour, ancestor of the present Marquess of Hertford. The younger son of William and Elizabeth Arden, FRANCIS ARDEN, of Pedimore, married a daughter of EDMUND FOX, and had issue. William Arden's daughters were, 1. ANNE, the wife of John Barmesley, of Barmesley, co. Worcester[2]; 2. JOYCE, married to JOHN LODBROKE, co. Warwick; 3. BRIDGET, to HUGH MASSEY; and 4. BARBARA, the wife of RICHARD NEVILL, eldest son of John, Lord Latimer. LENNARD and VINCENT. *Visitation* 1619. *Harl.* 1563.

EDWARD ARDEN, of Park-hall, who had been in wardship to Sir George Throckmorton, Kt., married MARY THROCKMORTON, daughter (by his first wife MURIEL BERKELEY, daughter of THOMAS Lord BERKELEY) of Sir ROBERT THROCKMORTON, Knight (son of Sir George), of an old family in the counties of Gloucester and Warwick, and had, with his eldest son and heir, ROBERT ARDEN, four other sons, and four daughters, viz. CATHERINE, who married Sir

[1] Richard Burdet, of Arrow, married Joyce, daughter of Sir Simon Montford, of Coleshill, Knight.

[2] Nash, in his *Worcestershire*, under "Barnedesley Hall" in Bromsgrove, says, "The family of the same name descended from the Ardens of Park-hall in Warwickshire."

EDWARD DEVEREUX, Baronet; MARGARET, who married JOHN SOMERVILLE; MURIEL, the wife of WILLIAM CHARNELLS, of Snarston; and ELIZABETH, who married SIMON SHUCKBURGH, of Shuckburgh, co. Warwick. *Visit.* 1619. *Harl.* 1563. Edward Arden's son-in-law, the lord of Aston-Somerville, co. Gloucester, where his ancestors had been seated soon after the Conquest, made an attempt on the life of Queen Elizabeth, in 1583, "by discharging a dagg" (*a rude kind of pistol*) "at her person." In the *State Papers of Queen Elizabeth from* 1581 to 1590, edited by Mr Lemon, this entry occurs;—"Nov. 5, 1583. Inter-rogatories to be administered to Mr Arden, his wife and servants, touching his son-in-law, John Somerfield's treason against the Majesty, particularly as to the abode of Hall, the priest in his house." Page 128. It is in relation to this affair that DUGDALE writes,—"*John Somervile*, Esq., who in 25 Eliz. being a hot-spirited youth, and about 23 years of age, but a Roman Catholique by profession, is said to have been so far transported with zeal for the restoring that Religion, by the instigation of one Hall, a priest, that he resolved to kill the Queen, and to that purpose made a journey to London, and that upon his apprehension he confest his intent, but being arraigned, condemn'd, and committed to Newgate, within three days after he was found strangled in his lodgings. How far-forth[1] he was guilty of this, God knows; for with high hand things were then borne through the power of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, is not unknown to most men, which Earl had a particular spleen against Mr Arden of Park-hall, father-in-law to this Gentleman; as by sondery aged persons of credit I have often heard." Page 611. DRUMMOND says that Edward Arden angered Leicester "by galling him by certain harsh expressions touching his private accesses to the Countess of Essex," before their ill-omened marriage. From his supposed complicity in Somerville's designs, Edward Arden,

[1] This quaint expression, "how far-forth," is used by SHAKSPEARE in 2 *Henry IV.* Act IV. Scene 2, where Westmoreland addresses Prince John:

"Pleaseth your grace to answer them directly,
How far-forth you do like their articles."

And in the *Tempest*, Act I. Scene 2, Prospero, recounting to his daughter the reason for raising the sea-storm, tells her,—

"Know thus far-forth."

who was also a Roman Catholic, was attainted of high treason, put to the torture, and executed in Smithfield, 20 Dec. 1583; he died with the same high spirit he had shewn throughout his life. Queen Elizabeth granted his forfeited estate of Park-hall to Edward D'Arcy; it was however afterwards restored to Edward Arden's son, Robert, but not until all the trees had been cut down by D'Arcy. The fate of "poor Edward Arden" has always excited great pity; and he is regarded by many impartial writers as having fallen a victim to the vengeful spite of Leicester, whose livery Robert Arden refused to wear. The excellent CAMDEN alludes to his death as the sad ending of a noble man,—"Tristis hic exitus nobilis viri." JOHN SOMERVILLE, by his wife MARGARET ARDEN, had two daughters, of whom ALICE married — ARDEN, and ELIZABETH became the wife of THOMAS WARWICK, and they had a son, Sir PHILIP WARWICK, who was distinguished in politics and literature. He was born in 1608, and became Clerk of the Signet, and Secretary to the Treasury, M.P. for Westminster. He wrote "Discourse of Government," and "Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles I. with a Continuation to the Restoration." He died in 1683, leaving by his wife Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Hutton, of Marske, co. York, a son, Philip Warwick, who only survived his father a short time, leaving no issue by his wife, Elizabeth, second daughter and co-heir of John, Lord Frescheville, who married, secondly, Conyers D'Arcy, second Earl of Holdernesse. The four younger sons of EDWARD ARDEN and MARY THROCKMORTON were THOMAS, GEORGE, FRANCIS, and JOHN, of whom the heralds do not record more than their names, but no doubt two of these sons were the John Arden, and Thomas Arden, who accompanied the Earl of Leicester's contingent of 500 Warwickshire men in his expedition to the Netherlands in 1585, and in whose train it has been supposed that SHAKSPEARE went thither, of which hereafter.

There does not appear to be in Aston Church any monument to the memory of the Ardens later than those already described; but there is a raised tomb to a son-in-law of Edward Arden, which is described and figured in DUGDALE; —"a very noble Monument for Sir *Edward* Devereux, K^t^. and Baronet, grandfather to the now Viscount Hereford,

erected by his Lady, who survived." The following incription is on the Tomb:—

> "Here lyeth Sir Edward Devereux of Castle Bromwich, Knight and Baronet, youngest son of Walter, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, and Viscount Hereford, by Margaret his second wife, daughter of Robert Garnish of Kenton Hall, in Com. Suffolk, Esquire, who married Katherine, eldest daughter of Edward Arden of Park-hall Esq. by whom he had five sons, and four daughters, Sir Walter, William, George, Edward, and Henry, Margaret, Anne, Howard, and Grace, which Sir Edward died the 22nd of Sept. An. D. 1622. Here lieth Lady Katherine, wife to Sir Edward Devereux, who died the second of November, 1627. To whose memorie Sir George Devereux her second son caused this part of this Monument to be erected, according to her command."

The present fifteenth VISCOUNT HEREFORD (Robert Devereux, 1866) is the lineal descendant of Sir EDWARD DEVEREUX and KATHERINE ARDEN; and their eldest daughter, MARGARET DEVEREUX, married Sir HUGH WROTTESLEY, ancestor of the present LORD WROTTESLEY. The second daughter, ANNE DEVEREUX, married ROBERT LEIGHTON, of Watlesborough, co. Salop, and from them is descended the present Sir BALDWIN LEIGHTON, Bart. The attention of Shakspearean editors does not seem to have been drawn to Aston Church, of which Rickman says,—"Aston Church has a handsome Perpendicular tower and spire. Some parts of the church are of earlier date, but much modernized. In the chancel are some altar-tombs with effigies, one of which is very well executed." DUGDALE gives shields from the windows, with the arms of Erdington, Botetourt, Somery, Mohun, Harecourt, Strange, Pipe, Basset of Drayton, Bond (page 642), all good old names; but their memorials it is to be feared were ruthlessly sacrificed when the church was *restored*, as it is the fashion to say of a sacred building when it requires repair, but when too often it loses its fine old stained glass and sepulchral brasses, which, if they cannot be retained in their original places, might be preserved in the vestry, or at all events a correct description or drawing of them could be taken, as historical or family records.

Another interesting memorial of SHAKSPEARE'S maternal ancestor, WALTER ARDEN, has long since been lost. It is figured in DUGDALE'S *Warwickshire*, under *Deritend*, page 654, and was a well executed effigy in one of the windows of the chapel; it represented WALTER ARDEN bare-headed, but otherwise in plate-armour, with his surcoat, kneeling on a cushion, his hands upraised; and above his head, on a label,—"Salvator Mundi, Miserere Mei,"—and below, "Orate pro bono statu Walteri Arderne armigeri et Elionore uxoris ejus." The value of such publications as those of DUGDALE and other County historians is evident, since many proofs are preserved in their pages, which are otherwise lost, of great genealogical importance, and archæological interest.

ROBERT, the eldest son of EDWARD ARDEN and MARY THROCKMORTON, married ELIZABETH, daughter of REGINALD CORBET, of the old knightly house of that name seated at Moreton-Corbet, co. Salop, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas[1], whose wife ALICE, daughter of JOHN GRATEWOOD, was niece and co-heir of Sir ROWLAND HILL, and had, with a daughter, MARGARET ARDEN, married to WALTER FERRERS, a son and heir, HENRY ARDEN, of Park-hall, born 1580, who was knighted by James the First, and died, *vita patris*, in 1616, leaving by his wife DOROTHY, daughter and co-heir of BASIL FIELDING, of Nuneham[2], an only son, ROBERT ARDEN, and four daughters, according to DUGDALE, viz. ELIZABETH, GODIVA, DOROTHY, and ANNE; to this number DRUMMOND adds CHRISTIAN, who became the wife of THOMAS BASIL. In his Manuscript Pedigree of the Family, the late Rev. Henry Cotton Arden, of Longcroft Hall, does not mention a fifth sister of Robert Arden of Park-hall, but has this note;—"This Robert Arden died unmarried, and his four sisters inheriting his immense property it went to other families, viz. Pooley, Price, Bagot (Lord), Adderley

[1] REGINALD CORBET was second son of Sir ROBERT CORBET, Knt. who married ELIZABETH, daughter of Sir HENRY VERNON, of Haddon, Knt.

[2] Ancestor of the Earls of Denbigh. In Lennard and Vincent's *Visitation* of 1619, *Harl.* 1167, f. 5, a generation is inserted in the Fielding pedigree, which is not found in DUGDALE. The heralds call Sir William Fielding, the first Earl of Denbigh, the son of *Sir William Fielding, Knt. by his wife —— daughter of —— Arden.* If this insertion is proved it gives TURCHILL de ARDEN as an ancestor of the EARLS of DENBIGH.

(mil. Knt.)." ROBERT ARDEN succeeded his grandfather Robert in 1635, and died unmarried in 1643, when his four sisters became his co-heirs; 1. ELIZABETH ARDEN, who married Sir WILLIAM POLEY, of Boxtead, co. Suffolk, Knight; 2. GODIVA ARDEN married Sir HERBERT PRICE, Steward to Queen Mary (Tudor), they had Park-hall, which was sold by their descendant, John Price, in 1704, to Sir John Bridgman, ancestor of the Earl of Bradford; 3. DOROTHY ARDEN became the wife of Colonel HERVEY BAGOT, second son of Sir Hervey Bagot, Bart., and their son and heir was ARDEN BAGOT, of Pipe; 4. ANNE ARDEN, who had the manor of Saltley, married Sir CHARLES ADDERLEY, of Hams Hall, co. Warwick, Knight, and their eldest son and heir, ARDEN ADDERLEY, is ancestor of the present Right Hon. CHARLES BOWYER ADDERLEY, M.P. for North Warwickshire, 1868. In the page wherein the Aston tomb is figured, DUGDALE gives a shield of BAGOT and ARDEN quarterly, which of course refers to the marriage of Col. HERVEY BAGOT and DOROTHY ARDEN, and beneath is the inscription by their son, to whom the coat of arms belongs:—

> "Ne Familia Ardenorum
> omnium totius agri War-
> wicensis antiquissima me-
> moria cum nomine tandem
> intereat eam sic conservavit
> Arden Bagot è matre Ardenus."

ARDEN BAGOT could thus show a descent, on the father's and mother's side, from two of the oldest families in the kingdom, and his lineal descendant was the late Rev. Ralph Bagot, M.A., of Pipe Hayes, co. Warwick, who died July 20th, 1866. The only issue of the marriage of Sir WILLIAM POLEY and ELIZABETH ARDEN appears to be a daughter, SUSAN POLEY, who became the wife, first of ANTHONY MASSY, Esqre.; and secondly of RICHARD SAVAGE, third son of John, Earl Rivers. NASH, in his *Worcestershire*, states that Pedimore, which was brought to the family by Elizabeth de Clodshale, was divided between the four sisters, coheirs of Robert Arden, and that it was afterwards sold to Thomas Foley. The arms of Arden were placed in the East window of the chancel of Pedimore Church, to which living

the incumbents were presented in succession by Richard de Clodshale, Walter Arden, Sir John Arden, Thomas Arden, and Edward Arden. The above Thomas Foley founded a Blue-coat hospital for sixty boys at Old Swinford, and endowed it with an estate then worth £600 *per annum*, and the Hospital has the presentation to Pedimore living.

In a recent visit to Aston Church, Mr WILLIAM ARDEN, of Longcroft Hall, found that the blazonry on the shields had entirely disappeared from the tomb of his ancestor, WALTER ARDEN; and that the monumental brass to his memory was no longer visible; but there was a faint hope held out by the sexton that it might be concealed beneath the new flooring. As containing memorials of WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE'S relations on the mother's side, Aston Church (next Birmingham) may be regarded with an interest second only to that which surrounds his own last resting-place.

Some persons of the name of Arden are found in documents, but whom the Compiler cannot connect to absolute certainty with the Tables. In the *Liber Albus*, Vol. I., it is stated that in the 5th year of Edw. I., 1276-7, Thomas de Ardena, son and heir of Sir Ralph Arden, Knt., granted to Ralph le Feure, citizen of London, all the Aldermanie between Ludgate and Newgate (afterwards called Farringdon Without), on payment of one clove of gillyflower. This Thomas may however be the son of Ralph de Arden who married Amabil, second daughter and co-heir of Ralph de Glanvill, the famous Justiciary. DUGDALE'S *Baronage*, under *Glanvill*. Banks calls the husband of Amabil John de Ardern. Mr Halliwell notices—"A fine between Ralph de Arderne, complainant, and John Ricardes and Alice his wife, defendants, of an estate at Broughton, 18 Hen. VI." 1440. *Records*, 60. page 290. This date does not fit any one of the name in the Arden Tables, but it may refer to a son of Robert Arden, who was attainted 30 Hen. VI., of whose seven children only Walter is named.

THE ARDENS OF ASTON-CANTLOWE.

WE now return to the younger children of WALTER ARDEN and ELIZABETH HAMPDEN, of whom unfortunately DUGDALE gives only the names, without any history, except in the case of MARTIN, whose daughter ELIZABETH, he states, was the wife of WILLIAM RUGELEY. In the *Visitation* of 1619, *Harl.* 1110, the heralds name the wife, and daughter with her two husbands;—"Martin Ardern of Eustom, co. Oxon. 3 son," married "Margery, daughter of Henry East, of the Heys in the parish of Yardley, in the co. of Worcester;" their daughter, "Elionor sole heir," married first "William Ridgely of Shenstone, in com. Staff., first husband, died sanz issue;" secondly, "Thomas Gibbons of Dichley in co. Oxon. Esq. 2 husb.," by whom "Thomas Gibbons, eldest son and heir, and two daughters, Mary, who married William Pouere of Shypton, co. Oxon., Gent., and Margaret, married to Robert Bradshaw, Gent." In another book of the *Visitation*, Martin Arden's daughter is called "Joane, d. & co-h. of Martin Arden of Park-hall, 2 son of Walter." *Harl.* 1563. In the fullest pedigree, that in *Harl.* 1167, Martin's daughter is not named, but is called "filia & heres, nupta Thomæ Gibbons."

In NASH'S *Worcestershire*, under *Yardley*, is given the following inscription upon a monumental slab in the south aisle of the Church;—"Mr Henry Est Esq. and Margery his wife, the which died the 13th day of April, anno Dom. 1504." These are, no doubt, the parents of MARGERY EAST, the wife of MARTIN ARDEN. On another stone is inscribed,—"Hic jacent corpora Thome Est et Mariane uxoris ejus, qui..... post festem Sancte Trinitatis, ann. Dom. 1462." Arms of Est;—"Gules a pair of wings conjoined Or." Edward Est,

of Kenilworth, was Gentleman of the bed-chamber to Henry V. and Henry VI. Vol. I. DUGDALE states that Henry East, of Hay Hall, in Yardley, was son of Thomas East, who was son of Thomas East, yeoman of the crown, t. Hen. VI., and Marion his wife, daughter and heir of William de la Hay, of Whitton, co. Warwick. Page 650.

We have seen that WALTER ARDEN names his son THOMAS in his will, 1502; and that Sir John Arden mentions his brother Thomas in his will, 1526: we also find a THOMAS ARDEN seated at Aston-Cantlowe, near Sratford-upon-Avon, in the year 1501[1]; we find him there in 1523, and as late as 1546-7; but what is of still more importance to our subject, from 1501 to 1546 he is associated with a ROBERT ARDEN, who in one deed is expressly called—"son of the same Thomas Arderne," and therefore these well-fitting coincidences justify the conclusion at which Mr Hunter and Mr Halliwell so nearly arrived, that WALTER ARDEN'S son THOMAS was the grandfather, and his son ROBERT was the father, of MARY ARDEN, mother of WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, "Poet first, then Poet's King," who is thus descended on "the spindle side," as the great KING ALFRED loved to call the female line, from the ancient feudal lords of a great part of that delightful Shire, of which the Poet is the brightest ornament, reflecting back to his ancestors a glory unsurpassed by that of any other family.

The Compiler has searched the Registers at Doctors' Commons to ascertain if a will was made by Thomas Arden, but no such name appears between 1526 and 1557. The name of his wife has not yet been ascertained, nor that of Robert Arden's first wife, the mother of his seven daughters. Thomas Arden was probably an old man at his death, and he outlived his brother Sir John at least twenty years, and died about nine years before his own son Robert; he was evidently the owner of the Asbies estate in Aston-Cantlowe for 46 years at least; and it is perhaps fair to conjecture that his youngest granddaughter, Mary Arden, was his favourite, and resided with him, and thus obtained through her father that estate, which made her portion much larger than the shares of her sisters.

[1] See Appendix C, Aston-Cantlowe.

TABLE IX.

ROBERT ARDEN'S FAMILY.

WALTER ARDEN, of Park-hall, co. Warwick, = ELEANOR, 2nd daughter and co-heir of JOHN HAMPDEN, of Great Hampden, co. Bucks, by his wife Elizabeth, 3rd daughter and co-heir of Sir John Whalesborough, Knight. Buried at Aston-*juxta*-Birmingham. Effigy on tomb.
XVIth in descent from the Saxon Sheriff AILWIN, see Tables VI., VII., and VIII., ob. Aug. 5, 1502. Effigy on his tomb at Aston-*juxta*-Birmingham.

XVII. THOMAS ARDEN, second son, named in his father's will, 1502, and in that of his brother, Sir John Arden, 1526. Of Aston-Cantlowe from 1501 to 1547. Purchased with his son Robert in 1501, the Snitterfield estate from Mayowe. = N. N.

Agnes Webbe, 2nd wife, widow of — Hill, no issue by 2nd husband. = XVIII. ROBERT ARDEN, of Aston-Cantlowe, "filio ejusdem Thomæ Arden," in Grant from Mayowe in 1501. Of Wilmecote and Snitterfield from 1501 to 1556. = ... first wife, unknown.

JOHN HEWYNS, 1st husb. ob. S.P. = 1. AGNES ARDEN, co-heir. = THOMAS STRINGER, of Stockton, 2nd husband.

JOHN STRINGER.

ARDEN STRINGER.

2. JOAN ARDEN, co-heir. = EDMUND LAMBERT, of Barton-on-the-Heath.

JOHN LAMBERT.

3. KATHERINE ARDEN, co-heir. = THOMAS EDKINS, of Wilmecote.

THOMAS EDKINS, "the younger."

4. MARGARET ARDEN, co-heir. = ALEXANDER WEBBE, of Snitterfield, 1st husband.

ROBERT WEBBE. = MARY PERKES.

5. JOYCE, co-heir.

6. ALICE, co-heir.

7. XIX. MARY ARDEN, co-heir, had Asbies. = JOHN SHAKSPEARE, High Bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon.

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, XXth in descent from the Sheriff AILWIN.

XX. JOAN SHAKSPEARE. = WILLIAM HART.

See Table V.

ROBERT ARDEN, of Aston-Cantlowe and Snitterfield, by his first marriage, had seven daughters and co-heirs, viz. 1. AGNES ARDEN, who married first JOHN HEWYNS, and secondly THOMAS STRINGER, by whom she had two sons, JOHN STRINGER and ARDEN STRINGER; 2. JOAN ARDEN, who married EDMUND LAMBERT, of Barton-on-the-Heath, and had a son, JOHN LAMBERT; 3. KATHERINE ARDEN, who married THOMAS EDKINS, of Wilmecote, and had a son, THOMAS EDKINS *the younger;* 4. MARGARET ARDEN, who married first, ALEXANDER WEBBE of Bearley, and had a son, ROBERT WEBBE; she married secondly EDWARD CORNWALL; 5. JOCOSA, or JOYCE ARDEN; 6. ALICE ARDEN; and 7. MARY ARDEN, who became the wife of JOHN SHAKSPEARE, and is called by Mr Hunter "an heiress of a family of distinction." *Prolusions*, page 81.

We gain but little towards the history of Thomas Arden and his son Robert from the documents quoted by Mr Hunter and Mr Halliwell, beyond the established fact that they resided as owners of land at Aston-Cantlowe and Snitterfield from 1501 to 1556. One more extract from Mr HUNTER'S *Prolusions* will show the estimation in which he held the family at Aston-Cantlowe: "Their relative importance may be judged by the following list of the persons who were assessed there on the subsidy in the 37th of Henry the Eighth, March 10, 1546. They stood, it will be seen, in the very first rank among the inhabitants of that parish, and may therefore be supposed to have had a fortune suitable to a junior and not very remote branch of one of the ancient families of the county. Robert Ardren £10, Walter Edkyns £10, John Jenks £6, John Skarlett £8, Thomas Dixson £8, Roger Knight £8, Richard Ingram £6, Thomas Gretwyn £5, Margaret Scarlett £5, Richard Edkyns £6, Robert Fulwode £5, Nicholas Gibbes £5, Richard Green £5, William Hill £5." Page 37, *note.* Future attention will be drawn to the names in this list.

We have no record of the date of the death of ROBERT ARDEN'S first wife, and he married secondly, in the year 1550, the widow of one Hill, whose maiden name was AGNES WEBBE, sister, by all accounts, of the Alexander Webbe who had married Robert Arden's daughter Margaret. There was no issue of this second marriage; but by her first husband,

Agnes Arden had a son, John Hill, and a daughter, Mary Hill, married to John Fulwood. Mr Halliwell shows that at least four years before her marriage to Robert Arden, Agnes Webbe was the widow of Hill, being so described—"when assessed at Bearley on £7 in the 37th of Henry VIII., 1546." *Life of Shakespeare*, page 15. The absurdity of considering her, as is sometimes the case, to be the mother of Mary Shakspeare is met by dates; for Robert Arden's youngest daughter became a wife seven years after her father's second marriage. The date of Agnes Webbe's second marriage is clearly fixed by an allusion to her settlements in the Lease granted by her to Alexander Webbe, her brother, dated 21 May, 1560, of a farm at Snitterfield, partly in the occupation of RICHARD SHAKSPEARE, wherein it is stated,—"of which said messuage and premises estate was made to me the sayd Agnes for terme of my lyfe by Robert Arden my late husband in the fourth year of the raigne of the late King Edward the Sixt." A.D. 1550. ROBERT ARDEN made his last will and testament, Nov. 23, 1556, but he had previously, on July 17, 1550, made settlements, by two deeds, of the Snitterfield estate, purchased from Mayowe in 1501, upon his daughters, four of whom were then married. In the first deed he devises estates at Snitterfield, in trust to Adam Palmer and Hugh Porter, for the benefit, after the death of himself and wife, of his three married daughters, Agnes, Joan, and Katherine; and in the second deed in favour of three other daughters, Margaret, then married, Joyce, and Alice[1]; the name of his youngest child, Mary, not appearing in either deed, which omission may be taken as a proof that Asbies was then intended to come to her. Robert Arden must have died soon after he made his will, and from its wording it would seem as if he did not expect that much cordiality of feeling would be shown by his widow towards his children. The will and inventory of his goods are herein set forth from Mr Halliwell's great work, as they serve to establish Robert Arden's position, and are interesting illustrations of the time.

[1] These three names, of Robert Arden's children, were also those of his father's three sisters; Joyce, though not a common name in families generally, seems to have been a great favourite in Warwickshire, as well as Godiva.

Will of ROBERT ARDEN *of* ASTON-CANTLOWE.

"In the name of God, Amen, the xxiij^{h} daye of November in the yeare of oure lorde God, 1556, in the thirde and the forthe yeare of the raygne of our soverayne lorde and ladye Phylipe and Marye, kyng and queene, &c, I Robert Arden of Wyllmcote in the paryche of Aston Cantlow, seeke in bodye and good and perfett of rememberance, make this my laste will and testement in maner and forme folowyng.

Fyrste, I bequethe my solle to Allmyghtye God and to our bleside Ladye Sent Marye and to all the holye companye of heven, and my bodye to be beryde in the churchyarde of Seynt Jhon the baptiste at Aston aforsayde.

Also I give and bequethe to my youngste dowghter Marye all my lande at Willmecote caulide Asbyes and the crop apon the grounde sowne and tyllide as hitt is, And vi. li. xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* of money to be payde orr ere my goodes be devydide. Allso I gyve and bequethe to my daughter Ales the thyrde parte of all my goodes moveable and unmoveable in fylde and towne after my dettes and leggeses be performyde, besydes that goode she hathe of her owne att this tyme. Allso I gyve and bequethe to Agnes my wife vi. li. xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* upon this condysione that (she) shall sofer my dowghter Ales quyetlye to ynjoye halfe my copy holde in Wyllmcote duryng the tyme of her wyddewhodde; and if she will nott soffer my dowghter Ales quyetlye to occupy halfe with her then I will that my wyfe shall have butt iij. li. vi.*s.* viij.*d.* and her gintur in Snytterfylde.

Item, I will that the resedowe of all my goodes moveable and unmoveable, my ffuneralles and my dettes dyschargyde, I gyve and bequethe to my other cheldren to be equaleye devidide amongeste them by the descreshyon of Adam Palmer, Hugh Porter of Snytterfyde and Jhon Skerlett, whome I do orden and make my overseeres of this my last will and testament, and they to have for ther peynes takyng in this behalfe xx.*s.* apese. Allso I orden and constytute and make my full exequtores Ales and Marye my dawgteres of this my last will and testament, and they to have no more for ther peynes takyng now as afore geven to them. Allso I

gyve and bequethe to every house that hath no teeme in the paryche of Aston to every howse iiij.*d.*

Thes beyng wyttnesses

Sir William Bouton, Curett.
Adam Palmer
Jhon Skerlett
Thomas Jhenkes
William Pytt
with other mo."

"Probat. fuit &c. Wigorn. &c. xvj° die mensis Decembris anno Domini 1556."

Inventory of ROBERT ARDEN'S *Goods.*

"The Ynventory of all the goods moveable and unmoveable of Robert Ardennes of Wylmcote late dessiside, made the ixth day of December in the thyrde and forthe yeare of the raygne of our soveraygne lorde and ladye Phylipe and Marye king and quene &c. 1556.

Imprimis in the halle ij table bordes, iij. choyeres, ij. fformes, one cobbarde, ij. coshenes, iij. benches, and one lytle table with shelves, preside att.....	viij. s.
It. ij. peynted clothes in the hall and v. peynted clothes in the chamber, vij. peire of shettes, ij. cofferes, one which preside at	xviiij.s.
It. v. borde clothes, ij. toweles, and one dyeper towelle, preside att.....	vi. s. viij. d.
It. one ffether bedde, ij. matteresses, viij. canvasses, one coverlett, iij. bolsteres, one pelowe, iiij. peynted clothes, one which presid att.....	xxvi. s. viij. d.
It. in the kitchen iiij. panes, iiij. pottes, iij. candlestykes, one bason, one chafyng dyche, ij. cathernes, ij. skelettes, one frying pane, a gredyerne, and pott hangings with hookes, presid att.....	li. s. viij. d.

It. one broche (*spit*), a peare of cobbardes, one axe, a bill, iiij. nagares[1] (?), ij. hatchettes, an ades, a mattoke, a yren crowe, one ffat (*vat*), iiij. barrelles, iiij. payles, a quyrne, a knedyng trogh, a lowng seve, a handsaw, presid at..... xx. s. ij. d.

It. viij. oxen, ij. bullokes, vij. kyne, iiij. weying caves (*calves*) .....xxiiij.li.

It. iiij. horses, iij. coltes, presid att..... viij. li.

It. 52 shepe, presid att..... vij. li.

It. the whate in the barnes, and the barley, presid at .....xviij. li.

It. the heye and the pease, ottes and the strawe, presed att ..... iij. li. vj. s. viij. d.

It. ix. swyne presid att ..... xxvj.s. viij. d.

It. the bees and powltrye, presid at ... v. s.

It. cart and cart geares, and plogh and plogh geares and harrowes, presid att xl. s.

It. the wodd in the yeorde, and the batten in the roffe, presid att ..... xxx. s.

The wheate in the ffylde, presed att ... vi. li. xiij. s. viij. d.

Summa totalis. lxxvij. li. xi. s. x. d."

HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 16.

[1] The word "nagares," in this passage, and "cathernes," in the preceding sentence, have puzzled the Compiler, who cannot find them in any Middle-Age Vocabulary, nor can any of his Archæological friends explain them. It is possible however that "cathernes," in Robert Arden's Inventory, may be the same as the "calderons," in the list of his widow's goods, both implying the needful utensils "cauldrons" sometimes written "cauthrons," and in each case named among the pots and pans. The nearest approach to "nagares" may be the French word "nageoire," the lid of a water-butt, and it will be seen that the items are classed with vats, barrels, pails, and other wooden utensils; and that a French term is employed for a spit.

Will of AGNES ARDEN.

Mr HUNTER claimed to be the first to print the will of ROBERT ARDEN'S widow, his second wife; it is however herein transcribed from Mr Halliwell's work, in which the original spelling is more accurately preserved, and especially the peculiarity of the long j. Mr Hunter surmised from the wording of Agnes Arden's will that "there was no cordiality between this old lady and her husband's posterity." *Prolusions*, page 41.

"In the name of God . . . . . yeare of o^r^ Lord God, 1578, and in the . . . . yeare of o^r^ Soveraigne . . . . Queen Elizabethe by the grace of . . . . France and Irelande Quene, defendris of the fayth, &c. I, Agnes Ardenne of Wylmcote, in the parishe of Aston Cantlowe, wydowe, do make my last wyll and testamente in manner and forme followinge. First, I bequethe my soule to Almighty God my maker and redeemer, and my bodie to the earthe. Item, I give and bequethe to the poore people inhabited in Aston parish x. s. to be equallie divided by the discrecion of my overseers. Item, I give and bequethe to everione of my god children xij. d. a peice. Item, I give and bequethe to Averie Fullwood ij. sheepe iff they doe lyve after my decease. Item, I give and bequeth to Richard Petyvere j. sheepe, and to Nicholas Mase j. sheepe, and Elizabeth Gretwiche and Elizabeth Bentley eyther of them one sheepe, Item, I give and bequeth to everie of Jhon Hill's children everione of them one shepe. My wyll is that they said sheepe so given them shall go forward in a stocke to they use of they seyd children tyll the come to the age of discrecion. Item, I give and bequethe to John Payge and his wyf, the longer liver off them, viz. viii.d. and to John Page his brother j. strike of wheat and j. strike of maulte. I give to John Fullwood and Edward Hill my god childe, everione of them one shepe more. Also I give to Robert Hasketts iij. s. iiij. d. Also I give to John Peter ij. s. and also to Henrie Berrie xij. d. Item, I give to Jhohan Lamberde xij. d. and to Elizabeth Stiche my old gowne. Item, (I give) and bequeth to John Hill my sonne my parte and moitie of my croppe in the fieldes, as well wheate, barley, and pease, painge for the same, so that my

wyll is the sayd John Hill shall have the neate croppe uppon the grounde after my decease. I give to the said John Hill my best platter of the best sorte, and my best platter of the second sorte, and j. porringer, one sawcer, and one best candlesticke. And also I give to the said John two paire of sheets. I give said Jhon Hill my second potte, my best panne. Item I give and bequethe to Johne Fulwood, my sonne in lawe, all the rest of my householde stuffe. Item I give to John Hill my sonne one cowe with the white rumpe. And also I give to John Fulwood j. brown steare of the age of two yeares old. Item, I give and bequeth to my brother Alexander Webbe's children everione of them xij. d. a peice. The rest of all my goods moveable and unmoveable, not bequethed, my bodie brought home, my debts and legacies paid, I give and bequethe to John Fullwood and to John Hill, to the use and behalf of the said John Fulwood's and John Hill's children, to be delivered unto them and everie of them when they come to age of discrecion. Yf any of the said children die before they recover their parts so given by me, their partes deceased shall remain to the other so living with the said John Fullwood and John Hill (whom) I do ordain and make my full executors of this my last wyll. Allso I ordayne and make my overseers Addam Palmer, George Gibbs. These being witnesses, Thomas Edkins, Richard Petifere, and others." The will was proved 31 March, 1581, Agnes Arden died in December, 1580. The Register at Aston-Cantlowe records her burial under that year:—

"The xxix day of December was bureyd Agnes Arden wydow, anno prædicto."

The marriage of her daughter to John Fulwood took place at Aston-Cantlowe in 1561, under which year it appears on the Register:—

"John Fullwood and Marey Hill weare mareyd the xvth of November."

Inventory of AGNES ARDEN'S *Goods.*

"The inventorie of all the goodes moveable and unmoveable of Annes Ardenne of Wylmcote deceased, praised by Thomas Boothe, Addam Palmer, George Gibbes, Thomas

Edkins thelder, Thomas Edkins the younger, the xixth day of Januarye anno regni Elizabethæ Regine xxiij.

Imprimis in the halle twoe table bordes with a cobbarde and a painted clothe, three coshens with shilves, other formes and benches.....		viij. s.	
Item, three pottes of brasse, ij. calderons, ij. brasse pannes, ij. peeces of pewter with iij. candlestickes with two saltes.....		xvj. s.	
Item, ij. broches, j. payre of cobbardes, j. fireshovell with potthokes and linkes for the same.....		xvj. s.	
Item, in the chambers her apparel...		l. s.	
Item, the beddinge and bedstides with apreeware in the said chambers.....	iij. li.	iij. s.	iij. d.
Item, three coffers with a peece of woollen clothe		xv. s.	
Item, the cowperie ware with a maulte mylle, one knedinge troughe, with syves and a stryke		x. s.	
Item, ffowre oxenne, ffowre kyne, ij. yearlinge calves	xij. li.	xiij. s.	iij d.
Item, xxxviijth sheepe		iij. s.	
Item, three horses, and one mare	iiij. li.		
Item, five score pigges		xiij. s.	iiij. d.
Item, wayne and wayne geares, plow and plowgeres, carte and cart-geares ..		xxx. s.	
Item, the wheate in the barne, her parte	iiij. li.		
Item, her part of barley in the barne...	iij. li.		
Item, her parte of hey in the barnes ...		xiij. s.	
Item, the wheate one grounde in the fieldes, her parte	v. li.		
Item, her parte of peason	iij. li.	vi. s.	viij. d.

Summa totalis, xlv. li."

HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 14.

The crops which were raised on Robert Arden's farm are precisely those which are named in the Poet's *Tempest*:—

> "Ceres, most bounteous lady, thy rich leas
> Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, and pease,
> Thy turfy mountains, where live nibbling sheep,
> And flat meads thatch'd with stover, them to keep."
>
> Act IV. Scene I.

From the respective wills and inventories we are thus enabled to judge of the real position of Robert Arden in his life-time; and we see that his widow kept up the same style after his decease; and the mention of the "two salts" among her goods clearly points to her rank as being that of a gentlewoman. The apparently small amounts in the appraisements must be regarded relatively as to the value of money in later times; thus we find horses and oxen put down under twenty-five shillings each, sheep at less than 2*s.* 9*d.* each, and swine at 3*s.* each. Mr HUNTER multiplies money of that date by eight[1] to arrive at an approximation to our own days; this would make the "sum total" of Robert Arden's goods equal to £620. 14*s.* 8*d.*, a sufficient refutation of the notion that he was only "a husbandman," in the inferior sense of the word. Sir GEORGE NICHOLL, K. C. B. in the *History of the English Poor Law*, 1854, gives a summary of the rates of wages in three periods, fixed by Statute; from which we learn that "a hind, shepherd, or husbandry servant of the best sort," received by *the year*, 25*s.* from 1495; 33*s.* from 1593; and 40*s.* from 1610; that the highest wages for the best labourers, *per diem*, "without meat and drink," were 6*d.* in 1495, and 10*d.* from the two other dates; whilst inferior labourers received 3*d. per diem* in winter, and 4*d.* in summer, from 1495, and 4*d.* and 5*d.* from 1593. Vol. I. page 209. In 1550, and 1561, wheat was 8*s.* the quarter in April, and 13*s.* 4*d.* the quarter in December. *Ib.* page 205.

The reader will now see that ROBERT ARDEN must have lived in comfort and comparative affluence, with "milch-kine

[1] Some archæologists consider that ten, as a multiple for money in the middle of the Sixteenth Century, the date of Robert Arden's will, would be a correct estimate; but even that may be too little, for in the Poet's time ten *per cent.* was the rate of interest, as seen, among other proofs, by his epitaph on his friend "John-a-Combe," beginning—

"Ten in the hundred lies here engrav'd."

to the pail," and "fat oxen standing in *his* stalls," and "all things answerable;" whilst he could welcome his friends into his orchard, "where in an arbour we will eat a last year's pippin of my own graffing, with a dish of carraways, and so forth[1]." The furnishing of his "hall" was really above the average of a country-gentleman's house of the period. Thus Mr Thomas Wright, M. A.; F. S. A. mentions an instance of nearly the same date;—"The furniture of the hall in the manor-house of Croxdale, in the county of Durham, in the year 1571, consisted of one cupboard, one table, two buffet stools, and one chair, yet Salvin of Croxdale was looked upon as one of the principal gentry in the Palatinate." *Domestic Manners of England*, Ed^{n}. 1862, page 452. Again the same author says, at page 474, of his interesting work,—"The sixteenth century was especially the age of tapestries, and no gentleman would consider his rooms furnished if they wanted these important adjuncts."

The old writer HARRISON says,—"The wals of our houses on the inner sides be either hanged with tapestries, arras works, or painted cloths, wherein either diverse histories, or hearbes, beastes, knots, and such like." SHAKSPEARE has several allusions, besides the examples already quoted, to the illustrations of painted cloths. One of the most interesting is in *As You Like It*, Act III. Scene 2, where the melancholy lord, Jaques, tells Orlando that he is full of pretty answers, which he concludes to have been taken from the mottoes on finger-rings, and the love-sick youth retorts,—

"Not so; but I answer you right painted cloth, from whence you have studied your questions."

In the Inventory of the goods of Sir Thomas Rous, Knight, taken 1 James I., 1603, the furniture in "the hall" at Henham, in the county of Suffolk, consisted only of—"Two planke tables, and fowre fformes, one hawk perk." The "great dining-chamber," however, was more amply garnished. SUCKLING'S *Suffolk*, Vol. II. page 355.

[1] *Carraways.* These "do not, of course, mean the comfits of that name, as most of the notes say, but the carraway-russet, an apple still well known, both in the midland and southern counties, for its flavour and its good keeping qualities." Wise's *Shakspere and his Birthplace*, page 99. The above is one of many valuable illustrations touching the Poet's allusions to fruits and flowers.

In 1864 the Compiler visited, with his friend Charles Baily, Architect, an old half-timbered house, which in its general arrangement resembles the plan of Robert Arden's abode at Wilmecote, such as we gather it to have been from his Inventory, in which mention is made of the "hall," the parlour, or "chamber," the "Kitchen," with its appurtenances, which are implied. The ancient seat of the Gaynesfords, at Crowhurst Place, Surrey, a manor held by them from 1337, quite agrees in all respects with the above description, and it still preserves most of its original arrangements. The "hall" must have been a lofty apartment, but a floor has been inserted to form two stories, thus shutting out the fine open-timber roof, with its curved principals, heavily moulded, which however can be seen by ascending to an attic; it is an excellent specimen of carpentry, in a perfect state. In the lower part of the "Hall," are still to be seen in the casements some badges and coats of arms of Gaynesford, impaled with Poyle, Covert, and Wakehurst; and in the Church at Crowhurst are two raised tombs, with effigies thereon in brass, for John Gaynesford, Sen., Esquire, who died in 1450, and his son of the same name, who was Knight of the Shire, 31 Hen. VI., obt. 1460; and his son, Sir John Gaynesford, was Knight of the Shire 6 Ed. IV., and died 1491. An account, with illustrations, of Crowhurst Place, from the pen and pencil of Mr C. Baily, will appear in a forthcoming volume of the Surrey Archæological Collections. "Crowhurst Church and its Monuments" are described by the Compiler in the "Surrey Archæological Collections." Vol. III., page 39. Ed. 1865.

ROBERT ARDEN'S PROPERTY.

It is worth while to trace the disposal of ROBERT ARDEN'S freehold property at Snitterfield, which, from documents in the Archives of the Stratford Corporation, appears to have passed entirely into the possession of the Webbe family, who purchased the interest of the other co-heirs. No account is found of Robert Arden's unmarried daughters, JOYCE and ALICE; the former probably died before her father; of the latter we know nothing beyond her being left co-executrix with her sister MARY in their father's will. Mr HALLIWELL, in his *Life of Shakespeare*, quotes from the titles of the following deeds relating to the sale of the Snitterfield property.

"A release from Thomas Strynger of Stockton, co. Salop, to Alexander Webbe of Snitterfield, husbandman, and Margaret his wife, of one-third share of estates in Snitterfield, 12 February, 11 Elizabeth. Sealed signed and delyvered in the presence of John Shaxpere, Henry Russell, Richard Bayes, and James Halman, this writter." Page 287. "Thomas Russell Esquire," was one of the "overseers" to the will of the Poet, who bequeathed to him "fyve poundes." THOMAS STRINGER was the second husband of ROBERT ARDEN'S eldest daughter AGNES, and we find in the next document a confirmation of the sale by their sons.

"A release from Thomas Stringer, of Stockton, co. Salop, John Stringer and Arden Stringer, sons of the said Thomas, to Edward Cornewall of Snitterfield and Margaret his wife of their interest in an estate at Snitterfield sometime the inheritance of one Agnes Stringer, late wife of the said Thomas Stringer, and one of the daughters and heirs of one Robert Arden deceased. 16 October, 18 Elizabeth." Page 286. The above-named EDWARD CORNEWALL married Alexander

Webbe's widow, MARGARET ARDEN, whose son, ROBERT WEBBE, by her first husband, became the purchaser of other interests, as proved by the next extracts.

"A grant from Edmund Lambert and Joan his wife" (*second daughter and co-heir of Robert Arden*) "to Robert Webbe of their interests in an estate at Snitterfield, 2 May, 23 Elizabeth." Page 286. The following document relates to the disposal of the share of Robert Arden's third daughter and co-heir, KATHERINE, who became the wife of THOMAS EDKINS.

"Release from Thomas Stringer of Stockton, co. Salop, John Stringer and Arden Stringer, sons of the said Thomas Stringer, and Thomas Edkins of Wilmecote to Robert Webbe of Snitterfield, of all their interests in estates at Snitterfield, 23 Dec., 21 Elizabeth." 1578. Page 287.

Thus the shares of LAMBERT, STRINGER, and EDKINS, came to ROBERT WEBBE, who already possessed a share through his mother, and he also purchased that of his aunt MARY ARDEN (SHAKSPEARE), and it is from the deeds relating to this last transfer that we obtain the particulars of the Snitterfield estate. In 22 Elizabeth, 1579, JOHN and MARY SHAKSPEARE sold their interests in that property, which would come to them after the death of Agnes Arden, for £40, to their nephew, ROBERT WEBBE; in the deed their share is thus alluded to:—"de sexta parte duarum partium... duorum pomar. sexaginta acrarum terræ, decem acrarum prati et traginta acrarum..... in tres partes dividend. in Snitterfylde unde placitum convencionis sum. fuit..... dicti Johannes et Maria recogn. prædictam sextam partem cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsius." HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 58.

The same indefatigable author discovered in "the King's Silver Books at Carlton Ride," the following interesting entry relating to the share of MARY ARDEN, and detailing more completely the nature of her father's estate:—"Warw. Inter Robertum Webbe q. et Johannem Shackspeare et Mariam uxorem ejus def. de sexta parte duarum partium duorum messuagiorum, duorum gardinorum, duorum pomar. lx. acr. terræ, x acrarum prati, et xxx acr. jampnorum et bruer (*furze and heath*) cum pertinentiis, in tres dividend. in Snitterfylde. Pasch. 22 Eliz." *Ib.* page 58. The Furze and Heath

would be valuable for many household purposes; and we ascertain one of the uses to which the latter was applied, from an entry in the *Wardrobe Accounts* of King Edward IV.:—"Brushes of hethe xij." Sir N. H. NICOLAS, 1830.

As there is thus a mention of the estate being divided into six parts, it is evident that one of Robert Arden's daughters and co-heirs must have died before the dates in the recited deeds, in all probability JOYCE, her share thus falling among the other sisters, or coming to MARY SHAKSPEARE.

Finally there is "a bond from John Skarlett, of Newnam, in the parish of Aston-Cantlowe, to Robert Webbe of Snitterfield, alias Snitfield, respecting an estate at Snitterfield, 24 Elizabeth." 1582. HALLIWELL'S *Stratford Records*, page 291. John Scarlett was one of the overseers to Robert Arden's will (perhaps the last survivor), and this deed seems to be the last transaction connected with the conveyance of the entire estate to one person; but there is another document which deserves to be quoted, since it brings the PERKES' family into close alliance with the families of ARDEN and SHAKSPEARE. "A settlement of estates at Snitterfield on the occasion of the marriage of Robert Webbe and Mary, daughter of John Perkes, 1 Sept. 23 Eliz." *Ib.* page 287. And regarding this contemplated marriage there is another document:—"An Agreement between Edward Cornewall" (*stepfather to Robert Webbe*) "and William Perkes respecting an estate at Snitterfield, with a proviso against any claim from the Ardens." *Ib.* page 287. But it would seem that the Webbes had rather to dread a claim from the family of the original owners of the property, for in reference to the Grant from Mayowe in 1501 to Thomas and Robert Arden, Mr HALLIWELL says,—"Many years afterwards there was a lawsuit between a descendant of Mayowe and Robert Webbe, of Snitterfield, who had purchased property of Shakespeare's aunts, the Ardens, respecting this property; and in the year 1582, John Shakespeare was subpœnaed to give evidence in the matter. The original subpœna was discovered by me some years since in the Council Chamber of Stratford-upon-Avon, folded into a minute wedge of vellum, and used instead of a knot at the bottom of a string which held a bundle of writs of the Court of Record. It is addressed to John Shakespeare, John Wager, and Adam Palmer, requiring them to appear before Sir Fulk Grevyle, Sir Thomas Lucy, Hum-

phrey Peto, and William Clopton, commissioners, to furnish evidence in the case between Thomas Mayowe, plaintiff, and Robert Webbe and others, defendants. This circumstance seems to prove that John Shakespeare had been acquainted with the Ardens from an early period of life, for all testimony in the suit, to have been of any value, must have referred to a time not far removed from the grant of the property to Thomas Arden, as later evidence would necessarily have been furnished with greater propriety by written documents. It is worthy of remark that John Shakespeare's brother Henry was also a witness in the same suit." *Life*, page 9. Mr HALLIWELL also quotes from the *Stratford Records*, page 186,—"13. A commission directed to Bartholomew Hales, gentleman, and Nicholas Knolles, clerk, to take the deposition of Agnes Arden by way of answer to a bill in Chancery exhibited against her by Thomas Mayhow, 23 Eliz." Bartholomew Hales was lord of the manor of Snitterfield, and Nicholas Knolles was the Vicar of Aston-Cantlowe. Agnes Arden was no doubt at the time an aged person; she died in the same year, 1580.

In 1578 JOHN SHAKSPEARE and MARY his wife mortgaged the estate at Asbies for £40 to their brother-in-law Edmond Lambert of Barton-on-the-Heath, "who took," Mr Hunter says, "the profits for three or four years. They then tendered the money to discharge the mortgage, but Lambert refused to receive it, unless other monies due to him from Shakespere were paid. Edmond Lambert died, and his son John kept possession, who alleged that the mortgage had never been redeemed. The question was brought before Sir Thomas Egerton, but there is no trace of any decree." *Prolusions*, page 30.

Mr HALLIWELL gives in full, page 60, *Life, &c.*, the petition of JOHN and MARY SHAKSPEARE to the Lord Keeper Egerton, setting forth their case, in which they appear to have been wronged. Mr COLLIER however inclines to the opinion that the Asbies estate was restored to the family;—"we think therefore we may conclude that John Lambert, finding that he had no chance of success, relinquished his claim to Asbyes, perhaps on the payment of the £40 and of the sums which his father had required from John and Mary Shakespeare in 1580, and which in 1597 they did not deny to have been due." *Life*, Vol. I. page 129. But if this estate had

been recovered it would have come to the Poet at the death of his father in 1601, or after that of his mother in 1608, and having been ancestral property he would no doubt have retained it, and some mention of it would appear in his will, wherein he specifies his possessions in several parishes, but Aston-Cantlowe is not of the number. We ascertain the actual extent of Asbies, sometimes represented as only fifty acres, to be fifty-six acres, from the description of it in the fine levied:—"Inter Edmundum Lambert, quer. et Johannem Shakespere et Mariam uxorem ejus deforc. de duobus mesuagiis, duobus gardinis, quinquaginta acris terræ, duabus acris prati, quatuor acris pasturæ, et communia pastura pro omnimodis averiis, cum pertinentiis, in Auston Cawntlett." Taken from the bundle of Easter Term, 21 Eliz. 1579, in the Chapter House. HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 53.

In his *Law Dictionary* COWEL defines *Pastura* as differing from *Pascua*, for whereas both terms signify places where cattle may feed, *pascua* was never to be ploughed. He also explains *averia* to mean oxen or horses used for the plough, but also to stand in a general sense for any cattle: "terra" always signifies plough-land. A cottage at Aston-Cantlowe is pointed out, and has been engraved in memoirs of the Poet, as the abode of his mother before her marriage; but it does not come up to the idea of such a house as her father and grandfather must have resided in, and which doubtless long since disappeared.

In John Lambert's answer to the petition of John and Mary Shakspeare Asbies is said to consist of "one yearde and fower acres;" thus allowing about fifty acres to the yard of land, which agrees with Malone's opinion that "a yard-land" contained that quantity in Wilmecote. On the other hand the deed, by which the Poet purchased 107 acres of land, adjoining New Place in Stratford, describes that estate as "ffoure yarde land of errable land containing by estimacion 107 acres." In fact it is very puzzling to know what the Saxon *virgate*, or yard of land really contained, as the quantity of acres in it differed not only in adjoining counties, but even in neighbouring parishes.

The following deeds relate to property purchased by ROBERT ARDEN in 1519, and which probably formed part of his widow's jointure:—"A grant from Richard Ruschby and Agnes his wife, daughter and heiress of William Hervey, to

Robert Arderne, of a tenement in Snitterfield, 11 Hen. VIII., 1519-20." Also,—"Richard Rushby of Snytfeld to Robert Arderne of Wylmcote, a general release, 13 Hen. VIII." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, pp. 290, 291. Robert Arden also in 1529 purchased property in Snitterfield from John Palmer.

Although we have no proof at present to show how the property at Aston-Cantlowe came to the Ardens, it is the Compiler's opinion that it may have been obtained by a grant through their connections, the BEAUCHAMPS. We learn from DUGDALE that the Manor of Aston-Cantlowe "was settled upon Sir William de Beauchamp, Knight, second son to Thomas, Earl of Warwick, and his heirs, which William bearing the title of Lord Bergavenny died seized thereof 12 H. 4, from whom it descended to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, his son and heir, whose daughter and heir Elizabeth, being wedded to Sir Edward Nevill, Knight, a younger son to Ralph Earl of Westmorland, thenceforth summoned to Parliament as Lord Bergavenny, brought it with other lands of a large extent to that noble Family, wherein it hath ever since continued, being enjoy'd by the right honourable John, lord Bergavenny at this day." *Warwickshire*, page 615.

Now THOMAS ARDEN, father of Robert, is described in May, 1501, the year before his father WALTER of Park-hall died, as of Aston-Cantlowe, and although he was the second son the provision made for him under his father's will, 31 July, 1502, is only to the extent of x marks by the year for his life, whilst the third son MARTIN has a manor settled upon him. The small allowance to Thomas may be explained if we suppose that he had already been cared for by the then Lord Bergavenny, either George the son, or George the grandson of Sir Edward Nevill, husband of one Elizabeth Beauchamp, whose elder brother Sir George Nevill had married another Elizabeth Beauchamp, the god-mother to Elizabeth Arden, sister of the Thomas of Aston-Cantlowe.

Mr HALLIWELL quotes in full a fine in Latin, dated *Hil. Term*, 21 Eliz. 1579, in the Records at the Chapter House, of another estate, not alluded to by other biographers, at Aston-Cantlowe, to which it is evident that MARY ARDEN was solely entitled, her sisters having no interest therein. It consisted of seventy acres of land, "terræ," that is arable, six of meadow, and ten of pasture, with right of common pasture, &c. in Wylmecote, *Life*, page 53. But this estate, quite as valu-

able as that in Snitterfield, appears to have been sacrificed to meet the pressing wants of JOHN SHAKSPEARE, who evidently could not afford to wait another year or two, when he might have had full possession of the very considerable property to which his wife was heir. The extent of ROBERT ARDEN'S leasehold and copyhold estates does not appear, but he must have owned at the least 242 acres of freehold land, with houses thereon, and valuable appurtenances.

That this last named estate in Aston-Cantlowe of 86 acres belonged solely to Robert Arden's youngest daughter is evident from the language of the Fine—"Inter Thomam Webbe et Humfridum Hooper quer. et Johannem Shakespere et Mariam uxorem ejus et Georgium Gybbes deforc. de septuaginta acris terræ, sex acris prati, decem acris pasturæ, et communia pasturæ pro omnimodis averiis cum pertinentiis in Wylmecote," &c.

Robert Arden's widow lived 23 years after the marriage of her step-daughter Mary to John Shakspeare, who probably, on the strength of having married a co-heiress of a good family, had outrun his means, for the Stratford Corporation Books bear mournful testimony to the gradual decay of his fortunes from about and after the year 1578, when we find him excused the payment of trifling sums, and reduced to the sale or mortgage of property which belonged to or would revert to his wife. His poverty is supposed to be partly the reason of his son William quitting his native place, about the period when the sometime high bailiff was removed from his office of alderman—"September 6, 1586, At thys halle William Smythe and Richard Courte are chosen to be aldermen in the places of John Wheler and John Shaxspere; for that Mr Wheler dothe desyre to be put out of the companye, and Mr Shaxspere doth not come to the halles when they be warned, nor hath not done of longe tyme."

It has also been suggested that John Shakspeare's prosperity ceased with that of the town, which we learn from a supplication of the burgesses in 1590 had then "fallen into much decay, for want of such trade as heretofore they had by clothing and making of yarn, employing and maintaining a number of poor people by the same, which now live in great penury and misery, by reason they are not set at work as before they have been." W. HARVEY'S *Shakspeare*, 1825.

ROBERT ARDEN'S FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS.

Mr HUNTER'S remark,—"There is nothing in any act of Shakespeare to shew that there was any acquaintanceship or friendship between him and the Fulwoods," may be extended to all his cousins on the mother's side, who disappear from our view; and not one of their names is to be found in the wills of the Poet and his family. The Fulwoods however, one of whom was son-in-law of Agnes Arden, deserve a few remarks, as they were also connected with Sir John Bernard, second husband of the Poet's only granddaughter, and whose mother was a Fulwood. They were long established in the county of Warwick, at Tanworth, under which place DUGDALE speaks of them, where at *Cley Hill*, formerly called *Fulwode*, he says,—"John Fulwode resided there 19 Ric. 2. Arms, Gules a chevron between three martlets Argent: his son Richard Fulwode, Escheator per co. Warwick and Leicester, in 37 Hen. 6 (1459), which Richard had issue Robert, a Lawyer, and a Justice of the peace in this shire from 17 Hen. 7, till his death: his second son John, from whom the Fulwodes of Ford Hall; by Robert a third son the Fulwodes of Little Alne, co. Warw.; by his eldest Richard father of Robert, who sold Cley-Hill to Thomas Greswould, 35 Eliz." *Warwickshire*, page 581.—Dugdale gives the monumental inscriptions in Tanworth Church to the memory of Richard Fulwood the Escheator; and of Robert his son, the Justice, who appears to have been well versed in law.

"Orate pro animabus Ricardi Fulwode, armigeri & Agnesis uxoris ejus: qui quidem Ricardus obiit xxiii. die Februarii An. Dom. M.D. secundo, quorum animabus propitietur Deus."

"Orate pro animabus Roberti Fulwode armigeri & Margarete uxoris ejus: qui quidem Robertus fuit excellentissimus

doctrinatus, sive literatus in communi lege Angliæ. Et obiit xx. die Mensis Octobris an. D. 1531. Cujus animæ propitietur Deus." Page 578.

"Forde Hall came to John Fulwood about Henry 8ths time, in marriage with Joan the daughter and heir of Baldwin Heath, which John (being second son to Robert Fulwood of Cley Hill in Tanworth) had issue John, and he a third John, who by marriage with Katherine, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Dabridgcourt of Langdon Hall, Esquire, left issue six daughters, his co-heirs, *scil.* Frances, the wife of William Noell, of Willesborough in co. Leicester, Esq.; Eleanor of Sir Edward Hampden, Knight; Alice of Sir George Fulwode, Kt.; Christian of John Hales Esq.; Grace of Angell Grey of Kingston in Com. Dors. Esq.; and Katherine; which Grace had this for her share." Page 606.

William Noel was Sheriff of co. Leicester in 1604, and of co. Warwick in 1621; by his wife Frances Fulwood he had Sir Vere Noel, Bart. second son, whose descendant Sir Edward Noel, Baron Wentworth, was grandfather of Anne Isabella Milbanke-Noel, who married Lord Byron, the poet. The eldest daughter of William Noel and Frances Fulwood, Elizabeth Noel, married Ralph Adderley, and their son was Sir Charles Adderley, Kt. who married Anne Arden of Parkhall. Sir George Fulwood (obt. 1624) was father of Christopher Fulwood, Treasurer of Gray's Inn, a devoted Royalist, who raised in the neighbourhood of his seat, Middleton, co. Derby, a regiment of 1100 men for King Charles I., but being attacked by the soldiers of Sir John Gell of Hopton, died of his wounds, Nov. 16, 1643, leaving two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary.

It is remarkable that DUGDALE does not mention the name of Eleanor Fulwood's first husband, Baldwin Bernard, of Abington Manor, Northamptonshire, by whom she was mother of Sir JOHN BERNARD, second husband of ELIZABETH, daughter of Dr JOHN HALL and SUSANNA SHAKSPEARE. BAKER, in his *History of N. Hants*, gives the pedigree of Bernard; and he states that John Bernard of Abington, made a Knight by Charles the Second, Nov. 25, 1661, was eldest son of Baldwin Bernard Esq. by Eleanor daughter of John Fulwood of Ford Hall, co. Warwick, Esq. Baldwin Bernard died in 1610, when his son John was only

six years old, and his widow Eleanor married secondly Sir Edward Hampden, Knight, uncle of John Hampden, the Patriot. Sir Edward Hampden (son of Griffith Hampden of Great Hampden) was brother of William Hampden, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook, Knight, and their son was the Patriot, JOHN HAMPDEN, who was thus first cousin to the Lord Protector OLIVER CROMWELL, whose father Robert was son of Sir Henry Cromwell aforesaid.

LIPSCOMB, in his *History of Buckinghamshire*, mentions that Sir Edmund (*Edward*) Hampden, married Eleanor second daughter of John Fulwood, widow of Baldwin Bernard, and made her jointure house at Abington his abode, and died there in Dec. 1627: his widow survived till 1634; they were both buried in Abington Church, where there is a monument with a Latin inscription to the memory of Sir Edward Hampden, and several verses in honour of his widow, wherein it is stated that she was the daughter of Katherine Dabridgcourt. They had four sons, of whom the third, Richard, carried on the line of Hampden. Under *Great Missenden*, Vol. III. page 375. The father of Katherine, wife of John Fulwood, viz. Thomas Daubridgcourt, was descended from one of the "First Founders" of the Order of the Garter, as the twenty-five Knights are called who were created by Edward the Third, when he instituted that Most Noble Order. Sir Sanchet D'Aubrichcourt is the last knight but one on the list, and his son Sir John D'Aubrichcourt was made a K.G. in the first year of Henry IV., 1413; but Nicholas, brother of Sir John, is the ancestor of Thomas Daubrichcourt.

The younger brother of John Fulwood who married Joan Heath, Robert Fulwood, was father of another Robert, of Little Alne, co. Warwick, whose son John Fulwood married Mary Hill, the daughter of Agnes Arden by her first husband, and their children were five sons and three daughters; viz. 1. Robert Fulwood of Little Alne, married and had a family; 2. John Fulwood; 3. Avery Fulwood, to whom his grandmother Agnes Arden bequeathed two sheep; he married, had a family, and resided at Wilmecote; obt. 1631; 4. Richard Fulwood of Alcester, who had a family; 5. Adam Fulwood, who is evidently named after Adam Palmer. Of the three daughters, the eldest Eleanor married William Green of Alne;

Alice became the wife, first of Theophilus Williams, and secondly of George Wilkinson, of Green's Norton, N. Hants; and Catherine married Henry Hanbury of Hanbury, co. Worcester. HUNTER'S *Prolusions*, page 42.

Mr HALLIWELL says,—"Shakespeare's grandmother on either side has still to be discovered." *Life*, page 15. So far as regards the wife of RICHARD SHAKSPEARE of Snitterfield, it may be considered almost a hopeless task to ascertain her name; not so, however, in the case of ROBERT ARDEN'S first wife; and it is always worth while to bear in mind the names of the families at Aston-Cantlowe which have come down to us, and among whom he was evidently living when still young; and it will not be a matter of surprise if some fortunate genealogist should discover MARY SHAKSPEARE'S mother in one of those families, of whom several were of good repute in the county of Warwick; and GLOVER ascribes coat-armour to the families of Jenkes, Scarlett, Gibbes (of Honington), Ingram, Cornwall, Fulwood, Green, &c., nor should we lose sight, in such a search, of the names of the overseers to Robert Arden's will, ADAM PALMER and HUGH PORTER, for it was not unusual with testators to select their "overseers" from family connections; thus in the will of WALTER ARDEN, 1502, the overseers, as we have seen, were EDWARD BELKNAP, JOHN BRACEBRIDGE, and JOHN BOTELER, all of whom were allied by marriage to the Ardens.

The grandfather of Walter Arden's wife, Sir Edmund Hampden, Knight of the Shire of Bucks., married Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Belknap, Knt. Joan daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Boteler, Knt., married Hamon Belknap; their grandson may be Walter Arden's overseer, (Sir) Edward Belknap, who died in 1520; he was Esquire of the body to Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and Governor of Warwick Castle. DUGDALE. And the sister of Walter Arden's wife, Alice Hampden married — Butler, or Boteler. A few observations respecting ROBERT ARDEN'S friends and neighbours may perhaps help towards the long wished for discovery of his first wife's name. And in the hope that some genealogist of standing in the county will take up the subject, the Compiler directs attention to a passage in Mr Bellew's *Shakespere's Home:* "There lie before the writer twelve hundred closely written foolscap sheets of Warwickshire pedi-

grees and family histories compiled by the late Rev. Thomas Warde, Vicar of Weston-under-Wetherley, and of Barford, Warwickshire. They are a part of the labour of a long life of an enthusiastic antiquary's research." Page 145.

The PALMERS were of good standing in the shires of Gloucester and Warwick, and the name appears in the *Stratford Corporation Records*, published by Mr HALLIWELL.

"Grant by John Palmere junior of Stratford, 6 Hen. 4." (1405). Page 44. Another John Palmer was chaplain of the Guild of the Holy Cross in 1426; and Thomas Palmer was Chaplain 13 and 14 Hen. VI. 1435-6. William Palmer possessed a tenement in Snitterfield, 19 Hen. VII. 1504. *Records*, page 286; and Robert Arden of Wilmecote purchased a tenement from John Palmer in 1529. Adam Palmer was evidently held in much esteem by his neighbours, for besides being an overseer to the wills of Robert and Agnes Arden, he was also appointed to that trust-worthy office by Thomas Green of Little Alne, who married Anne Gibbes, and by his will, dated 31 March, 1581, nominated as overseers, "his dear friends, Mr George Skinner, Mr Baylee, and Adam Palmer." Among all the actions at law which were brought by persons in and about Stratford, Adam Palmer does not once appear as plaintiff or defendant, a remarkable exception where every other well-known name figures in litigation, to which the worthy inhabitants of the town and its neighbourhood were much addicted. Adam Palmer's name is found only in offices of trust.

The Compiler has had the satisfaction of finding ADAM PALMER in Lennard and Vincent's *Warwickshire Visitation* of 1619, wherein it appears that "Adam Palmer of Aston Cantlow in com. War." married DOROTHY, daughter of ALURED TRUSSELL of Billesley, whose wife was MARGARET, daughter of ROBERT FULWOOD, and had, with a daughter MARY, married to RICHARD GRIMSHAW of Knoll, a son HENRY PALMER, of Milverton, co. War., who by his wife ELIZABETH, daughter of GEORGE AVERALL of Solihull, had GEORGE PALMER, son and heir, aged 19, EDWARD 16, HENRY 13, ELIZABETH 10, and URSULA 7 years, in the year 1619. *Harl. Brit. Mus.*, 1167, f. 143.

A brother of Dorothy Palmer, THOMAS TRUSSELL, is no doubt the Thomas Trussell, who was associated with JOHN

SHAKSPEARE in matters of business, and practised as an attorney in Stratford-upon-Avon. Alured Trussell had a brother, an uncle, and a grandfather, all named Thomas, and one of these two last is most likely the Thomas Trussell named (evidently as a trustee) in the Grant, 1501, from Mayowe to Thomas Arden, and his son Robert,—who probably married into the families of Trussell and Palmer. One of ROBERT ARDEN'S great grandsons was ADAM EDKINS, who appears to be named after Adam Palmer, who may be connected with Richard Palmer whose wife was Margery, daughter and heir of John Herthul, whose father John Herthul married Agnes, daughter of John Fulwood of Tanworth. The Christian name of Adam occurs frequently in the pedigree of Herthul; Sir Adam de Herthul, Knt., obt. 11 Ed. III.; and his grandson was named Adam, as was his grandfather, obt. 13 Ed. I.

In Ansley Church, co. Warwick, was a brass plate to the memory of Joan wife of Robert Palmer, Gentleman, date 1380, wherein the names of their children are recorded; John, Robert, William, Richard, Henry, Elizabeth, Joan, Joyce, and Margaret. DUGDALE, *Warw.* page 748. At the surrender of the Abbey of Kenilworth, 29 Hen VIII., Richard Palmer was one of the canons, and had £8 *per annum* for allowance. *Monasticon*, Vol. VI.

The family of PORTER was likewise connected with the county: "Thomas Porter of Escote, co. Warwick, Esquire," is returned in the List of the Gentry of that Shire, 12 Hen. VI. FULLER'S *Worthies*. Thomas Porter of Barston, co. Warwick (ob. 1499), married Anne (ob. 1506) sister of Sir Thomas Littleton, K.B., the great Lawyer and writer. In 7 Hen. VIII., 1516, Robert Porter was Steward to the College at Stratford-upon-Avon.

Edward Scarlett and John Scarlett were two of the Yeomen of the King's Chamber, 17 Hen. VIII., 1516, each receiving as wages £15. 4*s.* 2*d.* yearly; whilst a Page of the King's Chamber had only £1. 6*s.* 8*d.* *per annum*. *Regulations of the Royal Household* in 17 Hen. VIII. Published in 1790. Page 170. GLOVER ascribes the arms for SCARLETT, "Per fesse or and gules a lion rampant per fesse sable and ermine." This coat somewhat resembles that of Lord Abinger (Scarlett), which is—Chequy *Or* and *Gules* a lion rampant *Ermine*, on a canton *Azure* a castle triple towered *Argent*. Among the residents

at Aston-Cantlowe in 1546 assessed to the subsidy, were John Scarlett on £8, and Margaret Scarlett on £5, probably the mother of John, who is perhaps the overseer to Robert Arden's will. Their assessments denote a good position.

A Philip Scarlett, most probably of the same family, was a witness, Oct. 20, 1652, to an Indenture between (Sir) John Bernard and Elizabeth his wife (Shakspeare's granddaughter), and Henry Smyth and William Fetherston. R. B. WHELER.

The family of GIBBES, of whom we find Nicholas residing in Aston-Cantlowe in 1546, assessed to the subsidy on £5, and George Gibbes one of Agnes Arden's overseers, was much connected with Stratford, where—"John Gibbes was high bailiff, in 39 Eliz. 1597," and "John Gybbes, gentleman, chief alderman," in 1614, no doubt the same person. HALLIWELL'S *Records*, pp. 305, 443. There is also "a precept for John Gibbes to answer Thomas French, 6 Jac. I," 1609. *Ib.* page 327. GLOVER describes the arms for GIBBES (of Honington, co. Warwick), "Sable three battle-axes in pale Argent."

The witness to Robert Arden's will, THOMAS JENKES, was probably a son or relation of John Jenkes, assessed at Aston-Cantlowe in 1546, on £6. GLOVER gives the arms for JENKES of Wolverton, co. Salop,—"Or three boars' heads couped Sable, a chief indented of the last."

A neighbour of Robert Arden, in 1546, at Aston-Cantlowe, was Richard Ingram, assessed on £6. GLOVER ascribes arms for INGRAM, of Warwickshire,—"Ermine on a fesse Gules three escallop shells Or."

Another neighbour, assessed on £5, is Richard Green, a name which often occurs in *Stratford Annals*. Thomas Green, an attorney, Town-clerk of Stratford, was related to the Poet. The following extracts are from his Diary:—"1614, 10 Januarii, Mr Maynwayring and his agreement for me with my cousen Shakspeare."..."1614, Mr Replyngham, 28 Octobris article with Mr Shakspear, and then I was putt in by Thursday."—"1615, 1 Sept. Mr Shakspeare told Mr J. Greene that he was not able to beare the encloasing of Welcombe." In 1614,—"Jovis, 17 No. my cousen Shakespeare comyng yesterday, I went to see him, how he did, He told me that they assured him they ment to inclose no further than to Gospel bush, and so upp straight (leaving out part of the Dyngles to the field) to the gate in Clopton hedg, and take in Salisbury's

peece; and that they mean in Aprill to survey the land, and then to give satisfaction, and not before: and he and Mr Hall say, they think there will be nothyng done at all." COLLIER'S *Life*, page 211, *note.*

The family of WEBBE, so much connected with the Ardens and Shakspeares, was of long standing in Stratford, the name appearing frequently in the *Corporation Records.*

"Grant by Henry Webbe of Stratford to Walter Ulymaker of the same of one half burgage lying in Rother Streete, 20 Ric. II." 1397. HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 43. Geoffrey Webbe was Proctor of the Guild, 6 & 7 Hen. IV. 1405, and 1406. *Ib.* page 252. John Webbe was of Stratford, 9 Hen. VI., 1431, and was Master of the Guild of St Cross, 16 Hen. VI., 1438; in which year he is so styled in a "Demise by him and others to William Webbe son of John Webbe of Welycote and wife of one tenement in Shepe Streete."

Of this family no doubt Alexander Webbe and his sister Agnes were members, and who were so remarkably allied to Robert Arden, who married Agnes for his second wife, his daughter Margaret being then the wife of Alexander Webbe.

One of the families residing at Aston-Cantlowe, with Robert Arden, was that of EDKINS; of whom Walter Edkyns was assessed at £10; and Richard Edkyns at £6. Of this family was no doubt the THOMAS EDKINS who married ROBERT ARDEN'S third daughter, KATHARINE, and they had a son, THOMAS. To them also was probably related ADAM EDKINS, of Wilmecote, "who had a lease from the Corporation of Stratford of the tithes of Little Wilmecote, 1st October, 20 James I., 1623." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 154. Robert Edkins was of Stratford in 1639; and Stephen Edkins of the same place 22 Charles II., 1671. In the list of subscribers to Mr Wheler's *History of Stratford*, are the names of "Miss Edkins," and "Miss A. Edkins," both of Alcester. And at the present time, 1868, Mr Robert Edkins, a farmer, resides at Aston-Cantlowe.

From the fact that THOMAS ARDEN, father of ROBERT, is described in 1501, as of Aston-Cantlowe, the Compiler was led to search through the "*Pedes Finium*" of the reigns of Richard III., and Henry VII., in the hope of seeing his name

in some document. But the only allusion to his place of residence is as follows ;—

"Warw. inter Wm. Reynolds & Ricum Boteler & Humf. Bolingsby & B. ux. def. de terr. in Aston Cantlow, Hil. anno Sexto Hen. VII."

PETER LE NEVE'S *Collection*, f. 33, 1689. *Record Office.*

The date in this "fine" is 1491, or ten years before the Grant from Mayow to Thomas and Robert Arden ; but one of the surnames, Reynolds, occurs in both deeds, whilst Boteler is the name of a family connected with the Ardens.

The name of Reynolds is much connected with Warwickshire, and especially with Stratford. In the list of the Gentry of the Shire, 12 Hen. VI., 1433, is—"William Reynolds de Attilburg." FULLER'S *Worthies*. In 7 Hen. VIII., 1516, Hugh Reynolds was Bailiff of the College at Stratford. Hugh Reynolds, either the same or a son, was Master of the Guild there, 31 Hen. VIII., 1540. Thomas Reynolds held a lease there in 1586. As we have seen, Humphrey Reynolds, in 1552, was fined with John Shakspeare, both living in Henley Street. William Reynolds, "of Old Stratford, gentleman," had a lease of some tithes in Stratford, 1628. HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 154. And this seems to be the friend of the Poet, who remembered him in his will,—"*to William Raynoldes, gent. xxvj*^{s} *viij*^{d} *to buy him A Ringe.*"

This is evidently the family recorded in the Visitation of 1619. *Harl.* 1167, f. 89, commencing with "Hugh Reinolds of Stratford, co. War.," who by his wife "Jocosa d. of Rob. Blount of Glason Park near Ashcley," had two sons, "Hugh eld. s. ob^{t}. s. p.," and "Thos. Reynoldes, of Old Stratford 2 son," who by his wife "Margaret d. & co. h. of Will. Gower of Redmurley, Warc." had "W^{m}. Reinoldes of Old Stratford, s. and h. a^{o}. 1619," who by his wife "Frances d. of — Bois of London," had "Anne only d., d. 1619." A younger brother of William Reynolds, Walter married Jocosa daughter of Rich. Pace of Shottery, and their daughter Jane married John Fetherston of Atherstone.

FAMILIES OF ARDEN,

IN CHESHIRE, ESSEX, SURREY, AND STAFFORDSHIRE.

Several notices are to be found of families bearing the name of ARDEN in various counties, but it is not easy to connect them with the old Warwickshire house, with the exception of the ARDENS of STAFFORDSHIRE, who settled at Longcroft, in the parish of Yoxall, and where they still remain; and probably they are the only representatives in the male line of Arden, affording an example of uninterrupted descent from father to son for eight centuries, by the same name.

ARDEN *of Cheshire.* It is by no means certain that the Ardens of *Cheshire* had any right to claim an alliance with the Warwickshire house. It is true that the careful editor of Debrett's Peerage (1843), Mr George William Collen, says in his account of Lord Alvanley (Arden, title extinct in 1857), "This family, though not ennobled till the present century, may vie, for antiquity, with any in the united kingdom, his lordship being lineally descended from Ailwin de Arden, who was Sheriff of Warwickshire in the time of Edward the Confessor. His ancestors appear to have intermarried with most of the principal families of Cheshire; and, amongst others, with the heiresses of Orreby, Wetenhall, and Done." But this statement, whilst it bears testimony to the high antiquity of the Ardens, is at variance, as to the descent from the Saxon Sheriff, with the pedigree given to the ancestors of the late lord Alvanley by the historian of *Cheshire,* Mr ORMEROD, who says, when alluding to the Ardens of the North, "The parentage of Sir John Arderne, whose son thus obtained possession of Alvanley, and was the male ancestor of the numerous branches of this distinguished family, is a

matter of considerable uncertainty. An interpolated leaf in Vincent's *Cheshire Collections* has given rise to a generally received opinion that he was son of Randle, son of Peter, the clerk of the Earl of Chester, who is identified in this pedigree with Peter, the clerk, son of Ralph de Hampton, who in 53 Henry III., was justice itinerant under the name of Ralph de Arden, and descended paternally from Turketill de Arden, the Saxon governor of Warwickshire in the time of Edward the Confessor."....."It is only clear that the accounts are erroneous which would refer the origin of this family to the Ardens of Warwickshire, and that the rank and possessions which they obtained in Cheshire in the 13th century are to be traced to a connection with the baronial house of Halton, the immediate mode of connection remaining unidentified." Vol. II. page 37. In the General Index, Vol. III. the same writer has this reference;—"Arderne of Aldford family improperly confounded by Vincent with the Warwickshire Ardens." In the Pedigree of Arden, given by DUGDALE, and DRUMMOND, Ralph de Arden's son Peter is called "clericus," and he is said to have become a monk; a descent from him therefore would not be a subject for congratulation, and in fact it may be rejected altogether.

Since his publication of the *History of Cheshire*, Mr ORMEROD ascertained the real descent of the Alvanley Ardens to be from Eustace de Arden, otherwise de Watford, co. Northampton, whose son Eustace (qui obt. 1213) was father of Sir John de Ardern, who was named as "his knight" by Ranulph III., Earl of Chester, and had from him before 1229 the grant of the Great Fee of Aldford in Cheshire, comprising twenty-eight vills or manors. *Miscellanea Palatina.* Part II. p. 72, Ed. 1851.

ARDEN of *Essex.* MORANT, in his *History of Essex*, mentions, under *Horndon-on-the-Hill*, the manor of Ardern Hall;—"After Earl Eustace (*earl of Boulogne*), time of William the Conqueror, its antientest owners were a Family surnamed de Ardern, from which it took its appellation of Ardern Hall. In 1122 *Thomas Ardern* and his son *Thomas* gave to the monks of Bermondsey the tythes of corn of this lordship in Horndon, which was this estate." These donors are evidently the same persons as the Arderns who are mentioned in the *History of Surrey* by MANNING, continued by BRAY.

ARDEN of *Surrey*. Under *Bermondsey;*—"1122, 22 Hen. I. *Thomas Ardern* and *Thomas* his son gave the Church of St George at Southwerk and tithes of corn in Horndon, and lands of London Bridge, rendering a rent of 5*s*. and all the small tythes in prædictâ villâ, of wool, cheese, lambs, calves, coltes, and all other tythable things." Vol. III. page 190. Ed. 1804. If these Ardens belong to the family of Turchill, they are probably the grandson and great grandson of Siward de Arden, viz. Sir Thomas de Arden of Rotley, and his son of the same name, though the heralds only record their gifts to the Abbey of Leicester.

In Leigh Church, Surrey, MANNING describes (Vol. II. page 186) several brasses to a family of Ardern, which Mr DRUMMOND has also figured in his *Noble British Families;*—"In the chancel on the floor is a small whole-length figure in brass, of a female, flat head-dress, hands lifted up, and joined; over it is a scroll, "mercy J'hu," and "Graunt m'cy"; under it, "Hic jacet *Susanna* filia Joh'is Arderne armig' & Elizabeth' ux'is sue cuj's a'ie p'picietur Deus, Amen." The shield of arms is lost. On the North side, partly covered by the rails of the communion table, are large whole length figures of a man and woman, their hands lifted up and joined. He is not in armour. Below his figure are those of three boys, partly broken; and below her are three girls. Under the boys, partly covered by the rails;—

Thomas Joh'nes & Hen. .....
Arderne armig'i & Eliz. .....

Under the girls:

Anna, Bridgatta, & Susanna filie .....
Joh'is Ardern armig'i & Elizabeth ux'is sue:

Arms, a fess chequé between three crescents. On the South side of the Chancel, within the rails, and partly covered by them, on a brass;—

"Orate pro animabus Ricardi Ardern Gentilman et Johanne uxoris ejus.....quidem Ricardus obiit xxb dies mensis Novembris anno D'ni.....mo cccco lxxxixo quoru' animabus propiciet' Deus Amen."

John de Ardern was instituted Vicar of Dorking, 2 Apr. 1324. Vol. I. Page 190. But there is a statement by MAN-

NING which requires correction, where he says, under *Reigate*, Vol. I. page 305 ;—"Flaunchford, part of the manor of Reigate, was conveyed to John Ardern Esq., of the co. of Warw. and Alice his wife, John Gaynesford Esq. John Elmebrugge, & John Skynner, in trust for the said John & Alice for ever, 12 Feb. 32 H. VI. 1453—4. The aforesaid John Ardern was of a family of that name seated at *Curdworth* in the county of *Warwick*, and was Esquire of the Body to King Henry VII. How long the family continued in possession I know not." But if the above date, 32 H. VI. is correct, then the aforesaid John Ardern could not be the Esquire of the Body, who was eldest son of Walter Arden of Park-hall, in Curdworth, because we have seen that the latter had a quarrel about this son being enticed into a marriage with Alice Bracebridge, when he must have been under age; and DUGDALE gives the date, 13 E. IV. in February, which answers to 1473, and this would fix the birth of Sir John Arden, the King's esquire, about the year 1453, the date of the aforesaid conveyance. The well-known names, Gaynsford, Elmebridge, and Skinner, belong to good Surrey families, of whom some were Sheriffs of the county, and members of Parliament. John Ardern of Leigh was Sheriff of Surrey in 1432, 10 Hen. VI.

John Skynner of Reigate, ob^{t} 1470, had a son, John Skynner, ob^{t} 1516, who married Jane, daughter of John Gaynesford of Lindfield. Thomas Ellenbridge (the name is spelt in eighteen different ways), Gentleman-Porter to Cardinal Morton, married Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Gainsford, of Carshalton, Knight of the Shire of Surrey, 28 Henry VI., and Esquire of the Body to K. Henry VII.

Before we notice the branch of Arden in Yoxall, co. Stafford, it may be as well to allude to the family of Ardern of Elford in that shire, which seems to have ended in an heiress. Sir John Ardern of Elford, Knight, married Catherine only daughter and eventually sole heir of Sir Thomas Stafford, of Clifton, by whom he had a son, Sir John Ardern, Knight, who by his wife Matilda .... had a daughter and heir Maud, who married Thomas second son of Sir John Stanley, K.G. and Isabel Lathom, and their son became Stanley of Elford. The above Ardens probably belonged to the family of Arden of Elford, in Cheshire.

To face p. 499

TABLE X.

PEDIGREE OF ARDEN OF LONGCROFT HALL, IN YOXALL, CO. STAFFORD.

ARMS OF ARDEN, Ermine a fesse chequy Or and Azure.

XVI. WALTER ARDEN, of Parkhall, co. Warwick, ob. 1502. Tomb at Aston-juxta-Birmingham. — ELEANOR, daughter and co-heir of JOHN HAMPDEN, of Great Hampden, co. Bucks. Argent a saltier Gules between four eagles displayed Azure. See Tables VI. and VII.

XVII. THOMAS ARDEN, 2nd son of Aston-Cantlowe — XVII. Sir JOHN ARDEN, of Parkhall, Knt., Esquire of the body to K. Henry VII. — ALICE, daughter of Richard Brocklehirst, of Kingsbury Park, co. Warwick. ob. 1516, eldest son. Vaire Argent and Sable a fesse Gules.

XVIII. Robert Arden, of Aston-Cantlowe, ob. 1556 — XVIII. THOMAS ARDEN, of Parkhall, eldest son, first cousin to Robert Arden, of Aston-Cantlowe, ob. 1563. — MARY, daughter of Sir Thomas Andrews, of Charwelton, co. Hants, Knt. Gules a saltier Vert embattled Or.

XIX. MARY ARDEN, married there to JOHN SHAKESPEARE, of Stratford-upon-Avon. — XIX. STRICE ARDEN, 2nd son, purchased Longcroft, co. Stafford, = MARGARET, daughter of ..... 1st wife. *Visitation of 1619.* — WILLIAM ARDEN, of Park-hall, eldest son. and ex-hall. See Table IX. Sheriff co. Warwick 11 Eliz., ob. 1608. Gules four mullets Argent, a canton of the second. See Table VIII.

XX. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

XX. ANDREW ARDEN, of Longcroft, ob. 1624. — MARY, daughter of JOHN WEDGWOOD, of Harrisley. *Visitation of 1663, Bibl. Harl.* 6164.

XXI. HUMPHREY ARDEN, of Longcroft, ob. 1667. — ELIZABETH, daughter of HENRY RUSSELL. *Visit.* 1663.

XXII. HENRY ARDEN, of Longcroft, ob. 1676. — KATHERINE, daughter of RICHARD HARPER. *Visit.* 1663. Argent a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed Sable.

JOHN ARDEN, eldest son, ob. 1700, s. p. — XXIII. HUMPHREY ARDEN, 2nd son, succeeded his brother at Longcroft, ob. 1720. — ..... daughter of ..... Lassells. *Visit.* Sable a cross fleury within a bordure Or.

CATHERINE, twin with Henry, ob. ante 1719.

XXIV. HENRY ARDEN, of Longcroft, ob. 1738. Monument in Yoxall Church. — Aug. 10, = ANNE, daughter of ..... ALCOCK, 2nd wife. Ermine a mullet Sable between three tortoises.

XXV. JOHN ARDEN, of Longcroft, ob. Nov. 8, 1794. — High Sheriff — ANNA-CATHERINA, eldest daughter of JOHN NEWTON, of King's Bromley, 1st wife. co. Stafford, 1736. Sable two skin-bones salire-wise Argent.

ANNE CATHERINA, married PETITPIERRE NOTT. — CATHERINE. — XXVI. HENRY ARDEN, of Longcroft, ob. June 22, 1782. — ALETHEA, eldest daughter of ROBERT COTTON, of Worcester. Azure a chevron between three cotton-hanks Argent.

1. HENRY ARDEN. — 2. ROBERT HUMPHREY ARDEN. — 4. SAMUEL ARDEN. Capt. R.N. ob. s. p. — XXVII. Rev. JOHN ARDEN, of Longcroft Hall, eldest son, = MARGARET-ELIZABETH, only child of JOSEPH HAMAR, Admiral of the White. — 5. ANNE. — 6. ALETHEA. — 7. CATHERINE. Sheriff of King's Bromley," ob. 1829. Azure a chevron between two mullets in chief and in base three swords Argent hilted in so many hands Gules.

1. JOHN ARDEN, of Longcroft Hall, Major 3rd Dragoons, ob. 1869. — 3. MARGARET, dau. of JOHN HARRISON, of Wellington. — 4. SAMUEL=JANE, dau. of JAMES FRANCKLYN, of Bristol, Esq. — ARDEN, Capt. 4th Foot. — 6. WILLIAM=LETTICE, dau. of Rev. JOHN WESTON. — 3. HENRY, 2nd Foot. — 4. Rev. FRANCIS EDW.=RACHEL, daughter of JOHN PINCKARD, of Towcester, Esq. Argent six lozenges in pale Gules within a bordure Azure sable of crosses patée fitchée Or. — 13. Rev. THOMAS=ISABELLA, dau. of Rev. EDWARD ARDEN, ob. 1861. — 14. ALETHEA. — 15. CATHERINE-EMMA, mar. W. W. FELL, Esq. — 16. ANNA-DIANA, mar. Rev. F. COOPER. — 17. MARY-JANE mar. GEORGE W. FRANCKLYN, M. P.

JOHN H. C. ARDEN, ob. 1844, s. p. — MARGARET, mar. JAMES CRAIGIE, Esq. — SUSANNA, mar. JOHN BOTT, of Coton Hall. — 2 sons. — 2 daughters. — 2. THOMAS, d. young. — 5. CHARLES. — 7. CHARLOTTE HUMPHRIES. — 8. GEORGE, d. at sea. — 9. THOMAS-EDWARD. — 10. CHARLES JOSEPH. — 1. EDWARD THOMAS ARDEN, Clerk, Lichfield. — 2. ALBERT A. ARDEN, of Calcutta. — 3. MARGARET, daughter of F. W. ALEXANDER, Esq.

M. T. BOGG=EMILY-JANE ARDEN, M.P. Derby. — ANNE = ARDEN. — MAITLAND.

M. ARTHUR BASS, M.P. for Staffordshire. — HAMAR BASS. — EMILY BASS. — ..... PLOWDEN, E.I.C.C.S. — ALICE BASS. — 2 sons, 3 daughters. — 4 sons.

1. Rev. EDWARD FRANCIS ARDEN, ob. 1862, æt. 43, s. p. — 2. Rev. HENRY=LOUISA, 3rd dau. of Rear.-Adm. GEORGE HELES, Longcroft, ob. 1856. — 3. EMMA-JANE ARDEN, ob. 1856. — 6. RACHEL-MARGARET, mar. HENRY COOKE, of Coton, Esq. — 9. CHARLOTTE-MARY ANN, mar. RICHARD MOUTY, of Petersfield, Esq. — XXIII. GEORGE PINCKARD=CAROLINE, 3rd daughter of Rear-Admiral GEORGE HELES, Argent a chevron between three martlets Sable. — 4. HAMAR HUMPHREY ARDEN. — 5. ALICE, daughter of ..... Capt., R.N. — 4 sons. — 4 daughters. — 5. WILLIAM ARDEN, late of the "King's Hussars," resides at Longcroft Hall, J. P. for co. Stafford, 1868. — 6. ALFRED JOHN, died young.

XXV. CHARLES-EDWARD ARDEN, ob. 1st son and heir. — 2. ALFRED-HILLS ARDEN. — 3. WILLIAM-HENRY PERCIVAL ARDEN. — 4. CAROLINE-LOUISA ARDEN. — 5. EDNA-FANNY ARDEN. — 6. CHARLOTTE-EMILY ARDEN. — 7. MARY-GEORGINA ARDEN. — 8. HARRIETTE-MARIA ARDEN. — 9. RACHEL-MARY ARDEN. — 10. JULIA-FRANCES ARDEN. — 11. CATHERINE-CONSTANCE ARDEN.

ARDEN OF LONGCROFT HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE.

This branch from the ancient House of ARDEN of Warwickshire is derived through SIMON ARDEN, of Longcroft in the parish of Yoxall, second son of THOMAS ARDEN of Park-hall, who was descended both by his father, Sir JOHN ARDEN, and his mother, ALICE BRACEBRIDGE, from TURCHILL de ARDEN. SHAW says of Longcroft,—"It was purchased, I believe, by Simon de Arden (second son of Thomas Arden of Park-hall, co. Warwick) in the time of Queen Elizabeth, who in the 18th of her reign found one light horse, and paid to her other subsidy (1590) xxvi^{s} viii^{d} for his lands in Yoxall, then valued at x^{l} as before stated." *Staffordshire*, under *Yoxall*, Vol. I. page 99. In the Family Manuscript Memoir of the Ardens of Yoxall it is stated that Longcroft was purchased by their ancestor from the old family of De Yoxall.

SIMON ARDEN was Sheriff of Warwickshire 11 Eliz., 1569, and died in 1600; by his first wife, according to the *Visitation* of 1619, MARGARET — he left a son, who succeeded at Longcroft, AMBROSE ARDEN, ob^{t} 1624, who in 1588 married MARY, daughter of JOHN WEDGWOOD of Harady (*Visitation* of 1669), and their son and heir, HUMPHREY ARDEN succeeded to Longcroft; he died in 1663, leaving by his wife ELIZABETH, daughter of HENRY RUSSELL (*Visit.* 1669), a son and heir HENRY ARDEN, who succeeded to Longcroft Hall, and died Nov. 27, 1676, leaving by his wife CATHERINE, daughter of RICHARD HARPER (*Visit.* 1669), a son and heir, John Arden, who died in 1700 without issue, and a second son, heir to his brother John, viz. HUMPHREY ARDEN, of Longcroft Hall (ob^{t} 1705), who married — daughter of — LASCELLS (*Visit.*), and had a son and heir, HENRY ARDEN of Longcroft Hall, (whose twin-sister was Catherine), ob^{t} August 10, 1728, who by his second wife, ANNE daughter of

— ALCOCK, left a son and heir, JOHN ARDEN, of Longcroft Hall, high Sheriff, co. Stafford in 1730, died Nov. 8, 1734, leaving by his wife, ANNA, CATHERINA, eldest daughter of JOHN NEWTON, of King's Bromley, co. Stafford (by his wife Mary, daughter of Thomas Vernon), two daughters, Catherina, and Anna-Catherina who married Fettiplace Nott, and a son and heir, HENRY ARDEN, of Longcroft Hall, who had by his wife, "ALETHEA, eldest daughter of ROBERT COTTON, of Worcester, seven children, Anne, John, Henry, Alethea, Catherine, Robert-Humphrey, and Samuel." *Monumental inscription* in Yoxall Church on the family tomb. Henry Arden died June 22, 1782. Mr Drummond in his Table of the Arden Pedigree says that the eldest daughter, Alethea of Henry and Alethea Arden, married Benjamin Spilsbury, Esq. The youngest son, Samuel Arden, Captain in the Royal Navy, lost his right arm in action, and is mentioned with honour in *Naval Heroes;* he died without issue.

The eldest son of Henry and Alethea, who succeeded to Longcroft Hall, the Rev. JOHN ARDEN, called by Shaw "Minister of King's Bromley," was born in 1752, ob^{t} Feb. 10, 1803; he married in May, 1775, MARGARET ELIZABETH, only child of JOSEPH HAMAR, Admiral of the White, and sole representative of the Hamar and Limeburner families, by whom, who died in May, 1842, aged 88, he had seventeen children, of whom twelve were sons, viz. John; Francis-Edward; Henry, Captain 61st Foot, killed at Toulouse; Samuel; Charles; William, Captain 4th Foot; George-Humphrey; George, died at sea; Thomas-Hamar; Charles-Joseph; Thomas died young; and another Thomas, in holy orders, who married Isabella-Mary, daughter of the Rev. Edward Cooper, Rector of Yoxall, by whom he had two sons, the Rev. Edward-Thomas Arden, and the Rev. Albert A. Arden, in India, who married there January 12th, 1867, Margaret, daughter of J. W. Alexander, Esq. Mr Drummond states that William, Captain 4th Foot, sixth son of the Rev. John Arden and Margaret Hamar, married Lettice, daughter of the Rev. John Warton; they had two sons, and two daughters. The fourth son of the Rev. John Arden, Samuel Arden, was Colonel in the Hon. East India Company's Service, and by his wife Jane, daughter of James Francklyn, of Bristol, Esq. had two daughters, of whom Anne Arden

married — Maitland Esq.; they have two sons and two daughters; and Emily-Jane Arden, who is married to Michael-Thomas Bass, Esq. of Burton-upon-Trent, and Rangemore, co. Stafford, M.P. for Derby, and their children are two sons, and two daughters, viz. Michael-Arthur Bass, M.P. for East Staffordshire, 1868; Hamar Bass; Emily Bass married to — Plowden, Esq., Hon. E.I.C. Civil Service; and Alice Bass.

The five daughters of the Rev. John Arden and Margaret Hamar were, 1. Alethea; and 2. Eliza; who both died unmarried; 3. Catherina-Emma, who married Walter William Fell, Esq. of the Middle Temple, and of Preston, co. Lancaster; 4. Anna-Diana, the wife of the very Rev. Francis Close, D.D., Dean of Carlisle; 5. Mary-Jane, who married George Woodroffe Francklyn, Esq., M.P. for Poole. At the death in 1803, of the Rev. John Arden, his eldest son succeeded to Longcroft Hall, viz. Major JOHN ARDEN, of the Third Dragoons, or "King's Own" (buried in Wellingborough Church); he married MARGARET, daughter of JOHN HODSON of Wellingborough, Esq. by whom he had a son, JOHN-HUMPHREY-COTTON ARDEN, who succeeded to Longcroft Hall on the death of his father in 1809, but died in 1824, S.P.; and two daughters, Margaret-Mary-Anne, who married James Crallan, Esq.; and Susanna, who married John Bott, of Coton Hall, co. Stafford, Esq. At the death of John H. C. Arden in 1824, Longcroft Hall came to his uncle, the Rev. FRANCIS-EDWARD ARDEN [second son of the Rev. John Arden], Rector of Gresham, co. Norfolk, who married RACHEL, daughter of JOHN PINCKARD of Towcester, Esq. by whom (who died in 1852) he had six sons, and three daughters; of the latter Emma-Jane died unmarried; Rachel-Margaret married Henry Cooke, of Coton Hall, co. Norfolk, Esq.; and Charlotte-Mary married Richard Minty of Petersfield, Esq. and has issue. The Rev. Francis Edward Arden died Dec. 27, 1855, and his eldest son of the same names having pre-deceased his father, in 1853, S.P., Longcroft Hall came to the second son, the Rev. HENRY-COTTON ARDEN, who was Rector of Bessingham, and Perpetual Curate of Sustead, both in the county of Norfolk. He married in 1857, LYDIA, second daughter of Rear-Admiral GEORGE

HILLS, but died without issue, in 1865: his relict married secondly William Fell, Esquire.

At the decease of the Rev. H. C. Arden, Longcroft Hall came to his next brother, GEORGE-PINCKARD ARDEN, Esq. the present owner, but residing at Maplested Hall, Essex, who married CAROLINE, third daughter of Rear-Admiral GEORGE HILLS, by whom he has a family of three sons, and eight daughters; viz. 1. GEORGE-EDWARD ARDEN, eldest son and heir; 2. AILWIN-HILLS ARDEN; 3. WILLIAM-HENRY-PERCIVAL ARDEN; 4. CAROLINE-LOUISA ARDEN; 5. EMMA-FANNY ARDEN; 6. CHARLOTTE-EMILY ARDEN; 7. MARY-GEORGINA ARDEN; 8. HARIETTE-MARIA ARDEN; 9. RACHEL-MARY ARDEN; 10. JULIA-FRANCES ARDEN; 11. CATHERINE-CONSTANCE ARDEN. The remaining sons of the Rev. FRANCIS-EDWARD ARDEN and RACHEL PINCKARD are, 4. HUMPHREY-HAMAR ARDEN, who married ALICE, daughter of — CLISBY of London, and has four sons and four daughters; 5. WILLIAM ARDEN; and 6. ALFRED-JOHN ARDEN, who died during infancy. Mr WILLIAM ARDEN, late an officer in the "King's Hussars," is a Justice of the Peace for the county of Stafford, and resides at Longcroft Hall, to which he has added by purchase some lands in the parish of Yoxall, in which is a "Cæsar's Camp." This gentleman, who is, with his brothers, the twenty-ninth in descent from the Saxon Sheriff Ailwyn, has kindly assisted the Compiler in the Pedigree of his ancient Family, of which he and his surviving brothers are the representatives in unbroken male descent, through which they are entitled to claim the proud distinction of being of kin to WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, whose maternal grandfather, ROBERT ARDEN of Wilmecote, was first-cousin to THOMAS ARDEN of Park-hall, the progenitor of the Ardens of Longcroft Hall; the said THOMAS (son of JOHN, eldest son), and ROBERT (son of THOMAS, second son), being grandsons of WALTER ARDEN of Park-hall. "There are few families in Europe, and still fewer in Great Britain, which can boast of a descent in uninterrupted male line so antient as this. Had it been settled in any other part of Europe it would have abounded in titles; but in England, whilst notwithstanding its subversion at the Conquest, it continued to hold the rank of knights, the real no-

bility in ancient times, none of its members possessed sufficient wealth or power to cause them to be summoned to the councils of the king as Barons. The Saxon families were so much oppressed by the Conqueror and his successors, that few of them received any favour from the Norman monarchs, yet there are not many of the House of Peers of an origin so illustrious." DRUMMOND'S *Noble British Families.* Vol. I.

Oldys said that the Poet's mother, Mary Arden, was beautiful. Mr E. T. Craig, of Guy's Cliff, near Warwick, is of opinion that "Mary Arden was not only handsome in form and fair in feature, but that she was mainly instrumental in transmitting to her son those exquisite sensibilities, moral and mental peculiarities in capacity and character, which have made all the world worshippers of the memory of Shakspere .... and that mainly to the Ardens the world owes the noble heritage of the refined sensibilities and genius of Shakspere." *The Heritage of Genius*, 1864.

The Staffordshire Ardens bear the well-known ARMS of the Warwickshire family: *Ermine* a fesse chequy *Or* and *Azure.* CREST, on a chapeau *Azure* turned up *Ermine* a boar passant *Or.* MOTTO, Quo me cunque vocat patria.

NOBLE AND GENTLE FAMILIES ALLIED TO THE ARDENS.

In several churches in the county of Warwick are, or were, to be seen shields of arms belonging to families who were evidently proud of recording their alliances with the oldest house in the shire. Especially the GREVILLES, ennobled in the person of Sir Fulke Greville, first Lord Brooke, kinsman, school-fellow, cherished companion, and biographer of England's darling hero, and perfect gentleman, Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, had several shields in churches, whereon their arms are quartered with those of Arden. A reference to TABLE VII. will show that the grandson of Sir ROBERT, or LORD, de ARDEN, GILES de ARDEN, had an eldest daughter and coheir, MARGARET de ARDEN, who married LUDOVICK, or LEWIS GREVILLE[1]. LELAND says of this alliance,—"The first notable increase of the landes of Graville of Draiton came by one Lewis Graville, who married Margaret, the daughter and heir of a noble, called Syr Giles Ardene." In order to understand the quarterings which will be mentioned presently, it is necessary to give the descent and alliances of Greville. LUDOVICK and MARGARET GREVILLE had a son, WILLIAM GREVILLE, who was styled "the flower of wool-merchants of all England;" and Aubrey says that he and Wenman bought all the Cotswold wool; and thus through that great staple William Greville laid the foundation of his house's fortune. His wife was ANNE, daughter of Sir ROBERT FRANCIS of Foremark, Kn^t^, by whom he had an only son, RALPH GREVILLE, who married CATHERINE daughter of THOMAS POYNTZ, Esq. and their son, JOHN GREVILLE of Milcote married JOAN, daughter and heir of Sir HUMPHREY FORSTER of Harpenden, Knt. and

[1] Ludovick Greville was the second son of William Greville of Campden, by his wife Joan, sister of Sir Philip Thornbury, Knight.

had, with a son EDWARD, a daughter MARY GREVILLE who married ROBERT SOMERVILLE, lord of Aston-Somerville, whose grandson, JOHN SOMERVILLE, was the husband of MARGARET ARDEN, as we have seen. The son of JOHN GREVILLE of Milcote was Sir EDWARD GREVILLE, knighted at the Battle of the Spurs, who by his wife, ANNE daughter of THOMAS DENTON, Esq.[1] was father of Sir JOHN GREVILLE, Knt. and also of Sir FULKE GREVILLE, who by his marriage with a great heiress laid the foundation of the family honours; his wife was ELIZABETH WILLOUGHBY, of whom presently, and their daughter, ELEANOR GREVILLE, became the wife of Sir JOHN CONWAY, whilst their eldest son, FULKE GREVILLE, by his wife, Lady ANNE NEVILL, daughter of RALPH, fourth EARL of WESTMORELAND, was father of Sir FULKE GREVILLE, first LORD BROOKE, who directed this inscription to be placed on his monument at Warwick;—DUGDALE, Page 361:—

FVLKE GREVIL SERVANT TO QVEENE ELIZABETH: COUNCELLER TO KING JAMES: AND FREND TO SR PHILIP SYDNEY. TROPHÆVM PECCATI.

His sister, MARGARET GREVILLE, married Sir RICHARD VERNEY, of Compton-Murdac, Knt., and their grandson, Sir RICHARD VERNEY, claimed the barony of WILLOUGHBY de BROKE, by which title he was summoned to Parliament in 1694, and it is still enjoyed by his descendant, the present Lord WILLOUGHBY de BROKE, Henry Verney, 1868.

But to return to ELIZABETH WILLOUGHBY; she was the greatest heiress in England, being only daughter and heir of EDWABD WILLOUGHBY [who died in the life-time of his father, ROBERT second Lord WILLOUGHBY de BROOKE], whose wife was ELIZABETH, or MARGARET[2], daughter of RICHARD NEVILL, second Lord LATIMER. LORD WILLOUGHBY de BROOKE (Edward's father) married ELIZABETH BEAUCHAMP,

[1] In the *Visitation*, Sir Edward Greville's wife is called the daughter of John Denton of Amersdon. PLUT. LVIII. B. Bibl. Harl. 1563, f. 33. On the same page there is a shield of arms of Greville with 23 quarterings; Arden is placed in the second, as it is in another shield of 15 quarterings.

[2] By Dugdale and other writers the daughter of the Lord Latimer is at one time called Margaret, and at another Elizabeth; the latter is most probably the correct name, as Edward Willoughby called his daughter Elizabeth. Lord Latimer's second son, William Nevill, married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Giles Greville, Knt.

TABLE XI.

PEDIGREE OF GREVILLE.

IX. Sir THOMAS de ARDEN, Knt. = EUSTACHIA .....
See TABLE VIII.

X. Sir ROBERT de ARDEN, Knt. of Drayton. = NICOLA, daughter and heir of ... BARDOLF.

XI. Sir GILES de Arden, Knt. = MARGARET, d. of Sir JOHN MOLINEUX, Knt.

XII. GILES de ARDEN, ob. *vit. pat.* = JOAN, d. and co-h. of Sir JOHN TRILLOW, Knt.

XIII. MARGARET de ARDEN, eldest daughter and co-heir. = LUDOVICK GREVILLE, ob. 1438.

XIV. WILLIAM GREVILLE, "the flower of wool-merchants," ob. 1440. = ANNE, daughter of Sir ROBERT FRANCIS, Knt. of Foremark.

XV. RALPH GREVILLE, only son. = CATHERINE, sister and co-heir of ROBERT POINTZ, Esq.

XVI. JOHN GREVILLE, of Milcote, 14 Hen. VII. = JOAN, daughter of Sir HUMPHREY FORSTER, Knt. of Harpenden.

XVII. Sir EDWARD GREVILLE, Knt., ob. 20 Hen. VIII. = ANNE, daughter of THOMAS DENTON, Esq. of Amersdon.

XVIII. Sir FULKE GREVILLE, Knt., ob. 1569, at the Battle of the Spurs. = ELIZABETH, daughter and heir of EDWARD WILLOUGHBY, son of Robert Lord Brooke.

XIX. Robert, 2nd son, of Thorp-Latimer. = ...

XIX. Sir FULKE GREVILLE, Recorder of Stratford, ob. 1606. = Lady ANNE NEVILL, daughter of Ralph, 4th Earl of Westmoreland.

XX. Fulke = ...
Greville.

XX. Sir FULKE GREVILLE, Lord Brooke, "Friend to Sir Ph. Sidney," ob. S. P. 1628.

XX. MARGARET GREVILLE, heir to the barony of Willoughby de Broke. = Sir RICHARD VERNEY, Knt. of Compton-Murdac, co. Warwick.

XXI. ROBERT GREVILLE, 2nd Lord Brooke. = Lady Catherine Russell.

XXI. Sir Greville Verney, High Steward of Stratford. = Catherine, dau. of Sir Robert Southwell, Knt.

XXII. Fulke Greville, 3rd son, 5th Lord Brooke, ob. 1710. = Sarah, daughter of Sir Samuel Dashwood.

XXII. Richard Verney, summoned as Lord Willoughby de Broke, ob. 1711. = Mary, dau. of Sir John Pretyman, bart.

XXIII. Francis Greville, ob. *vit. patris.* = Lady Anne Wilmot, eldest dau. of John, 2nd El. of Rochester.

XXIII. George Verney, 4th Lord Willoughby de Broke. = Margaret, dau. and heir of Sir John Heath, Knt.

XXIV. William Greville, 2nd son, 7th Lord Brooke. = Mary, dau. and co-heir of Henry Thynne.

XXIV. John Verney, 3rd son, ob. 1741. = Abigail, dau. of Edward Harley.

XXV. Francis Greville, cr. Earl of Warwick. = Elizabeth, dau. of Lord Archibald Hamilton.

XXV. John Peyto Verney, succeeded as 6th Lord, 1752, ob. 1816. = Lady Louisa North.

XXVI. George Greville, 2nd Earl of Warwick. = Henrietta, dau. of Richard Vernon.

XXVI. Louisa Verney. = Rev. Robert Barnard.

XXVII. Henry Richard Greville, 3rd Earl of Warwick. = Lady Sarah Saville, only dau. of John, Earl of Mexborough.

XXVII. Robert Barnard, succeeded 1852, as 9th Lord. = Georgiana-Jane, dau. of Maj.-Gen. Thos. Wm. Taylor.

XXVIII. Geo. Guy Greville, 4th and present Earl, 1868. = Lady Anne Charteris, 3rd dau. of Francis, Earl of Wemyss.

XXVIII. Henry "Verney," 10th and present Lord Willoughby de Broke of Compton-Verney, 1868.

XXIX. Francis Richard Charles Guy Greville, Lord Brooke.

eldest daughter and co-heir of RICHARD, second Lord BEAUCHAMP of Powyk, whose wife was ELIZABETH, daughter of Sir HUMPHREY STAFFORD of Grafton, Kt. Sir JOHN WILLOUGHBY, father of Robert first Lord de Brooke, married ANNE, second daughter and co-heir of Sir EDMUND CHENEY of Brooke, Knt. by his wife ALICE, daughter and heir of Sir HUMPHREY STAFFORD of Suthwyk, Knt.

A second son of Sir FULKE GREVILLE and ELIZABETH WILLOUGHBY, ROBERT GREVILLE of Thorp-Latimer, was father of FULKE GREVILLE, whose son ROBERT GREVILLE became second Lord BROOKE, in succession to his cousin FULKE, "Friend to Sir Philip Sidney," according the limitation in the patent, and is ancestor of the present and fourth EARL of WARWICK, GEORGE-GUY GREVILLE, 1868.

In Arrow Church, co. Warwick, on the east wall of the chancel, a shield of arms is figured in DUGDALE, page 626, which is Quarterly of Six, viz. 1. BROOKE; 2. ARDEN; 3. LATIMER; 4. CHENEY; 5. STAFFORD; 6. BEAUCHAMP; with this inscription:—

> "Dame Eleanor Conway, wife of Sir John Conway, and daughter of Sir Fulk Greville, Knight, by the venter of one of the co-heires of Willoughbie, who was heire to the lorde Brooke and the lord Beauchampe."

These arms are—1. *Sable* a cross and bordure engrailed *Or*, for BROOKE; 2. *Ermine* a fesse chequy *Or* and *Azure*, for ARDEN; 3. *Gules* a cross patonce *Or*, for LATIMER; 4. *Gules* four fusils in fesse *Argent* each charged with a scallop *Sable*, for CHENEY; 5. *Or* a chevron *Gules* within a bordure engrailed *Sable*, for STAFFORD of *Suthwyk*; 6. *Gules* a fret *Argent*, for BEAUCHAMP of *Powyk*.

In Alcester Church is, or was, a memorial to Sir Fulke Greville, of Beauchamp Court, grandfather of the first Lord Brooke of that name, with a shield of arms Quarterly of four, viz. 1. BROOKE; 2. ARDEN; 3. FORSTER; and 4. BROOKE; with this inscription;—

> "Here lyeth the body of Foulke Greville, K^{t}., and Lady Elizabeth his wife, the daughter and heire of Edward Willoughby Esquire, the son

> and heire of Robert Willoughby Knight, Lord Brooke, and Lady Elizabeth one of the daughters and co-heires of the Lord Beauchamp of Powyk, which Foulke died the xth day of November anno dni M.D.lxix. and the said Lady Elizabeth his Wife departed the xth day of..... in the year of our Lord God M.D.lx. of whose soules God have mercy. Amen."
>
> DUGDALE'S *Warwickshire*, page 573.

The arms of Forster are brought in by the marriage of Sir Fulke Greville's grandfather, John Greville of Milcote, with Joan, daughter of Sir Humphrey Forster, viz. Quarterly per fesse indented *Argent* and *Sable*.

In one of the windows of the Chapel of the Guild of the Holy Cross, at Stratford-upon-Avon, a shield is engraved by DUGDALE, page 523, Quarterly of four, viz. 1. BROOKE; 2. ARDEN; 3. FORSTER; 4. WILLINGTON; the last coat, *Gules* a saltier *Vaire*, was brought in by the marriage of Edward Greville (son of Sir John, elder brother of Fulke, who married the heiress of Willoughby), of Milcote, with Margaret, one of the seven daughters and co-heirs of William Willington, of Barcheston, co. Warwick, "a wealthy merchant of the staple," obt. 1455. Of the other daughters, Margery was married first to Thomas Holte of Aston, Justice of N. Wales, obt. 37 Hen. VIII., and secondly to Sir Ambrose Cave, Knt.; Goditha to Basil Fielding; Elizabeth to Edward Broughton; Mary to William Sheldon of Besley; Anne to Francis Mountford of Kinghurst; and Katherine, first to Richard Kempe, secondly to William Catesby, and thirdly to Anthony Throckmorton, a younger son of Sir George Throckmorton, Knight. DUGDALE. *Warwickshire*, page 416.

The ancient house of SHUCKBURGH, knights and baronets, still extant, is said by Sir RICHARD BROUN, in his *Baronetage*, Edn. 1843, to be descended from a younger son of TURCHILL de ARDEN. On a fine raised-tomb, in the church of Shuckborough Superior, erected to the memory of the lord of the manor, John Shuckburgh, who married Margaret Middlemore, and died in 1631, DUGDALE shows a shield Quarterly of six; viz. 1. SHUCKBURGH; 2. NAPTON; 3. ARDEN; 4. LUNELL; 5. CARBONELL; and 6. DYSSERT. In the *Visita-*

tion of 1619, the heralds substitute Sydenhall for Dyssert. On the same tomb another shield is shown, SHUCKBURGH impaling ARDEN, page 289; this must refer to the marriage of Simon Shuckburgh (brother of the aforesaid John) with Elizabeth, one of the daughters of the unfortunate Edward Arden of Park-hall.

The Arms of Shuckburgh, Knights and Baronets, are *Sable,* a chevron between three mullets *Argent.* In his *Warwickshire,* DUGDALE, under *Shuckborough Superior,* page 209, says,—"The little stones called *astroites,* which are very like a mullet, are frequently found in the plowed fields hereabouts." The Compiler has in his possession several specimens lately picked up (1867) at the foot of Bredon Hill.

In all the above instances, and no doubt many more examples may still exist in some of the county churches, the arms of Arden, placed in such honourable companionship, are always the same coat, viz. *Ermine,* a fesse Chequy *Or* and *Azure;* but DUGDALE figures a shield, in one of the windows of Lodbroke Church, wherein the coat is that which was borne by Sir Thomas de Arden, who married Rose Vernon. The shield consists of two coats, each Quarterly of four; which are thus described by the historian;—"Catesby quartering Lodbroke and Arden, impaling Bishopdon quartering Billow and Williamscote." Page 223. The arms for Arden, in the third quarter of the first coat, are Chequy *Or* and *Azure* a chevron *Gules.*

The family of BRACEBRIDGE is descended from OSBERT, son of TURCHILL de ARDEN by his second wife LEVERUNIA, heiress of the Saxon kings and earls of Mercia, whose ancient seat, Kingsbury, was inherited by the daughter of the said Osbert, AMICIA de ARDEN, at the death of her two nieces without issue, Amabil Fitz-Walter and Adeliza de Harcourt, and by her marriage with PETER de BRACEBRIDGE of Bracebridge Kingsbury came to this family. Their second son (heir to his brother John, who died S.P.) was WILLIAM de BRACEBRIDGE, of Kingsbury and Bracebridge, whose son was Sir RALPH BRACEBRIDGE, Knt. (33 H. III.), a Judge of Assize, who was succeeded by his son, Sir JOHN BRACEBRIDGE, Knt. (36 H. III.), whose son, Sir RALPH, Knt. (19 E. III.), was father of another Sir RALPH, Knt. (10 H. IV.). In the Bracebridge Chapel, at Kingsbury Church, two raised-

tombs are figured in DUGDALE'S *Warwickshire*, page 762, having thereon the effigies of knights, cross-legged, in complete suits of chain-armour. The last-named Sir RALPH was father of RALPH BRACEBRIDGE, 13 H. IV., who by his wife, JOAN, daughter of Sir JOHN NEUPORT of Shropshire, Knt., had a son, SIMON BRACEBRIDGE (*Visitation* of 1619), whose son and heir was RICHARD BRACEBRIDGE of Kingsbury, father of ALICE, who married Sir JOHN ARDEN of Park-hall, Knt. According to the *Visitation*, Richard had two sons, of whom the younger, Baldwin Bracebridge, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir John de Bermingham, whilst the eldest, JOHN BRACEBRIDGE[1], succeeded to Kingsbury and Bracebridge, qui obt. 7 H. VIII., leaving by his wife ELIZABETH, daughter of Sir ROBERT HARCOURT, Knt., a son, SIMON BRACEBRIDGE, whose wife was ELIZABETH, daughter of WILLIAM HAREWELL, and their son, THOMAS BRACEBRIDGE, sold the manor of Kingsbury to — Cave, but creating a rent charge on the estate of £40 per annum, as already described. THOMAS BRACEBRIDGE (qui obiit 11 Eliz.), by his first wife Joan, daughter of George Catesby, had four sons, and by his second wife, JOYCE, daughter of THOMAS WILSON, had two sons, 1. Thomas, obt. 1607, married Alice, daughter of John Rugeley of Dunston, and their son, Edward Bracebridge, married Dorothy, daughter of Ralph Rugeley, and had a son Rowland; 2. ANKETIL BRACEBRIDGE, who married ANNE, daughter and co-heir of THOMAS CORBYN, of Hall End, Polesworth, co. Warwick, by his wife ANNE, daughter and heir of WILLIAM REPINGTON (whose ancestor, Sir John Repington, Knt., purchased Atherstone), and was father of SAMUEL BRACEBRIDGE, who succeeded there, and was High Sheriff in 1689 (died in 1697, aged 80), who by his wife ELIZABETH, daughter of JOHN MOORE, of Shakeston, co. Leicester, was father of two sons, ABRAHAM his eldest son and heir, and THOMAS; the latter, who was in the church, and Vicar of Kettleby, co. Leicester, married JANE, daughter and co-heir of JOHN LUDFORD of Ansley Hall, co. Warwick, and their son, SAMUEL BRACEBRIDGE, assumed the name of LUDFORD as his future style. ABRAHAM BRACEBRIDGE, of Atherstone, was High Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1693; he

[1] This was no doubt one of the overseers to Walter Arden's will, 1502.

TABLE XII.

PEDIGREE OF BRACEBRIDGE.

I. TURCHILL de ARDEN, son of the Saxon Sheriff Ailwin. = Leverunia, heiress of the Earls of Mercia; had Kingsbury.

II. Osbert de Arden. = Matilda, daughter of .....

III. Amicia de Arden, heiress of Kingsbury. = Peter de Bracebridge of Bracebridge.

IV. William de Bracebridge, 2nd son, heir to his brother John. = ... | John de Bracebridge, ob. S. P.

V. Sir Ralph de Bracebridge, Knt., 33 Hen. III. = ... | Anketil de Bracebridge, 32 Hen. III.

VI. Sir John de Bracebridge, Knt., 36 Hen. III. = ...

VII. Sir Ralph de Bracebridge, Knt., 19 Edw. III. = Joan, daughter of .....

VIII. Sir Ralph de Bracebridge, Knt., 10 Hen. IV. = ...

IX. Ralph de Bracebridge, 13 Hen. IV. = Joan, daughter of Sir John Neuport.

X. Simon Bracebridge, (*Visitation*, 1619). = ...

XI. Richard Bracebridge, of Kingsbury Park; *temp.* Hen. VI. et Edw. IV. = ...

Sir John Arden, Knt. = Alice Bracebridge.

XII. John Bracebridge, ob. 8 Hen. VIII. = Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Harcourt, Knt., *Visit.*

Thomas Arden, of Park-hall. See Table VIII.

XIII. Simon Bracebridge, ob. *vit. pat. Visit.* = Elizabeth, daughter of William Harewell.

XIV. Thomas Bracebridge, sold Kingsbury, ob. 1569. = Joyce, daughter of Thomas Wilson, 2nd wife.

Thomas, eldest son.

XV. Anketil Bracebridge, of Atherstone, 2nd son. = Anne, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Corbin of Hale End, by Anne, daughter and heir of William Repington of Atherstone.

XVI. Samuel Bracebridge, High Sheriff, 1689, ob. 1692. = Elizabeth, daughter of John Moore, of Shakeston.

Jane Ludford. = Thomas Bracebridge, Vicar of Kettleby.

XVII. Abraham Bracebridge, Sher. co. Warw. = Margaret, daughter of Thomas Charnells, of Snarston.

Samuel Bracebridge, "Ludford."

XVIII. Abraham Bracebridge. = Cecilia, daughter of ..... Bird.

XIX. Abraham Bracebridge. = Mary, d. of John Styles of Uxbridge.

Harriet Streatfeild. = Walter Bracebridge, 2nd son.

XX. Abraham Bracebridge, Sheriff, ob. 1832, = Mary-Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Charles Holte, Bart., of Aston, co. Warwick.

WALTER HENRY BRACEBRIDGE, of Moreville, 1868. = MARY HOLTE BRACEBRIDGE, lady of the manor of Chetwode, ob. 1866. S. P.

XXI. CHARLES HOLTE BRACEBRIDGE, of Atherstone Hall, 1868. 21st in descent from the Saxon Sheriff AILWIN.

married MARY; the daughter of THOMAS CHARNELLS of Snarston, and had two sons, ABRAHAM and SAMUEL; the latter married Mary, daughter of Thomas Savage. The former, ABRAHAM BRACEBRIDGE, of Atherstone Hall, by his first wife CECILIA, daughter of — BIRD, had a son and heir, ABRAHAM BRACEBRIDGE, of Atherstone, and of Lincoln's Inn, who married MARY, daughter of JOHN STYLES of Uxbridge, and had two sons, ABRAHAM, his heir, and WALTER, second son, who married HARRIET, daughter of HENRY STREATFEILD, of Chiddingstone, Kent (a family long seated and still extant there), by whom he had, with a daughter Harriet, married to Henry Ogle, of Kirkley[1], a son, WALTER-HENRY BRACEBRIDGE, of Moreville, who married his first cousin, MARY-HOLTE BRACEBRIDGE, Lady of the Manor of Chetwode, who died, in 1866, without issue, at the age of 90. Her father, ABRAHAM BRACEBRIDGE, elder brother of Walter, was High Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1822 (obt. 1832), and married MARY-ELIZABETH, only daughter and heir of Sir CHARLES HOLTE, sixth and last Baronet, of Aston, co. Warwick [which shire he represented in Parliament in 1776][2], and their children were, the daughter before mentioned, and a son and heir, the present CHARLES HOLTE BRACEBRIDGE, of Atherstone Hall, 1868, who is twenty-first in lineal descent from the Saxon Sheriff AILWIN. This gentleman, who has kindly revised the Compiler's account of his family, and his cousin Mr WALTER HENRY BRACEBRIDGE, of Moreville, are now the only male representatives, by the name, of the ancient family of BRACEBRIDGE.

The crest of Bracebridge is "a Staff raguly Argent," which tradition assigns as a cognizance of "Arthgal, first Earl of Warwick," who being "a mighty man valiantly slew in single combat a great giant, who encountered him with a young tree

[1] Henry Ogle was second son of the Rev. John Saville Ogle, D.D. second son of the Rev. Newton Ogle, D.D. of Kirkley, Dean of Winchester, who by his wife Susanna, eldest daughter of Dr. John Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, had a daughter Elizabeth-Catherine, who married Henry Streatfeild of Chiddingstone, aforesaid, whose daughter Harriet became the wife of Walter Bracebridge.

[2] The first baronet, Sir Thomas Holte, erected in 1618 the noble manor-house at Aston, which "for beauty and state excels anything in these parts." DUGDALE. *Warwickshire.* Page 642, where there is a view of the house.

pull'd up by the roots;" the same "Sir Arthgal" is also called one of the knights of King Arthur's Round Table, in the manuscript account of the Arden Family.

The noble family of COMPTON is descended from Ailwyn, the Saxon Sheriff, and his son TURCHILL de ARDEN and his second wife LEVERUNIA, whose son, OSBERT de ARDEN, was father of PHILIP, his second son, who took the name of COMPTON from one of Turchill's lordships, Compton-Wingates, which is at the present day a seat of his descendant, the MARQUESS of NORTHAMPTON, whose ancestor, son and heir of the above-named PHILIP, viz. THOMAS de COMPTON, in 1251 was certified to hold a knight's fee in Compton of Thomas de Arden. One of the names of the late Marquess was ALWYNE, and one of his sons is Lord ALWYNE COMPTON, Rector of Castle Ashby.

Another noble house descended from TURCHILL de ARDEN is that of PERCEVAL, Baron ARDEN of ARDEN in the county of Warwick, and EARL of EGMONT in Ireland, whose ancestor, John Perceval, second Earl of Egmont, married Catherine, third daughter of the Hon. Charles Compton (by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Berkeley Lucy, Baronet), fourth son of George, fourth Earl of Northampton, which lady was created Baroness Arden of Ireland, and the two eldest sons of this marriage were CHARLES GEORGE PERCEVAL, first Lord ARDEN of ARDEN (so created in 1802), and the Rt. Hon. SPENCER PERCEVAL, the Premier. The son of the first Lord Arden, GEORGE JAMES PERCEVAL, second Lord, became seventh and present EARL of EGMONT in 1841.

Two illustrious descendants from TURCHILL de ARDEN, through BEAUCHAMP, were the daughters of the king-making Earl of Warwick, ISABEL NEVILL, wife of GEORGE PLANTAGENET, Duke of Clarence, and her sister, the "LADY ANNE," of SHAKSPEARE'S *King Richard the Third*, whose Queen-Consort she became. George Duke of Clarence, and Isabel his wife, with their son and daughter, were Members of the Guild of the Holy Cross at Stratford-upon-Avon. HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 9.

GRANT OF ARMS TO JOHN SHAKSPEARE.

The little that is known of SHAKSPEARE'S ancestry on the father's side, with all that may be taken as proved for his maternal descent, having been placed before the reader, it now remains, in connection with his personal history, to speak of the Grant of Arms to his father. The following copy of it is taken from the text published in the *Herald and Genealogist*, rather than from the pages of one of the biographies, for obvious reasons.

"GRANT OF ARMS TO JOHN SHAKSPEARE, 1596.

Of this document two draft copies are preserved in the College of Arms, in MS. *Vincent* 157, Art. 23 and Art. 24. Art. 24 appears to be the second copy, but as there is an hiatus in the middle where the paper is torn away, Mr Halliwell has taken the former for the text of his copy (*Life of Shakespeare*, fol. 1853, p. 69), inserting the variations of Art. 24 within brackets. We shall here pursue the contrary plan, giving the document from the second copy, except in that part where we are obliged to supply the hiatus from the first.

"To all and singuler Noble and Gentelmen of what estate (or) degree bearing armes to whom these presentes shall come, William Dethick alias Garter Principall King of Armes sendethe greetinges. Know yee that whereas by the authoritie and auncyent pryveleges perteyning to my office from the Quenes most excellent Ma^te^ and by her highnesse most noble and victorious progenitors I am to take general notice and record and to make declaration and testimonie for all causes of armes and matters of Gentrie throughe all her Majestes kingdoms, domynions, Principalities, Isles, and Provinces, To th' end

that, as many gentelmen by theyre auncyent names of families, kyndrede, and descentes, have and enjoye certeyne enseignes and cotes of arms, So it is verie expedient in all ages that some men for their valeant factes, magnanimitie, vertu, dignitie, and desertes, may use and beare such tokens of honour and worthinesse whereby theyre name and good fame may be the better knowen and divulged, and theyre children and posteritie in all vertu (to the service of theyre Prynce and Contrie) encouraged. Wherefore being solicited and by credible report informed that John Shakespeare of Stratford-uppon-Avon in the counte of Warwik whose parentes and late antecessors[1] were for theyre faithefull and va(leant service advaunced and rewarded by the most prudent) prince King Henry the Seventh of (famous memorie, sythence which tyme they have continewed at) those partes, being of good reputacion (and credit, and that the) said John hathe maryed (Mary, daughter and one of the heyrs of Robert Arden of Wilmcote in the said) counte esquire[2]. In consideration whereof and for the encouragement of his posterite, to whom such Blazon (or Atchevement) by the auncyent custome of the lawes of armes maie descend, I the said Garter King of Armes have assigned graunted and by these presentes confirmed this shield or cote of arms, viz. Gould, on a bend sables a speare of the first, steeled argent; and for his crest or cognizance a falcon, his winges displayed argent, standing on a wrethe of his coullers, supporting a speare gould, steeled as aforesaid, sett upon a helmett with mantelles and tasselles as hath been accustomed and dothe more playnly appeare depicted on this margent, signefieng hereby, and by the authorite of my office aforesaid ratifieng that it shalbe lawfull for the sayd John Shakespeare gent. and for his children, yssue and posterite (at the tymes and places convenient) to bear and make demonstracion of the said Blazon or Atchievement uppon theyre Shieldes, Targets, Escucheons, Cotes of Arms, Pennons, Guydons, Ringes, Edefices, Buyldinges, Utensiles, Lyver-

[1] "*Above the word* antecessors *is written* Grandfather."

[2] "Gent. *was first written, and it is altered to* esquire."

ies, Tombes or Monumentes, or otherwise, for all lawfull warrlyke factes, or civile use and exercise according to the lawes of armes, without let or interruption of any other person or persons for use or bearing the same. In witnesse and perpetuall remembrance hereof I have hereunto subscribed my name, and fastened the seale of my office endorzed with the signett of my armes. At the Office of Armes, London, the xx day of October, the xxviij yeare of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Quene of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faythe, &c., 1596.

"In the margin are sketched with a pen the arms and crest, and above them this motto, *Non sans droict*. At the foot of the draft are the following memoranda, which were first written without the portions within brackets, and the latter were afterwards added, but in the same, or a similar hand.

"(This John shoeth) A patierne therof under Clarent. Cookes hand in paper, xx yeares past,
(The Q. officer & cheffe of the towne),
(A Justice of peace) And was a Baylife of Stratford-uppō-Avon, xv. or xvj. years past.
That he hath lands and tenements of good wealth and substance (500 li.)
That he mar(ried a daughter and heyre of Arden. a gent. of worship.)"
"(The last few words are now torn away from the paper.)"

It is not necessary to set forth at full length the second grant of 1599, which is headed, in the *Herald and Genealogist*,—

"Exemplification of Arms to John Shakespeare with a Quartering of Arden, 1599 (M. S. Coll. of Arms, R. 21.)"

It will be sufficient to show wherein it differs from the first grant of 1596. In the first place "William Camden, alias Clarentieulx King of Arms for the South, East, and West partes," is joined with Dethick, Garter King of Arms; secondly, the word "great grandfather" is inserted as John Shakespeare's "antecessor;" who "for his faithefull and approved

service to (the late most prudent prince) King H. VII., of famous memorie, was advaunced and rewarded with landes and tenementes geven to him in these partes of Warwickshire, where they have continewed by (some) descentes in good reputacion and credit;" and thirdly, after quoting the arms for SHAKSPEARE, the heralds proceed;—

> "and we have lykewise uppon an other escucheon impaled the same with the auncyent arms of the said Arden of Wellingcote signefeing thereby that it maye and shalbe lawfull for the said John Shakespere gent. to beare and use the same shieldes of armes, single or impaled as aforesaid, during his natural lyffe; and that it shalbe lawfull for his children, yssue, and posteryte (lawfully begotten) to beare, use, and quarter and shewe for the same with theyre dewe difference in all lawfull warlyke factes and civile use," &c.

The critic in the *Herald and Genealogist* remarks at the end of this Grant;—

> "The history of the coat of Shakespere does not quite end here. It happens that it was one of those for which Ralph Brooke, York Herald, called his superiors Dethick and Camden over the coals. He accused them of having in this case sanctioned a bearing too closely resembling that of the Lords Mauley, and their reply is still extant among—
>
> *The answeres of Garter and Clarencieux Kings of Arms to the Scrowle of Arms exhibited by Raffe Brokesmouth caled York Herald.*
>
> It is as follows:—
>
> 'SHAKSPERE. It may as well be said that Harley, who bearethe Gould, a bend between two cotizes sable, or Ferrers (*drawn in the margin* Or, on a bend Sable three horse-shoes argent), or any other that beare silver or gould, a bend charged in like manner, usurpe the coate of the Lo. Mauley. As for the speare on the bend (it) is a patible (*i.e.* sufficiently conspicuous) difference; and the man was a magestrat in Stratford-upon-Avon, a justice of peace. He maryed the daughter and heyre of Arden, and was of good substance and habelité.'"

In a *note*, page 499, the same critic observes of John Shakspeare,—"He was a justice of peace merely in virtue of his office as Bailiff. The 'Othe of the Baylyffe and principall alderman' of Stratford commences, 'You shall swere that as a *justice of the peace* and Baylyffe of thys boroughe of Stratford and liberties thereof,' &c. Mr HALLIWELL (in folio, *Life*, p. 70) remarks,—'He certainly was never in that position in any other capacity, except probably when he was chief alderman.' But is not 'principall alderman' only another term for the Bailiff?" Certainly not. It is very evident that after a Burgess had served the superior office he was elected "capital or chief alderman." Mr HALIWELL gives several instances in the *Stratford Records*. First he quotes—"John Shakspeyr one of the justices of the peace, and bailiff of Stratford, 11 Eliz." Page 279. Next,—"On the 5th of Sept. 1571, he was elected chief alderman." *Life*, page 23. "10 Oct. 13 Eliz. (1571). Ad primam aulam Adriani Queny ballivi burgi prædicti ac Johannis Shakespere cap. aldermanni ejusdem burgi ibidem tent." *Life*, page 28. One of the bye-laws of the Corporation was made—"*Anno Elizabeth decimo tempore Johannis Shakespere ball. et Johannis Wheeler capit. alderman.*" *Records*, page 377. In the original charter to the borough from Edward VI., June 28, 1553, it is ordained,—"The Bailiff and one of the Aldermen to be magistrates." *Records*, page 446. In 1566, 11 Sept., 8 Eliz. a cause was heard before—"Johannes Whelar, justic. de pace ac ball... Humfrid. Plymley, justic. de pace capital. alderman," &c. *Records*, page 95.

The same critic, in reviewing the Rev. Mr Bellew's *Shakespere's Home*, has made a remarkable statement, which cannot be passed over: "As for the term 'parent,' or 'parents,' it is merely a synonym with 'ancestors,' used in its original Latin sense, and not in the more limited one to which we now confine it. In this way, the parents or ancestors of John Shakespere's wife were treated of as if they had been his own, and so it was understood by Mr. Hunter, whose experience as a genealogist was as a thousand to one of the author before us." H. & G. Page 501. But the argument of Mr Hunter is altogether the other way, and that excellent writer has completely answered, by anticipation, many objections raised against the grant of arms; his language is this;—"We shall

not think it necessary to suppose, as Mr Malone does, that certain grants to the Ardens and not to the Shakespeares are those to which the heralds refer, the construction being plainly in all of them that the grant had been made to a male ancestor of John Shakespeare. Indeed the object was to give some proof of his own gentility by descent (the Arden connection is treated of apart), and the clauses, vague as they are, do establish a certain degree of probability that a Shakespeare in the direct line of the Poet's ancestry did perform some worthy service to King Henry the Seventh, did receive from him some reward, which reward may have been, as one of the documents distinctly asserts, lands and tenements in those parts of Warwickshire in which the Shakespeares of this part of the family had lived, though no such grant has been found upon record, nor can the possession of any such lands be proved by inquisition, or traced out of the hands of the grantee." *Prolusions*, page 22.

Mr HUNTER alludes to "the libellous scrowle," containing "the complaints which Brook, an ill-natured and envious member of the college, brought against Dethick and the illustrious Camden." Page 26. And he elsewhere speaks in praise of Cooke, the Clarencieux under whose hand John Shakspeare had exhibited "a patierne on paper xx yeares" before the Grant of 1596;—"Robert Cooke, the Clarencieux King at Arms, who was one of the most distinguished members of the college." Page 25.

We have therefore the consent of three of the best heralds that have graced the Tabard, Cooke, Dethick, and Camden, in granting a certain coat, which has not the remotest resemblance to the arms of Arden, but refers solely to the *name* of SHAKSPEARE, being in truth a *canting coat;* and it must be observed that twenty years had elapsed between Cooke's time and that of his successor in office Camden, and of Garter, who had therefore ample time to ascertain if the person applying for a confirmation was, or was not, entitled. Moreover, during the three years which passed between the dates of the two Grants, any objection, had such existed, would have presented itself to the minds of the heralds. But they repeat in 1599, with marked emphasis, their reasons for confirming the Grant of 1596. As to the coat to be impaled for Arden there is nothing surprising in the coat, *fesse chequy*,

being scored over, and the coat of *cross-croslets* put in its place, for both were used by the Warwickshire Ardens; and as Robert Arden of Aston-Cantlowe had been dead forty years at the time of the Grant of 1596, and there was no male of his name left in the South part of the shire, John Shakspeare, and even the heralds, might feel puzzled to know which coat to take; but to this writer it does appear that the very fact of first inserting one coat, and then another, both borne by the ancestors of WALTER ARDEN, is a proof of probity on the part of Dethick and Camden, and of their wish to be right in the matter. At all events their plain unequivocal language is,—that JOHN SHAKSPEARE was entitled to impale, and his descendants to quarter, the ancient arms of Arden of Wilmecote, "a gentleman of worship," and an "esquire."

The Compiler of these pages feels confirmed, by the language of Mr HUNTER, and the suggestions of Mr CHARLES KNIGHT, in his belief that some "valiant service" was performed by an ancestor of JOHN SHAKSPEARE; let us examine if there is any foundation for this deed having been rendered in the field of battle. Among the few really new or valuable bits of information in Mr BELLEW'S *Shakespere's Home*, is one which deserves notice; he believed that it had not previously been published in any biography of the Poet. At page 100, under the date, 28 Hen. VIII., 1537, is quoted:—

> "Warwyke. The certyficate of George Throckmorton Knight, John Grevyle, Fulke Grevyle, Edward Conwey Esquiers, and Antony Skynner Gent, Comyssioners of our soveryne lorde the King conserninge musters to be taken in the hundred of Barlychwey and libertye of Pathloe in the countye of Warwyke accordinge to the kinges highness cõmission to them directed doe certifie unto your lordshipe as well the names and surnames of all abell men within the hundred of libertye aforesaid as horses, harnes, bowes, arrows, billys and other thinges defensabill and mete for the warre with the diversitie therof which ar in every township of the said hundred and libertye that ys to saye

Rowington. Able men ther
(*Inter alios*) Thomas Shakespere
. . . . . Arch(er)
Ric. Shakesper

. . . . . .

Wraxhall. Able men there
(*Inter alios*) Willm Sakespere
. . . . . Arch(er).
Ric. Shakespere."

The Reader is reminded that in 18 Hen. VIII., only ten years before the date of the above certificate, the names of Richard and William Shakspere are found in the list of the Knoll Guild, and they probably belonged to Wraxhall, and they may be the "able men" mentioned above.

We thus find four soldiers, of the same surname, holding the rank of archers, only half a century later than the Battle of Bosworth, and doubtless some of their forefathers had also been archers, either on horse or foot, serving in some of the great wars abroad, or in the unhappy civil strife of the Two Roses. Let us turn to history for the good service rendered by this important branch of an army, and which frequently decided the fate of a battle. At Cressy "the archers then advanced one step forward, and shot their arrows with such force and quickness that it seemed as if it snowed." *Continuator of Nangis*, p. 108. At Poictiers the horses of the French knights became unruly from the galling discharge of arrows from the English archers, and their whole army fell into confusion. A similar result occurred at Agincourt, and the prowess of the English bowmen in that field is sung by a Warwickshire Poet:—

"Like a storm suddenly
The English archery
Stuck the French horses,
With Spanish yew so strong,
Arrows a cloth-yard long,
That like to serpent's sting
Piercing the weather.
None from his fellow starts,
But playing manly parts,
And with true English hearts,
Stuck close together."

DRAYTON. *Ballad on Agincourt.*

The old monk of Bury, JOHN LYDGATE, who was present with the English army at the glorious field, thus sings of their doings:—

"Owre archiers shotte ful hertyly,
And made Frenshmen fast to blede,
Their arwes wente full good sped,
Oure enemyes therwith down gan falle."

SHAKSPEARE makes the heroic Henry V., just before the battle begins, address his soldiers in a spirit-stirring speech, calling them a—

"band of brothers;
For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition."

King Henry V. Act IV. Scene 3.

A commentator remarks on this passage,—"King Henry V. inhibited any person but such as had right by inheritance, or grant, to assume coats of arms, except those who fought with him at the battle of Agincourt, and these last were allowed the chief seats of honour at all feasts and public meetings." TOLLET.

In *The First Part of King Henry VI.* Act I. Scene 1, the Poet shows his knowledge of the plan adopted by archers on the field of battle to defend their line against cavalry. A messenger describes Lord Talbot fighting against superior numbers:—

"He wanted pikes to set before his archers;
Instead whereof, sharp stakes, pluck'd out of hedges,
They pitchèd in the ground confusedly,
To keep the horsemen off from breaking in."

At the battle of Bosworth Field the Poet makes that consummate general, Richard the Third, thus arrange the order of his troops:—

"My foreward shall be drawn out all in length,
Consisting equally of horse and foot;
Our archers shall be placèd in the midst:"

and then, as eloquent as he was intrepid, King Richard addresses his soldiery:—

"Fight, gentlemen of England! fight, bold yeomen!
Draw, archers, draw your arrows to the head!"

Act v. Scene 3.

The Poet was well acquainted with the good service rendered by the stalwart arms of England's renowned archers; and we learn from his garrulous Justice Shallow something of their prowess, when speaking of "Old Double," he tells his cousin Silence;—

> "'A drew a good bow; and dead! 'a shot a fine shoot;—John a Gaunt loved him well, and betted much money on his head. Dead! 'a would have clapp'd 'i the clout at twelve score; and carried you a forehand shaft a fourteen and fourteen and a half, that it would have done a man's heart good to see."
>
> *2 King Henry IV.* Act III. Scene 2.

There would be nothing remarkable in an ancestor of JOHN SHAKSPEARE, if he had fought on Richmond's side at Bosworth, even in no higher rank than that of an archer, being rewarded in some manner by the conqueror; and the quaint writer, FULLER, alluding to Henry the Seventh's recognition of the great assistance rendered by the powerful Welsh knight, Sir Rhys *ap* Thomas, says,—"That thrifty King, according to his cheap Course of Remuneration (rewarding Churchmen with Church Preferment, and Swordmen with Honour), afterwards made him a Knight of the Order, and well might he give him a Garter, by whose effectual Help he recover'd a Crown." *Worthies*, Vol. II.

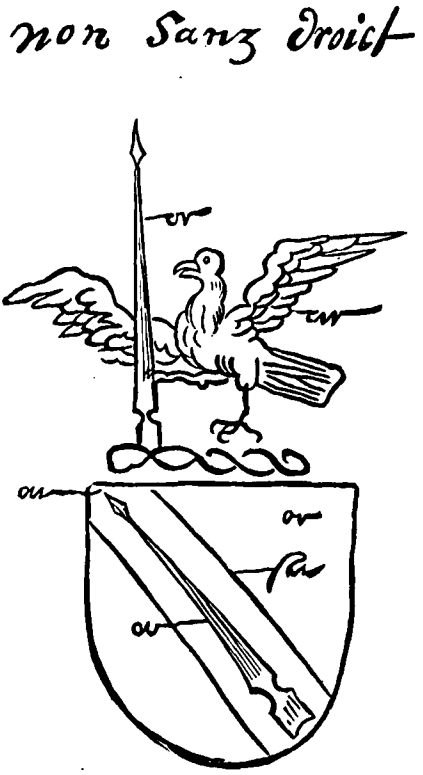
Not without foundation did the Poet make Richmond promise rewards to his soldiers in the event of success:—

> "But if I thrive, the gain of my attempt
> The least of you shall share his part thereof."
>
> *K. Richard III.* Act v. Scene 3.

The ARMS of SHAKSPEARE are allusive to the NAME, and the MOTTO, *Non Sanz Droict*, points to the owner being entitled to those Arms, a right which could be his only through the sanction of a herald. The CREST also deserves notice, the Falcon being one of the badges of Edward the Fourth, father of Henry the Seventh's Consort; no person

therefore would venture to adopt such a cognizance except by special favour. The armorial bearings of SHAKSPEARE are peculiarly appropriate to him—

> " Whose Muse, full of high thoughts' invention,
> Doth like himself heroically sound."
>
> SPENSER.



Arms of "William Shakspere," in *Harl. MS.* 6140, f. 45. "A pattentt p. Will'm Dethike Garter, Principall King of Armes."

WAS THE POET SHAKSPEARE A SOLDIER?

By the aid of one of Mr HALLIWELL'S researches, the Compiler believes that he can refute the assertion that the Poet became a soldier in the forty-second year of his age. Mr W. J. THOMS, F.S.A., has recorded his opinion that SHAKSPEARE, when he left Stratford soon after his affair with Sir Thomas Lucy, went to the Low Countries in the train of the Earl of Leicester, who sailed from Harwich, Dec. 4, 1585, and landed at Flushing Dec. 10th. Mr Thoms states that nothing is known about SHAKSPEARE from 1585 to 1589, when we find him a sharer in the Blackfriars Theatre, and he thinks that the Poet derived the great knowledge of martial affairs displayed in his writings from the campaign in the Netherlands, and that Sir PHILIP SYDNEY alludes to SHAKSPEARE in a letter to his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Walsingham, dated from Utrecht, March 24, 1586[1];—

> "I wrote to yow a letter by Will. my lord of Lester's jesting plaier, inclosed in a letter to my wife, and I never had answer thereof."

But Mr Thoms admits that there were three other persons at the time to whom the familiar appellation of "Will," might apply; viz. William Sly, William Johnson, and William Kempe. These were all excellent comedians, and the last-named of them, "Will." Kempe, was the famous personator of the Fools and Clowns of the day, and is regarded also as the first who played Touchstone, Peter in *Romeo and Juliet*, Launcelot Gobbo, the gravedigger in *Hamlet*, Dogberry, and

[1] This date reduces the Poet's campaign in the Low Countries to little more than three months' duration, as he must have returned to England if he is "the jesting plaier." But it is now known that "Will. Johnson" was one of the Earl of Leicester's company of players.

Justice Shallow. Mr Thoms believed that his conjecture of the Poet being a soldier would be one day confirmed, and he considered that day to have arrived when Mrs EVERETT GREEN published *The Calendar of State Papers of the time of James I., from* 1603 *to* 1610. The following notice was hailed with triumph by Mr Thoms, and is admitted as satisfactory by Mr COLLIER, who says, "we have intelligence regarding no other William Shakespeare, at that date, in that part of the kingdom:"—

> "1605. Sept. 23. Certificate of the names and arms of trained soldiers within the Hundred of Barlichway, co. Warwick, taken at Alcester before Sir Fulke Greville[1], Sir Edw. Greville, and Thos. Spencer. (*Dom. Corresp.* 1569, vol. lxi.) The name of WILLIAM SHAKESPERE occurs in the list of soldiers of the town of Rowington." Page 234.

Beyond printing the great name in capitals Mrs E. Green does not actually imply that the Poet was the soldier in question, but Mr Thoms claims him in that capacity, on the score of his possessing a copyhold in Stratford, held of the manor of Rowington. But if the Poet had consented to serve he surely would not be described as "of the town of Rowington," in respect of a very small copyhold in another place, at some distance; his proper designation would be "William Shakspeare, gentleman, of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the division of Stratford, and hundred of Barlichway," whereas Rowington is in the division of Henley. At the date, Sept. 1605, the Poet was one of the principal personages in his native town; he owned the best house in it, to which he had added, in 1602, at the cost of £320, 107 acres of arable land; and had also purchased on 24 July, 1605, for £440, a moiety of the tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe; and he enjoyed from various sources a large income, which Mr COLLIER reckons to have been in 1608, "at the very least," £400 per annum, a sum which must be multiplied considerably to give an idea of its real value. Add to this the

[1] At this time Sir Fulke Greville, of Beauchamps Court, Alcester, was the recorder of Stratford-upon-Avon, in which office he was succeeded by his son, the first Lord Brooke, "Friend to Sir Philip Sidney." Sir Edward Greville was cousin to Sir Fulke.

great probability that the Poet was lame[1], as we gather from several passages in his Sonnets, and to which impediment Mr Thoms even alludes, it does not seem at all likely that he would serve as a common soldier. But the best argument that he did not is to be found in the fact that there was at Rowington a William Shakspeare at the time to fill the post, viz. the person mentioned by Mr HALLIWELL, whose name he states is found in a manuscript copy of the customs of the manor of Rowington, in the possession of Mr Lea, dated 1614, as one of the jury about that period; and who is most probably the same William who was the youngest son of Richard Shakspeare, of Rowington (by his wife Joan), who died in 1592, the state of whose means is shown by the bequests to his children, John, Roger, Thomas, William, and Dorothy, of 6*d.* and 4*d.* each. The son therefore of a father in such poor circumstances, not being able in 1605 to contribute, as his great namesake undoubtedly did, to the subsidy for soldiers, would be content to serve in person, and to him the pay, about viij*d. per diem*, might be a matter of some importance. If the juryman, and the youngest son of Richard Shakspeare, are distinct individuals, we have then two persons of the same name belonging to Rowington to choose from for the trained soldier, instead of the Poet, whose rank in life was clearly among gentry. And as among families of the name of Shakspeare in the 16th and 17th centuries no baptismal name is more common than William, great caution should be observed when it is found in any deed or book, before it is taken for granted that it must relate to the Poet.

Since the above was written, the Compiler has had the satisfaction of reading a statement (in *Notes and Queries*, August 3rd, 1867) by Mr JOHN BRUCE, of the Record Office, that another Richard Shakspeare resided at "Turner's End, or Church End," Rowington, from 1564 to 1614, farming his own copyhold estate, consisting of a house and a half-yard land, "some ten or 15 acres," held of the manor of Rowington. He and his wife Elizabeth had four sons, WILLIAM, Richard, Thomas, and John, and one daughter Joan. The eldest son William worked as a labourer on his father's little

[1] See Appendix D. *Was Shakspeare lame?*

farm, receiving only his "meate, drincke & apparell," instead of wages, with the expectation of succeeding to the property. But some years before the father's death, which occurred in April, 1614, the son left his home and went to service, and his absence was taken advantage of to incense his father against him, and he left the estate to his youngest son John. A Chancery suit was commenced between the brothers, in the Star Chamber, of which the bill and answer are set forth by Mr Bruce, from the discoveries of Mr George Knight. In this William Shakspeare, then about thirty years of age, we behold another person to represent the trained soldier of 1605, instead of the Poet, his inferior condition marking him as likely to enlist. One of the four commissioners appointed to hear the case between the brothers, at Warwick, Jan. 13, 1616, was "Francis Collins, gent.," who was doubtless the person of that name who was overseer to the Will of the Poet, and had a bequest of £13 : 6 : 8. He succeeded Thomas Green as Town Clerk of Stratford.

HOW DID THE POET SPELL HIS NAME?

It has been shown, in the opening pages of this contribution (Part II.) how numerous are the modes in which the name of our great Dramatist has been written. Editors, commentators, and critics have adopted variations, which may be spoken of as chiefly reduced to four in number; viz. SHAKESPEAR; SHAKSPERE; SHAKSPEARE; and SHAKE-SPEARE; which have all their several able advocates. The first form of spelling, viz. SHAKESPEAR, was taken by Aubrey, 1680; Sir Wm. Blackstone; Rowe, 1709; Pope, 1725; Sir Thomas Hanmer; Warburton, 1741; Holt, 1750; Horne Tooke; Hazlitt; Pye, 1807; Edwards; &c.

The second variation, SHAKSPERE, is adopted by Pinkerton, 1785; Bell, 1788; Ayscough, 1790; Sir Fredk. Madden; Cartright, Birch, Hamilton, Charles Knight, Heraud, J. B. Marsh, J. E. Taylor, Beale, Macdonell, Charles Kean, &c.

The third form, SHAKSPEARE, has been accepted by many writers, including Malone, 1790; Steevens, 1793; Davies, 1784; Rev. John Rann, 1786; Dr Samuel Johnson, 1795; Bensley, 1800; Reed; Douce; Dr Drake; Ritson; Manley Wood, 1806; Bowdler, 1818; Boswell; Chalmers; Pitman, 1822; Dr Symmons, 1827; Harness; Z. Jackson; Wm. Harvey, 1825; Singer, 1826; Skottowe; T. P. Courtenay, 1837; Dr Stebbing, 1845; Archbishop Whateley; Andrew Becket; Ingleby; Robert Bell; Gerald Massey; J. P. Kemble; S. T. Coleridge; Thomas Campbell, 1838; Walter Scott; Dr Wordsworth, Bishop of St Andrews; &c.

That variation which has the largest allowance of letters, SHAKESPEARE, is followed by many Editors, taking for their guide the mode in which the name was often *printed* in early editions, frequently divided, as SHAKE-SPEARE. This form is used by Heminges and Condell, the Poet's "fellows;"

followed by Theobald; Capell; Peck, 1740; Mason, 1785; Richardson; Arrowsmith; Farmer; Rushton; Keightley; Rimbault; Caldecott, 1819; Nichols; Wheler; W. Bell, 1852; Professor Craik; Bailey; Warner; Hudson; Roffe; Hardy; Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.; Benj. Heath; Sidney Walker; Grant White; Elwin, 1853; Singer, 1856; Samuel Phelps; Rev. Alex. Dyce; J. Payne Collier; J. O. Halliwell; C. Cowden Clarke; Howard Staunton; the Cambridge Editors; &c.

Mr HUNTER contends earnestly for "Shakespeare," as the Poet's own way of *printing* the name; and he states that the variation, "Shakspere," was first introduced in 1785, by "a critic of inferior note," meaning Pinkerton. But with great respect for Mr Hunter's opinion in general, it may be asked, if it is quite certain that the Poet superintended the printing of his plays? There are two editions of the same Tragedy, printed in his lifetime, in which his name is spelt in different ways: —"*King Lear*, M. William Shak-speare, 1608;" and "*King Lear*, M^r. William Shakespeare, 1608." Again, a third variation appears in the title of—"*Love's Labour's Lost*, by W. Shakespere, 1598." In two editions of "*The Tragedy of King Richard the Third*," 1598, and 1602, the author's name is "William Shakspeare," and it is so spelt in editions of the same play, published soon after his death, viz. in 1622, for Matthew Lane; in 1627 for William Lane; and in 1629 for John Norton.

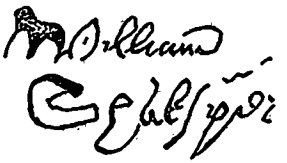
It is "a consummation devoutly to be wished" that one mode of spelling could be recognized in future for the Poet's name. It matters little how it was *printed* in early editions; it is of no consequence how later commentators prefer to *write* it; one authority alone should prevail above all else, that of the Mighty Master himself. Differing widely from each other in their plan of spelling the name, Sir F. MADDEN and Mr HALLIWELL agree that there are *five* signatures of the Poet which can be relied upon as genuine, viz. those which are attached to legal documents; they are as follows: —1. the signature to the Deed of Purchase (Counter-part) from Henry Walker, of a house, in Blackfriars, London, dated 10th of March, 1612; which document is now in the Museum of the Library of the Corporation of London, at Guildhall; 2. the signature to the Mortgage Deed of the same house,

dated 11th of March, 1612, and which is now in the British Museum; 3., 4. and 5. the signatures to the three sheets of paper which constitute the Poet's last Will and Testament, dated March 25, 1616, and which is preserved in the Prerogative Office, Doctors' Commons.

The surname, in the Purchase and Mortgage Deeds, both upon *parchment*, is written in rather a contracted manner, but which Sir F. Madden makes out to be "Shakspere;" whilst other persons, who are experienced in old handwritings, consider that the name can be fully made out to stand for "Shakspeare." For the name to the Will Sir F. Madden quotes the first signature as—"William Shakspere;" the second as—"Will'm Shakspere;" whilst the third, he admits, has been usually read—"By me William Shakspeare." In their notices of the Will this last signature of the Poet is also read—"By me, William Shakspeare," in the Editions of Mr Collier, Mr Halliwell, Mr Staunton, and many authors; whilst Mr C. Knight so regards it in one recital of the Will, and "By me William Shakspere," in another place. Mr Collier thus alludes to the signatures of the Poet—"All three signatures are more or less infirm and illegible, especially the two first, but he seems to have made an effort to write his best when he affixed both his names at length at the end, 'by me William Shakspeare.'"

In the year 1776 STEEVENS, accompanied by MALONE, went to Doctors' Commons, and was the first person who made a tracing of the last signature to the Poet's will, and of which a *fac-simile* was published in Malone's Edition. This early testimony is important, because the frequent tracings taken since Malone's time may have somewhat impaired the original writing; still even to the naked eye the word is incontestibly "SHAKSPEARE," and seen through a powerful glass every letter stands out distinctly, confirming that mode of spelling, and in which *there is no contraction*, as in all the other signatures. Thus we see a remarkable agreement among writers that the very last time, so far as we know, that the Poet had occasion to sign his name, he wrote—

What further proof then can be required to establish that as the proper form of spelling a Name so honoured and beloved. One point is settled by all the admitted autographs, namely, that no letter *e* is to be seen between *k* and *s*, and therefore the redundant form of spelling the name as "Shakespeare," has no warrant from his own hand. The Deed now at the Guildhall was purchased at Evans's sale-rooms, June 17, 1843, by the Corporation of London, for the sum of £145. The following is a *fac-simile* of the Poet's signature to this Deed,



The Mortgage Deed was bought for the British Museum, June 13, 1858, at the price of £315. The City Librarian, Mr W. H. Overall, F.S.A., to whom the Compiler is under great obligations for his friendly attentions, is of opinion respecting the signature to both deeds, as compared with the Will, that though the scribe writes the name "Shakespeare," in the body of the documents, the Poet signed—"SHAKSPEARE." It may be asked upon what plea do some critics, when the Poet's name is turned into an adjective, spell the word as—Shakspearian?—they would not think of writing—Europian, Herculian, Terpsichorian, Circian, Hyperborian.

Besides the five acknowledged signatures, some instances of handwriting have been claimed as genuine autographs of the Poet, but respecting which there is a difference of opinion. The British Museum possesses a book, purchased in 1838, from the Rev. Edward Paterson, to whose father, the Rev. Edward Paterson of Smethwick, near Birmingham, the volume belonged before the year 1780; it is a copy of the "First Edition of the English Translation of Montaigne's Essays by John Florio; folio, printed in 1603;" on the fly-leaf is written —"Will'm Shak/pere;" this autograph Sir F. Madden believes to be genuine, stating that it "challenges and defies suspicion." On the other hand, Mr Halliwell considers that further evidence is required. *Life*, p. 249.

Upon the edges of the leaves of this volume is written a name—"A. HALES," who is assumed by the Rev. Mr Bellew (*Shakespere's Home*, page 254), to be Anthony Hales, a bro-

ther of the "ever-memorable John Hales of Eton;" the same author stating his opinion that "John Hales after Shakespere's death had possession of this work, had annotated it with his own erudition, and that from him the book passed to his brother Anthony." Q. E. D.

There is another work in the British Museum, a copy of "Warner's *Albion's England*, 4to., 1612," on the title-page of which is inscribed,—"William Shakspeare his booke;" but Sir F. Madden does not allow this to be of the Poet's handwriting. But as William Warner was a native of Warwickshire it is extremely probable that SHAKSPEARE had a copy of his work, especially as it is a Metrical Chronicle of English History. He died at Great Amwell, co. Herts, and the following account of his decease was entered in the Register of that Parish. "1608–9. Master William Warner, a man of good years, and of honest reputation; by his profession attorney at common plese; author of *Albion's England;* dyinge suddenly in the nyght in his bedde, without any former complaynt or sicknesse, on Thursday nyght, being the 9th daye of March, and was buried the Saturday following, and lieth in the church at the upper end, under the stone of Gwalter Sludes." W. HERVEY'S SHAKSPEARE, Ed. 1825.

A small Prayer-book, printed in 1596, was discovered in 1864, at Whitechurch in Shropshire, and it is surmised to have been "the Poet's own Prayer-Book," from his name being found in three places therein. It is thus described by Mr TOULMIN SMITH, F.S.A., of Hackney:—"At the end of the prayer-book itself is the signature, 'William Shakspeare.' After the Confession of the Christian Fayth, which is at the end of the volume, is the signature, 'W. Shakspeare,' and underneath this signature is the date, '1600.' By the aid of the glass I found plain traces of another signature, in what seemed to be the same hand, on the inside of the right-hand cover. In a different hand, in a different part of the book, is the signature, 'M. Shakspeare.' On the inside of the left-hand cover is some writing, almost illegible, but of which the words 'Stratford-on-Avon' are clearly traceable." Mr Toulmin Smith, after some remarks as to "the probabilities of genuineness," concludes his letter (to the *Standard*, 1st Nov. 1864) by saying,—"At present it appears to me that the best judgment points to considering this to be the veritable 'own

prayer-book' of him whom, as a Warwickshire man myself, I may in a double sense call our William Shakspeare." If the signatures in this volume can be established as really those of the Poet, the book would rank in interest and value (on that score) next to his Will, and the true mode of spelling the name would be placed beyond dispute.

Having heard that another copy of Montaigne's Essays, containing a supposed autogragh of the Poet, was in the possession of the Honourable ROBERT CURZON, of Parham Park, Sussex, the Compiler applied to that gentleman for information respecting the book, and has been courteously acquainted with the circumstances under which the volume came to him. It was purchased for a small sum about twenty years ago at a book-stall near Charing-Cross, bound up with a Black-Letter volume on Chess, and another old book, entitled "*A World of Wonders*, didicated to William Earle of Pembroke and Philip Earle of Montgomerie by R. C. Imprinted for John Norton, 1607." The Montaigne is the "Folio printed by Val. Sims, for Edward Blount, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, 1603," and in it is written—"Willm^s^ Shak/pere." The bookseller knew nothing of its history, and was not aware that the Poet's name gave any additional value. But Mr CURZON refers to the rumour that a book with SHAKSPEARE'S autograph was in MALONE'S Library, and which he used to show to his friends, but at the sale of his books after his death it did not make its appearance, and Mr CURZON aptly remarks, that the *World of Wonders* was a work very likely to be possessed by the Poet, from its dedication to "The Incomparable paire of brethren," to whom SHAKSPEARE'S "fellows, HEMINGES and CONDELL," dedicated their Folio Edition of SHAKSPEARE'S Plays in 1623, expressly reminding their L.L. (*lordships*) that they had "prosequuted both them, and their Authour living with so much favour." Neither in Mr J. Payne Collier's *Account of Early English Literature*, nor in Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*, is there any notice of *A World of Wonders*.

FAMILIES OF THE NAME OF SHAKSPEARE IN VARIOUS LOCALITIES.

Thus far the endeavour has been made to trace the family connections of England's most illustrious Dramatist; if any persons of his name, at the present day, claim alliance with him, in a remote degree, they must carry back their pedigree to the time of his grandfather, RICHARD SHAKSPEARE, of Snitterfield, of whose sons, THOMAS and HENRY, we have not sufficient information to show when and where their lines ceased, if indeed they have become extinct. Again, their father Richard may have had brothers, but of them, or of their descendants, if any, nothing is known at present. The list of names, large as it has already appeared, is not yet exhausted; and from the pages of Mr HUNTER, Mr HALLIWELL, and other writers; from wills, parish registers, and different sources of information, several further instances of that name which excites so much interest can be produced.

A manuscript copy of the customs of the manor of Rowington, in the possession of Mr LEA, dated 1614, exhibits, says Mr HALLIWELL, in his *Life of Shakespeare*, a "Thomas Shackspear of Rowington who is assessed in goods of the value of £3 in the subsidy roll 39 Eliz. (1597), and Thomas Shaxper senior of the same place is assessed on land of the value of thirty shillings, in a similar roll of 7 Jac. I." 1610. Mention is also made of "John Shakeseper of Rowington;" and Mr HALLIWELL states,—"A survey of Crown Lands in Warwickshire, 4 Jac. I. (1607), in the Land Revenue Office, notices Thomas, George, Richard, and John Shakespeare, as holding property there." Richard Shakspeare, of Rowington, has already been mentioned, who made his will in 1591, and some of his children, John, Roger, Thomas, William, and Dorothy, may be alluded to in the above extracts from Mr

HALLIWELL, as also in the following abstracts of wills in the Court of Probate, London, printed in the *Herald and Genealogist*, Vol. I. 1863.

"Administration bearing date, April 15, 1597, to the estate of Roger Shakespeare of Chesset Wood, within the parish of Hampden-in-Arden, in the county of Warwick, wherein commission is granted to Elizabeth Shakespeare his relict." C. H[1].

Will of John Shakespeare, yeoman of Lapworth, dated 30th Oct. 1637, proved by his wife Dorothy, 27 April, 1638. He had no children, and his nephew, John Twycross, came in for the best part of his property. He bequeathed to his brother Christopher Shakespeare a weekly allowance of *6d.* Christopher had a son John, who had two sons, John and Thomas, who had each 20 shillings under the will of the testator, who had another brother (not named) whose three sons, Edward, William, and Thomas, and three daughters, not named, had each £3. *6s. 8d.* under the will. Of these last-named sons, Edward was married, and had two sons, who also received legacies. The testator names his sister Catherine, the wife of John Shotteswell; they had two sons, John and William. The overseers to the will are his friend John Fetherston of Packwood Esquire, and John Shakespeare of Ringwood. In the will also appear the names of Katherine, Elizabeth, and Winifred Shakespeare; of Humphrey, Thomas, and John Shakespeare; and also the children of the said Humphrey, viz. Henry and Elizabeth Shakespeare. "One Alice Shakespeare receives 40 shillings, and also a weekly allowance of 6[d]." C. H. In the *Herald and Genealogist*, Vol. I. page 265. This numerous family may be derived from Christopher Shakspere and Isabella his wife, who belonged to the Knoll Guild, 3 Hen. VIII., 1512, and described as of Packwood, which is nearly midway between Knoll and Lapworth, a few miles from each place.

[1] The initials "C. H." are those of the late Mr "Clarence Hopper," a gentleman well versed in genealogical and archæological studies; one of his last labours was to assist in compiling "A Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts, Works of Art, and Relics illustrative of the Works of Shakespeare," in the museum at the birth-place. It is printed by Mr Halliwell for the Shakespeare Fund, 1868, for private circulation. Mr Hopper died in the summer of 1868, at the age of fifty-one.

Will of John Shakespeare de la Hill, Rowington, yeoman, dated 20 Jan. 1652, probate granted 10 Sept. 1654, his widow Margery being executrix; their three children were William, John, and Margaret, who married — Vernon. The overseers to the will were the testator's friends, Thomas Shakespeare and Frank Grissold. C. H. *Ib.*

Will of Thomas Shakespeare, fuller, of Lapworth, dated 21 Feb. 1653, proved 18 May, 1658, who was buried, according to his wish, at Rowington, to which place no doubt his family belonged, and he bequeathed 40 shillings to the poor of that parish. He leaves legacies to kinsmen, all of the name of Shakespeare; viz. to Richard at Kenilworth his shop and implements with £5 in money; to Thomas his godson, living at Rowington £5; to Thomas at Lapworth £5; to Richard £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*; to John £5; to his kinswoman Mary Shakespeare £5; "to my brother William's son's daughter Elizabeth 6^{d}. if it be demanded." The testator constitutes his kinswoman, Elizabeth Shakespeare, his sole executrix and residuary legatee. He left £10 to defray the expenses of his funeral. The overseers to his will were Thomas Sly of Lapworth, a kinsman, and Thomas Shakespeare, also a kinsman, of Whitthygate in Rowington, with 10*s.* each for their pains. The witnesses were Thomas Sly and Susanna Sly. C.H.

"1655. June 13. Under this date there is a commission of administration granted to Anthony Robbins, the nephew of Dorothy Shakespeare widow deceased, late of Lapworth, co. Warwick." C. H. Page 266. She was no doubt the wife of John Shakespeare, whose will she proved in 1638.

"The year 1664 presents us with a will of a Leonard Shakespeare, who was a vintner at Isleworth, co. Midd., dated 26 March, and proved 1st July of the same year. His wife who survived him, and was his executrix, was named Elizabeth. He had some little house property, as he leaves two tenements, &c. in Isleworth to his wife, and after her to his son John, who was probably the eldest. He mentions two other sons, William Shakespeare and Ralph Shakespeare, to each of whom he leaves the ridiculously small sum of 12*d.*, while to his daughter, Elizabeth King, he leaves £20. His son William appears to have been married, as four children of his are named, William, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Rebecca. To his grandson William Shakespeare the testator bequeaths the

sum of *2s. 6d.* He mentions moreover his son-in-law, Mr Robert Parsons." C. H. Page 267.

The testator, Leonard Shakespeare, vintner, would appear to be the person of that name mentioned in the will of "Leonard Wilmot of Clanfield, co. Oxon. Gent." 1608, who leaves a bequest—"to Leonard Shackspire my godson, servant to John Prince of Abington vintner 5li.," and there was another bequest—"to John Shackspire of Newman 5li."—who may be father of Leonard, who had a son John.

"John Shakespeare of Knoll, in the county of Warwick, describes himself as a yeoman, and makes his will on the 30th day of December, 1681. It was proved on the 25th of July, 1683. He had two sons, Henry the elder, and John the younger, which last is left residuary legatee. Henry had four children, all under age, John, Elizabeth, Henry, and Thomas, to each of whom is a legacy of *5l.* John the other son of the testator was also married, whose daughter Elizabeth has a similar legacy of *5l.*" C. H. Page 267.

Mr HUNTER mentions the will of Thomas Shaxsper of Mowsley End, in Rowington; he therein names his wife Annis, his son John, who is to pay £20 due to his (John's) uncle, John Scott; two other sons, Thomas and Richard; and three daughters, Eleanor, Joan, and Annis, to each of whom he leaves £20. This will is of the year 1591.

A family was settled at Warwick, which does not appear to have any connection, beyond the common origin, with that of Stratford-upon-Avon. In 1579 a person was drowned in the Avon, whose burial is thus recorded in the Parish Register of St Nicholas, Warwick:—

> "1579. Junii, sexto die hujus mensis sepultus fuet Gulielmus Saxspere, qui demursus fuet in rivulo aquæ qui vel quæ vocatus Avona."
>
> HALLIWELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, page 7.

The late Mr HUNTER was the first to publish this extract, which he obtained from Mr G. F. BELTZ, Lancaster Herald; but he spells the Latin too correctly. He considers that the William who was drowned was a son of Thomas Shakspeare, of Warwick, shoemaker, whose third son John was, in his opinion, the shoemaker of Stratford; another son, Thomas, remained at Warwick: and a daughter, Joan, was married to Francis Ley.

In the Register of St Nicholas, Warwick, the marriage is recorded of a Thomas Shakspeare, who appears to be of a different family from that just mentioned:—

"1598, Junii 21, Solemnizatum matrimonium inter Thomam Shaxeper et Elizabeth Lethorborrow."

HALLIWELL'S *Life*, page 7.

Robert Letherbarrow was Mayor of Coventry, 22 Eliz. 1584, and was probably related to the above-named Elizabeth, whose husband is apparently the "Thomas Shaxpere, gent." who was elected Bailiff of Warwick, 1st Nov., 10 Jac. I. 1613. Thomas Letherbarow was one of the monks of Shortley monastery, and at its dissolution had a pension allowed to him of £5. 6*s*. 8*d*. *per annum*. DUGDALE. *Warwickshire*, under *Pinley*, page 135.

But a much older will than any of those already quoted is alluded to by Mr HUNTER, who states;—"The earliest will of any person of the name which is now to be found in the Register Office at Worcester, is of the year 1539. The testator is Thomas Shakspere. He desired to be buried in the church-yard of St Nicholas of Alcester before the Lady Chantry: he leaves 20*s*. each to his father and mother, Richard and Margaret. He gives 20*s*. to Alexander Fox, his wife's son, and the remainder of his property to his wife Margaret and his son William. The rector of Alcester, Sir Wm Denton is a witness, date 1539. Proved at Stratford." *Prolusions*, page 9. Mr HUNTER considers the Richard Shakspeare in this will to be the same as the bailiff to the Nuns of Wraxhall, and collector of their rents.

In BOSWELL'S MALONE'S *Shakspeare*, Ed. 1821, Vol. II. page 23, are the following extracts from the Register at Hampton-upon Avon (*Hampton-Lucy*).

"1582, June 10. Lettyce, the daughter of Henrye Shakespere was baptized."

"1585, Oct. 15, Jeames the sonne of Henrye Shakespere was baptized."

"1589, Oct. 25. Jeames Shakspeare of Ingon was buried."

As Ingon is in the parish of Snitterfield, it is quite possible that James and Lettice named in these extracts were children

by his wife Margaret, of the HENRY SHAKSPEARE of that place, brother of JOHN, the high bailiff of Stratford; the latter rented a small farm of fourteen acres, called Ingon Meadow, in Snitterfield, for which he paid the large sum of £8 *per annum.*

MALONE also gives the baptism at Stratford of a daughter of Anthony Shakspere, who was of Snitterfield in 1569, but appears to have settled at Hampton-Lucy, which is close to Stratford:—

"Feb. 10, 1583-4. Elizabeth, daughter to Antony Shaksper of Hampton."

Alluding to proceedings in the Star Chamber Mr HALLIWELL says,—"In the same repository of records is a fine levied Mich. 12 Jac. I. (1615) 'inter Willielmum Shackespeare et Georgium Shackespeare, quer. et Thomam Spencer armigerem, Christoforum Flecknoe, et Thomam Thompson, deforc. de octo acris pasturæ cum pertinentiis in Claverdon alias Claredon.'" *Life of Shakespeare,* page 6. On the same page Mr HALLIWELL says,—"In the year 1589 we find the case of 'Marye Ruswell against John Vale and Katheryn his wyefe and Aylese Shackspire.' This Alice Shakespeare here mentioned was John Vale's mother-in-law." In the Knoll Guild the name of Alice occurs four times as the wife of a Shakspeare.

A family of the name was settled at Tachbrook, 9 miles from Stratford, in the beginning of the 16th century. The present Vicar of that parish, the Rev. E. T. CODD sent a list of baptisms, marriages, and burials, relating to the name (a praiseworthy example), to the *Notes and Queries,* 3rd Series, Vol. VIII. Dec. 1865, Page 185, commencing at 1557, and continued to 1738. The spelling differs from all other variations; "1557, Roger Shakesspere, sonn of Rob'te Shakesspere, 21° Apr. bapt." Robert, who was a weaver, had other children, John born in 1574; Alice buried in 1559; Isabel born in 1560. The son Roger married first Isabel Parkins in 1592, and secondly Alice Higgins in 1595. Under the date—"1628, Elizabeth Shakespeare, the daughter of John and Christian his wife, was bapt. 22 Aprill." Also in "1630, Judith Shakespeare the (*sic*) of John and Christian his wife, was baptized 4 Aprill, 1630." Later there were generations of Roger, John, and Walter, who had families.

In the same volume of this useful publication, at page 501, Sir THOMAS E. WINNINGTON, Bart. M.P. contributes a Query, regarding the Shakespeares of Fillongley:—"Are the Shakespeares, whose monuments remain in the parish Church of Fillongley, near Coventry, a branch of the Poet's family? The spear, the well-known armorial bearing, appears on the tomb of George Shakespeare, who died in 1690. There is also a tablet recording some gift to the parish by one of the name; and I was informed by the present vicar that there are still Shakespeares amongst the peasant portion of his flock."

Mr W. J. LIGHTFOOT contributes to *Notes and Queries*, Oct. 22, 1864, the following extracts from the Parish Register of Rucking, Kent:—

"Anno Dm̄. 1599.
Vicesimo quarto die Februarij Johēs filius
Reginaldi Shakespear bapt. fuit."

"Anno Dm̄. 1600.
Tricessimo die Maij Reginaldus Shakspeare
paterfamilias sepult. fuit."

And the same correspondent states that the name is to be found on the Parish Registers of Orlestone, Snave, Warehorne, Snargate, and Kenardington, all in Kent.

In the *Transactions* of the Essex Archæological Society some names of Shakspeare are collected by Mr Veley, chiefly from the wills of persons residing at Romford, Hornchurch, and Rawreth, commencing with Thomas Shakspere, a priest, 1557; but the different families are not shown to be connected with each other, or to be derived from families in other localities.

A family of good position was seated at Walton-upon-Thames. In MANNING and BRAY, *History of Surrey*, Vol. II. some of their monuments are recorded:—

"In the Church-Yard, East of the Church, on a tomb inclosed with iron rails: Herein are deposited the bodies of MATTHEW SHAKESPEAR, and of GEORGE SHAKESPEAR, haply cut off in the prime of youth, in the 15th year of his age, Aug. 8, 1775. Also JOHN SHAKESPEAR of Weybridge, who died in the 67th year of his age, Jan. 3, 1775. Likewise the body of WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR Esq. of this Parish, who departed

this life January 23, 1783, in the 77th year of his age. Also of GEORGE SHAKESPEAR Esq. of *Oxford Street, London*, but late of this Parish, Architect, who died March 29, 1797, in the 74th year of his age." Ed. 1809. Page 777.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* is a notice of the death of a worthy citizen; "28 Jany. 1799. At his house in Hart Street, Bloomsbury, aged 73, William Shakespear, Esqre. a most valuable member of society." A short memoir of him is given, reciting his benevolent contributions to the schools of St George's and St Giles's.

A contributor to *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, Vol. VII., April 5, 1853, under the signature, "Charlecote," mentions that, in 1597, a Thomas Shakspeare resided at Lutterworth, co. Leicester, but only a few miles from Stratford, who was employed by William Glover of Hillesdon, N. Hants., Gentleman, as his Agent, to receive for him, and give an acquittance for a considerable sum of money; and the writer asks —"is it not probable that he was a relative of the great Bard?" Page 405. Further on, at page 546, "Charlecote" states his impression that this Thomas Shakspeare was by profession a money-scrivener in the town of Lutterworth. But the two following notices prove that he was an attorney, whose avocations required his presence sometimes in London:—

> "1604. Oct. 12. Certificate of Thomas Shakspere, of Staple Inn, Middlesex, of his being prevented by a previous summons out of Chancery, from attending a summons in another court, not named. Thinks it is through malice that he is sued for non-attendance." Mrs EVERETT GREEN'S *Calendar of State Papers*, 1603—1610.

By the kind permission of the Principal of Staple Inn (1867), Mr Henry Smith Pownall, the Admission Books of that Society were searched by the Compiler, and the following entry, never before printed, was the satisfactory result; it appears in the first Volume, f. 58:—

> "Thomas Shakespeare de Lutterworth in Com. Leic. gent. et Rob'tus Noone de Staple Inne gent. tent. Henrico ffermor gent. principal Hospitii de Staple Inne p'ard Walter James et Thome Pope gen' 10° 15° ffebruarij 5° Jacobi." 1607.

The late Mr HUNTER mentions a John Shakspeare, who in 1600 lived in the Parish of St Martin-in-the Fields, as the only person of the surname, besides the Poet, residing in London, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. *Prolusions*, page 9. The same writer was the first to draw attention to an Assessment Roll of a Subsidy, 1 Oct., 40 Eliz. 1598, to be levied on the Ward of Bishopsgate-Within, London; and under "St Hellen's Parishe" the names are set forth of the persons assessed, with the rated value, and the sum to be paid thereon. At the head of the list is the wealthy Knight, Sir John Spencer, a commissioner, put down at—"ccc^l^," on which to pay "x^l^," and some way lower down, "Affid. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE v^l^." on which to pay—"xiij. s. iv^d^." (This is sometimes wrongly quoted as if the person had to pay £5. 13*s.* 4*d.*) Mr HUNTER then remarks;—"On what inducement he fixed himself in that particular part of the city we cannot tell; but we may observe that his house would be about equally distant from the two theatres, the Black Friars, and the Globe, which were the places of his most frequent resort, and that he could easily pass to the Globe over the Bridge." *Prolusions*, pp. 77, 78. In noticing this assessment Mr HALLIWELL considers that more information is required, and directs attention to the abbreviation, "Affid." prefixed to the name presumed to be the Poet's, which he regards as implying non-residence. *Life*, page 153.

It has been suggested that Bishopsgate would be an inconvenient distance from the theatres to which SHAKSPEARE belonged, but his friend Richard Burbage resided in Halighwell Street, St Leonard's, Shoreditch, from 1600 to his death in 1618–9. Nicholas Tooley, a friend of Burbage, also lived and died there. Richard Cowley, a low comedian, who played "Verges," and to whom as his "fellow" Augustine Phillips bequeathed "twenty shillings," (as he did to other of his "fellows," and to SHAKSPEARE "thirty shillings"), resided close to Richard Burbage; they died within a few days of each other. The locality was considered to be quite fashionable, and it was not far from the Curtain Theatre in Shoreditch, and the Fortune Theatre in White Cross Street.

MALONE pointed out that the Poet lived near the Bear-Garden in Southwark; and the name of "M^r^. Shaksper" occurs among the "Inhabitants of Southerk as have com-

planed this—of Jully, 1596." COLLIER'S *Life*, page 126. Among those who were assessed for the support of the poor of the Liberty of the Clink, in the Borough, are found—"Philip Henslowe esquier;"—"Mr. Shakespeare;" and "Edward Alleyn;" each to pay 6*d.* per week. COLLIER'S *Life*, page 187.

It is as well to mention, for what it is worth, a remarkable statement, in "*Notes and Qucries*, 1st Series, Vol. VII., June 1853," by a writer under the initials, "P. T.," who says that he had recently become possessed of some curious drawings by Hollar, "those relating to Shakspeare being interesting, evidently done for one Captain John Eyre, who could himself handle the pencil well." The inscription under one is as follows in the writing of the said J. Eyre:—

"Ye house in ye Clink Streete, Southwerke, now belonging to Master Ralph Hansome, and in ye which Master Shakspeare lodged while he writed and played at ye Globe, and untill the year 1600 it was at the time ye house of Grace Loveday. Will had ye two rooms over against ye doorway as I will possibly show." P. T. proposed to publish by subscription three of these drawings, but it does not appear that his offer was received with any favour.

In the Records of the Leathersellers' Company, London, there are entries of the apprenticeship of George, son of Thomas Shakespeare of Arley, co. Warwick, for seven years, from October 12, 1693, and of George, son of William Shakespeare, also of Arley, in June, 1732.

The following notices of the name have not been instanced until they were given in the *Herald and Genealogist*, Vol. I. p. 569.

"UNPUBLISHED MEMORIALS OF THE NAME OF SHAKSPEARE.

From the parish register of Christ Church, London.

1570. Feb. 5. *Married*, Matthew Shakspere and Isbell Peele.

1707. Aug. 11. Roger Shakspeare, *buried* in the churchyard.

From the register of St Bartholomew's the Less, London.

1794. June 29. *Baptized*, Joshua, son of Thomas and Ann Shakespear, born 28 May.

From the Register of St Gregory's by St Paul's.

1619. July 18. *Baptized.* John, son of Thomas Shakespeare, Gent.

1620. Oct. 6. ——— Thomas, son of ———

1747. April 25. *Married,* Jno. Shakespeare of Portsea and Mary Higginson of St James, Westmr.

From the Will of Leonard Wilmot, of Clanfield, co. Oxon. Gent.

1608. To John Shackspire of Newman 5 li. To Leonard Shakspire my godson, servant to John Prince of Abington vintner 5 li."

One of the name deserves to be recorded with respect for his intention to do honour to his great Namesake. This was the late Mr John Shakespear of Worthington, co. Leicester, whose bequest of £2500 for the purchase, and £60 *per annum* for the maintenance, of the Poet's birth-place in Henley Street, was declared to be invalid. Fortunately a sufficient sum has been raised by subscription, and the house is now National property.

In 1851 several families of the name of Shakspeare resided at Coventry, Henley-in-Arden, and Birmingham, following different trades. In the last-named town was "Mr Thomas Shakspeare, Bristol Street, Gentleman." Mr MARK ANTONY LOWER, in his *Patronymica Britannica*, states that "the name of Shakspeare is still comparatively common in South Staffordshire."

There is at the present time, 1868, the name, "William Shakspeare," placed over several shops and dwellings in High Street, and Chapel Street, Stratford-upon-Avon, but merely used for trade purposes; whilst there are, it is believed, persons living in the town, who bear the name of Shakspeare, but mostly in a humble condition. W. G. C.

THE SHAKESPEARS OF STEPNEY, OR SHADWELL.

The Compiler has reserved to the last to speak of a Family, in which for a great length of time the tradition has been handed down from father to son that they are connected with the Poet's ancestry; and one of the present generation, with whom this writer has the pleasure of being acquainted, has in his possession the drawing on parchment of a coat of arms, pronounced by an eminent herald "to be more than 200 years old;" which is precisely the same, with the crest on an esquire's helmet, as the coat of arms granted to the Poet's father in 1596. This branch of the name has always spelled it as "Shakespear." Lieut.-Col. John Davenport Shakespear has furnished many particulars of his pedigree, which possesses much interest, and exhibits some illustrious alliances, one of his ancestors being the renowned TALBOT of SHAKSPEARE'S *First Part of King Henry VI.;* and another ancestor, grandson of the former, is Sir GILBERT TALBOT, K.G., mentioned, though not brought upon the scene, in *King Richard III.;* whilst the two last generations of the family have distinguished themselves in the civil and military service of their country in various quarters of the globe.

The first recognized founder of this family, JOHN SHAKESPEAR, settled at Shadwell, formerly a hamlet of Stepney, in Middlesex, as a rope-maker; and until lately the memory of his name and calling was preserved in "Shakespear's Walk." It was at first supposed that he was born in 1612, as his son Jonathan stated that his father was 77 years of age at his death in September, 1689. But this is now proved to be a mistake, from the certificate of the father's marriage at Stepney;—"Publications & Marriages, 1654. John Shakespear of Ratcliffe Highway ropemaker aged 35 & Martha Seeley of

To face p. 346.

TABLE XIII

PEDIGREE OF SHAKESPEAR OF STEPNEY.

ARMS. *Or* on a bend *Sable* a spear of the *first*, the point *Argent*. On John Shakespear's tomb in Stepney Churchyard.

RICHARD SHAKESPEAR, = Being at Snitterfield, 1560.

MARY ARDEN= JOHN SHAKESPEAR, High Bailiff of Stratford. THOMAS SHAKESPEAR, = of Snitterfield, 1588.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR, the Poet.

JOHN SHAKESPEAR, baptised at Snitterfield, 1562; is said to be the ancestor of the Elder spears of Stepney.

JOHN SHAKESPEAR, born 1619, settled at Rope-Walk, Shadwell, ob. 1689. = MARTHA, daughter of ..... SERLEY, mar. June 14, 1654, æ 25; 19.

BENJAMIN, ob. 1669. SAMUEL, ob. s. p. fol. JOHN, ob. y. par. MARY. Other children.

JONATHAN SHAKESPEAR, of Rope-Walk, = ELIZABETH, dau. of ..... Shallet, of Clapham, born 1670, ob. 1735. Surrey, mar. April 26, 1689.

ARTHUR SHAKESPEAR, eldest son. Other children. MATTHEW. WILLIAM. DAVID. BENNET, ob. 1736, æt. 49. JONATHAN, ob. 1766, æt. 58.

JOHN SHAKESPEAR, of Rope-Walk, born 1718, Alderman of London, Master of the Ironmongers' Company in 1769; ob. 1775. May 19, buried at Stepney. = ELIZABETH, dau. of COLIN CLIVE and his wife ANNE CROWNE, great grand-dau. of ALGERNON, 8th Earl of ARGYLL. She died Feb. 13, 1807.

JOHN TALBOT, of Blakemere, Salop, and Bromfield, co. Hereford, 1st Baron Talbot of Blakemere, 1733; ob. 1737. = MARY, daughter of Thomas Lord LATIMER.

JOHN TALBOT, 2nd Baron Talbot, 1737; ob. 1743. = Lady ELIZABETH BUTLER, descended from K. EDW. I.

Sir GILBERT TALBOT, of Grafton, K. G. = ETHELDREDA, dau. of Sir JOHN COLTON, Knt.

Sir JOHN TALBOT, of Grafton, Knt. = ELIZABETH, daughter of WALTER WROOTESLEY.

Sir JOHN TALBOT, of Salwarp, Knt. = OLIVE, dau. of Sir HENRY BERKERROLTON, Knt.

SHREWSBURY TALBOT, of Salwarp = ELIZABETH, dau. of Sir THOMAS LEIGHTON, Knt. and LADY.

ELIZABETH TALBOT, eldest son. = ... dau. of JOHN LITTLETON.

Sir JOHN TALBOT, of Lacock, Knt. = ELIZABETH, dau. of Sir JOHN KEYT, Bart. ante 1600.

ANNE TALBOT, eldest daughter and co-heir. = Sir JOHN THORT, Knt.

JOHN THORT "TALBOT," M.P. = Hon. MARY MANNERS.

MARTHA TALBOT, eventually sole heir. = Rev. WILLIAM DAVENPORT, D.D. of Bradon.

1. ARTHUR SHAKESPEAR, M.P. ob. 1828. = JANE, daughter of Sir MATTHEW RIDLEY, Bart.

2. SAMUEL SHAKESPEAR.

3. DAVID = ... dau. of SHAKESPEAR, settled in Jamaica. ..... daughter of ..... WAGSTAFF.

5. COLIN = ... dau. of SHAKESPEAR, Hon. E. I. C. S. = HARRIET, daughter of W. DAMION.

1. CAROLINE, mar. Joseph Esqr.
2. ANNE, mar. John Sharpe.
3. MARTHA, mar. John Lloyd.
4. ELIZABETH.
5. JANE.
6. MARY, mar. Lewis Oliver, Esq. 3 sons, 2 daughters.

1. JOHN SHAKESPEAR, born 1749, = MARY DAVENPORT, 2d wife, married first wife, May 9, 1782, buried 1st July, 1829. literally descended from King Edward the First; the third Nov. 1795.

1. MATTHEW JOHN SHAKESPEAR, Capt. R. N. ob. 1824.

1. ARTHUR WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR, ob. 1865.

JOHN SHAKESPEAR, Member of Legislature in Jamaica.

ARTHUR SHAKESPEAR, Barrister, K. N. ob. 1849. = HARRIET ..... WOODCOCK, ESQRS. E. I. C. S.

ANNE. FRANCES. GRACE.

1. JOHN TALBOT SHAKESPEAR, Hon. R. E. C. S. ob. 1829. = EMILY, daughter of ..... TRACKERAY.

2. WILLIAM OLIVER SHAKESPEAR, Judge of Appeal, Madras. = LOUISA, daughter of ..... MEYRICK, Esq.

3. HENRY DAVENPORT SHAKESPEAR, Member of Supreme Council of India, ob. 1858. = MARIANNE, mar. Rev. F. Shakerley.

4. ARTHUR SHAKESPEAR, Captain, 19th Hussars, Aide-de-Camp to Lord Combermere; was at Waterloo; ob. 1841. = HARRIET SOPHIA, dau. of THOS. SWINBURNE PENNELL, Esq. married April 19, 1816.

1. JOHN DOWNSHEAD SHAKESPEAR, Lieut.-Col. Bengal Art. ob. s. p.

2. WILLIAM MACKENZIE SHAKESPEAR, Lieut.-Col. Bengal Art. Married only dau. of Joseph Hodgson, F.R.S., but died s. p. April 8, 1867.

3. GEORGE TRANCY, ob. s. p.

4. Sir RICHMOND MALIN CAMPBELL SHAKESPEAR, Col. Bengal Art. ob. 1861.

5. SOPHIA, dau. of GEORGE P. THOMPSON.

1. EMILY, mar. W. F. Dick.
2. AUGUSTA, mar. Col. Lee.
3. CHARLOTTE, mar. Rose Chamberlain.
4. MARIANNE, mar. Col. Hamilton.

1. HENRY JOHN CHILDE SHAKESPEAR, Lt.-Col. 78th Highlanders, mar. 1863, Emm. dau. of Francis Boswell, M.D. and wife.

2. ALEXANDER SHAKESPEAR, mar. dau. ..... Taylor.

3. WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR, Capt. Madras Cav. ob. May 31, 1862.

FANNY ISABELLA, mar. and dau. of Sir ROBERT N. C. HAMILTON, Bart. mar. in 1854.

1. LOUISA, mar. Sir JAMES H. HAMILTON, Bart.
2. HARRIET, mar. H. TUDOR, Esq.
3. AUGUSTA, mar. C. Pemberton.
4. JANE.
5. MARY.
6. HENRIETTA, mar. Rev. H. D. Vincent.

1. DEBORAH BUCKNALL SHAKESPEAR, Col. Bengal Artillery.

HENRIETTA, dau. of PARRY, Esq.

2. WILLIAM POWLETT SHAKESPEAR, ob. 1849. s. p.

3. JOHN TALBOT SHAKESPEAR, Col. Hon. E. I. C. S.

EMILY, dau. of PETER FIRTH, Esq.

4. JOHN DAVENPORT SHAKESPEAR, Capt. R.E. ret.; served in the Crimea; ob. Sept. 27, 1855.

LOUISA BAYLEY, dau. of ..... SAYER, Esq.; mar. 1855.

5. WYNDHAM ARTHUR SHAKESPEAR, M.A. Canon of Peterborough, ob. Berks.

1. HENRY, ob. 1849.
2. ARTHUR, ob. 1849.
3. CHARLES, ob. 1849.
4. OCTAVIUS, dau. of the Rev. CHARLES PEYMER, H.M. Consul-Gen. for Denmark.

1. RICHMOND SHAKESPEAR, Capt. 78th N. I. ob. Aug. 11, 1865.

SELINA SHAKESPEAR, mar. in 1868.

NICHOLS LOWES, Lieut. Bengal Staff Corps.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR.

ROBERT SHAKESPEAR.

ALFRED BUCKNALL SHAKESPEAR, born Jan. 14, 1850.

HUBERT DE BURGH SHAKESPEAR, mar. Lt.-Col. JAMES EDWARD MAYNE, 93rd Highlanders.

BOLAJESH SHAKESPEAR, mar. WILLIAM NEW MAYNARD, M.D. 66th Foot, ob. Nov. 3, 1866.

HUBERT SHAKESPEAR, ob. Aug. 18, 1867.

LOUISE SHAKESPEAR, born Sept. 2, 1850.

ARTHUR FRANKLIN CHARLES HILLSDON SHAKESPEAR, born June 3, 1860.

IDA NEE SHAKESPEAR.

LOWES FAIRFAX SHAKESPEAR.

Wapping wall Mayde 19 yeares. Married before John Waterton Esq. on ye 14 of June. Richard Mathews, Robert Conoley, Witnesses." This places John Shakespear's birth in 1619, a date to which attention will be drawn hereafter. By his wife, MARTHA SEELEY, JOHN SHAKESPEAR had several children, of whom Benjamin died in 1669, and Samuel and John died before 1689, the date of John Shakespear's death; for the surviving and youngest son, Jonathan mentions that, as his elder brothers were deceased, he succeeded to the father's business at Rope-Walk. JONATHAN SHAKESPEAR was born Feb. 6, 1670, and belonged to the Company of Broderers of London. He died in April, 1735, having had by his wife, ELIZABETH SHALLOT, of Clapham, Surrey, married 26 April, 1689, thirteen children, of whom the eldest, Arthur who died in 1749, *sine prole*, left the business in Shadwell to his youngest brother John, who was the twelfth child of their father Jonathan. This JOHN SHAKESPEAR, born March 16, 1718, was very successful in trade, and realized a handsome fortune; he became an eminent citizen, and held several honourable appointments, as follows; Trustee of Middlesex Turnpike roads, 25 March, 1751; Ranger of Waltham Forest, 15 Sept. 1761; Deputy-Lieutenant for Middlesex, 16 June, 1763; Deputy-Lieutenant for the Tower Hamlets, 21 Jan. 1771; and he had been appointed, 12 May, 1749, Rope-Maker to the Board of Ordnance, in succession to his brother Arthur, deceased (Col. J. D. S.). He was elected in 1768 one of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, having been in 1767 chosen Alderman of Aldgate Ward, and being transferred in that year from the Broderers' to the Ironmongers' Company, was elected in 1769 Master of that Worshipful Corporation, a fact which the Compiler was the first to notify to his descendant, Lieut.-Col. J. D. Shakespear. The Alderman presented to this Company, in 1770, two very handsome silver candlesticks with branches; he had a town-house in Billiter Square, which is close to Ironmongers' Hall, and a country residence at Leytonstone, Essex. He died May 19, 1775, and was buried in Stepney Church-yard (as was his brother Arthur); on his tomb is his coat of arms, with the same bearing as on his shield in the Banqueting Room at Ironmongers' Hall, placed in due order among the arms of the Masters of the Company; and in each case is the same

coat as in the Grant to JOHN SHAKSPEARE of Stratford-upon-Avon. This shield is also engraved in NOORTHOUCK'S *History of London*, Ed. 1773, as "the arms of John Shakespear Esqre." on the page which has the map of Aldgate Ward.

The Alderman married in 1745, ELIZABETH, daughter of COLIN CURRIE, and had eleven children. Colin Currie's father — CURRIE married MARY, daughter and heir of the Hon. FRANCIS MONTGOMERY of Giffen, second son of HUGH, seventh Earl of Eglinton. Colin Currie's wife was the daughter of the Hon. JOHN CAMPBELL, whose wife was CATHERINE, daughter and heir of Colonel CLAYBOURNE, by his wife, a daughter of ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, eighth Earl of Argyll. A family of the name of Currie was seated at Bromley, near Bow, *circa* 1726, and where some of the name still reside, and of whom is Mr Raikes Currie, of Bush-hill, Banker, of London.

Of the sons of JOHN SHAKESPEAR and ELIZABETH CURRIE, ARTHUR was the eldest; JOHN, of whom presently, was the second son; then DAVID, and SAMUEL; COLIN SHAKESPEAR, fifth son, in the Hon. E. I. C. C. service, was Collector at Saharapore; he married HARRIET, daughter of W. DAWSON, and their daughter, HARRIET SHAKESPEAR, married WILLIAM WOODCOCK, Esq., and they had three daughters, ANNE, FRANCES, and GRACE.

William Woodcock was son of Charles Woodcock, Judge in Hon. E. I. C. S., whose daughter, lately deceased, Anna-Maria married the Right Rev. Francis Russell Nixon, D.D., lately Bishop of Tasmania, second son of the Rev. Robert Nixon, F.S.A., and his wife Anne, eldest daughter and co-heir of George Russell of Foots-Cray, Kent, whose second daughter Martha Russell married John French, and their eldest son is the Compiler of these memoirs.

The death of John Shakespear appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:—"1775, May 19, John Shakespear, Esq., Alderman of Aldgate Ward."

The eldest son of the Alderman, ARTHUR SHAKESPEAR, who sat in Parliament for Richmond, co. York, married JANE, daughter of Sir MATTHEW RIDLEY, Baronet, and had a son, MATTHEW JOHN SHAKESPEAR, Captain in the Light Horse Volunteers of London and Westminster. His commissions are dated as follows:—Cornet 1805; Lieutenant 1810; Captain 1812. Mr Matthew Shakespear was a personal

friend of the Compiler's father, the late Mr John French, who held a Captain's commission in the same loyal regiment, dated Oct. 24, 1811.

The Alderman's third son, DAVID, "settled in Jamaica, and left a family, whose descendants are, I believe, there still." (Col. J. D. S.). A gentleman who arrived from the Colony, in 1867, informed the Compiler that the Hon. John Shakespear is a Member of the Legislature, and Proprietor of Hodges-Penn, St Elizabeth's Parish, near the Town of Black River. He is grandson, as shown by Table XIII., of David Shakespear, whose sister's marriage is recorded in the following extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine:* "1777, Sept. 22. John Blagrove, Esq. of Cardiff Hall, Jamaica, to Miss Shakespear, second daughter to the late Alderman." Their descendants still reside at Cardiff Hall, Trelawney Parish. Three other daughters of the Alderman were married; viz. 1. Sarah to Joseph Sage; 3. Martha to the Rev. John Loyd of Aston, co. Salop; and 4. Mary to Laver Oliver, Esq. Louisa, daughter of Joseph and Sarah Sage, married her cousin Arthur, second son of David Shakespear of Jamaica; who was in the Royal Navy, and died in 1849; 5. ELIZABETH; and 6. Jane, died unmarried.

The Alderman's grandson, Matthew John Shakespear, came into his property at Shadwell, which he willed away to the descendants of Mary, wife of Laver Oliver. The Alderman's wife survived him thirty-two years; her death is thus recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1807:—"Feb. 15. At Bramdean, co. Hants, aged 80, M^rs^. Shakespear, relict of John S. esq. late an alderman of London." The death of their eldest son's wife occurred two years earlier:—"Died, 30 Feb. 1805, in Pall Mall, M^rs^. Shakespear, wife of Arthur Shakespear Esqre. M.P. for Richmond, and sister to Sir Matthew White Ridley, bart." *Gent. Mag.* 1805. Died—"June 12, 1818, in Albemarle Street, aged 70, Arthur Shakespeare Esq." *Gent. Mag.* 1818.

The second son of John Shakespear and Elizabeth Currie, JOHN SHAKESPEAR, born May 6, 1749, married in 1782, May 9, a lady of noble lineage, viz. MARY DAVENPORT, who was daughter and heir of the Rev. WILLIAM DAVENPORT, D.D. of Bredon, co. Worcester, and of Lacock Abbey, co. Wilts, by his wife, MARTHA TALBOT, daughter and eventually

heir of JOHN IVORY TALBOT, of Lacock Abbey, M.P. for Wiltshire (by his wife, the Hon. Mary Mansel, daughter of Thomas, Lord Mansel), son of Sir JOHN IVORY, Knight, who married ANNE TALBOT, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir JOHN TALBOT, of Lacock, Knight, only son of SHERRINGTON TALBOT, the eldest son of SHERRINGTON TALBOT of Salwarp and Lacock, whose father Sir JOHN TALBOT, of Salwarp, co. Worcester (who married Olive, daughter and heir of Sir Henry Sherrington of Lacock Abbey, Knight), was son of Sir JOHN TALBOT of Albrighton, co. Salop, and Salwarp, Knight, whose father, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knight-banneret, rendered great assistance to the Earl of Richmond at Bosworth Field, as one of his chief commanders, and he is mentioned in *King Richard III.*, among the persons "of great fame and worth," who resorted to Richmond, who, at his accession to the throne, made Sir Gilbert a K.G., and bestowed upon him the manor of Grafton, co. Worcester, forfeited by Sir Humphrey Stafford, who supported the cause of Richard III. Sir Gilbert Talbot was second son of JOHN, second Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G., whose father was the great English captain who struck such terror in France, that his very name was used by the nurses to quiet unruly children,—"the Talbot cometh!" The Poet thus sets forth the titles of this "great Alcides of the field," JOHN TALBOT, as proclaimed by Sir William Lucy:—

> "Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,
> Created, for his rare success in arms,
> Great Earl of Washford, Waterford, and Valence;
> Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
> Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdun of Alton,
> Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Furnival of Sheffield,
> The thrice victorious Lord of Falconbridge,
> Knight of the noble order of Saint George,
> Worthy Saint Michael and the Golden Fleece;
> Great marshal to Henry the Sixth
> Of all his wars within the realm of France."
>
> *First Part of King Henry VI.* Act IV. Scene 7.

This famous soldier, who is evidently a favourite character with the Poet, was slain in 1453, at Chastillon, when he was eighty years of age, together with a young son, the "valiant John" of the play, who was his child by a second wife, the earl's successor to the title, of the same name, being a son of

his first wife, Maud Nevill. The last Earl of Shrewsbury, who died in 1856, was descended from Sir John Talbot, of Albrighton and Salwarp, by his first wife, Margaret Troutbeck, from whose grandson Sherrington Talbot's second marriage with Margaret, daughter of John Washbourn, is descended the present Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot.

The sons of JOHN SHAKESPEAR and MARY DAVENPORT his first wife, were 1. JOHN TALBOT; 2. WILLIAM OLIVER; 3. HENRY DAVENPORT; 4. ARTHUR, of whom presently. The eldest son, JOHN TALBOT SHAKESPEAR, who was in the Hon. East India Company's Service, by his wife, EMILY THACKERAY, had four sons, 1. JOHN DOWDESWELL SHAKESPEAR, late head of the family, who married Margaret, only daughter of Joseph Hodgson, F.R.S.; but died s. p.; his death is recorded in the *Times*, April, 1867:—"On the 6th inst. at 58, Warrior Square, Leonard's-on-sea, Lieut.-Col. John Dowdeswell Shakespear, late of the Bengal Artillery, aged 60;" 2. and 3. WILLIAM MAKEPEACE, and GEORGE TRANT, who both died unmarried; 4. Colonel Sir RICHMOND CAMPBELL SHAKESPEAR, Knight, British Resident at the Court of Gwalior, who died in India in 1861. This distinguished officer, born in 1809, was educated at the Charter-house School, where a tablet was recently placed to his memory, with his relative William Makepeace Thackeray, the writer; Sir Richmond conducted the negociation for the release of Lady Macnaghten and other ladies from the Afghans; was wounded at the battle of Goojerat; became full Colonel in 1842, and in 1857–8 held the command of the north division of the Bombay army. By his wife, Marian-Sophia daughter of George Powney Thompson, Bengal Civil Service, he had an eldest son, RICHMOND SHAKESPEAR, Captain H. M. 36th Reg. N. I., who died in India, Aug. 12, 1865; Sir Richmond's daughter SELINA SHAKESPEAR married in 1868, Lieut. NINIAN LOWIS, Bengal Staff Corps.

Mr John Talbot Shakespear had also five daughters, viz. 1. EMILY, who married W. F. Dick, Esq., Hon. E. I. C. Civil Service; 2. AUGUSTA, who married Colonel Low, Bengal Engineers; 3. CHARLOTTE, who married James Crawford, Esq., Hon. E. I. C. C. S.: 4. MARIANNE, who married Colonel Irvine, Madras Army; 5. SELINA.

Mr John Shakespear, who had realized a handsome fortune

in India, married secondly, in 1798, Feb. 28, Charlotte, daughter of — Fletcher, Esq., by whom he had one son, Owen, who died unmarried, and two daughters, Georgina, who married J. Allardyce, M. D. of Cheltenham, and Henrietta-Matilda, who died in 1861. Mr John Shakespear died January 16, 1825, and was buried at Lacock-Abbey; his first wife, Mary Davenport died in November, 1793, and his second wife died Oct. 8, 1815.

The third son of John Shakespear and Mary Davenport, viz. HENRY DAVENPORT SHAKESPEAR, was Member of Supreme Council of India (ob. 1838), and by his wife LOUISA daughter of — Muerson, Esq., had three sons, and seven daughters; 1. HENRY JOHN CHILDE SHAKESPEAR, late Commandant of the Nagpore Irregular Horse, Lieut.-Col. retired, who married, secondly, in 1863, Jane, eldest daughter of Francis Boxwell, M.D.; 2. ALEXANDER, a Judge in India; 3. WILLIAM ROSS SHAKESPEAR, Captain Madras Cavalry, who died in India in 1862, leaving by his wife, FANNY-ISABELLA, second daughter of Sir ROBERT NORTH COLLIE HAMILTON, Bart., K.C.B. of Alveston, co. Warwick, married in 1854, two sons, WILLIAM and ROBERT. The daughters were, 1. LOUISA, who married Sir James Macaulay Higginson; 2. HARRIET, who became the wife of H. Trotter, Esq.; 3. AUGUSTA, who married Childe Pemberton of Millichope Park, Esq.; 4. JANE; 5. AGNES; 6. MARY; 7. HENRIETTA, who married, in 1855, the Rev. Henry Brougham Vizard, Rector of Spetisbury, co. Dorset.

The fourth son of John Shakespear and Mary Davenport, ARTHUR SHAKESPEAR, was Captain in the Tenth Hussars, and served as Aide-de-camp to Lord Combermere during the Peninsular War, and was Brigade-Major of the Hussars at Waterloo; he died July 2, 1845, and by his wife, HARRIET-SOPHIA, daughter of THOMAS SKIP DYOTT BUCKNALL, of Hampton-Court, Esq., married April 19, 1818, had with two daughters, six sons; 1. GEORGE BUCKNALL SHAKESPEAR, Colonel Royal Artillery, who by his wife, HENRIETTA, daughter of — PANET, Esq., has, with other children, an eldest son, ARTHUR BUCKNALL SHAKESPEAR, born in 1849, and a (second) daughter, Rosaline, who married August 28, 1867, William Sim Murray, M.D., Surgeon, H. M. 66th Foot; his eldest daughter, Harriette-Blanche married Nov. 5th,

1868, at Madras, Lieut.-Col. James Edward Mayne, Deputy-Judge Advocate-General; 2. WILLIAM POWLETT SHAKESPEAR, died in India in 1844; 3. Colonel JOHN TALBOT SHAKESPEAR, who married EMMA, daughter of — WATERFIELD, Esq., and has a son, LESLIE SHAKESPEAR, born in 1865; 4. JOHN DAVENPORT SHAKESPEAR, of whom presently; 5. the Rev. WYNDHAM ARTHUR SHAKESPEAR, M.A., Curate of Peasemore, co. Berks; 6. ROBERT HENRY SHAKESPEAR, who married in 1858, OCTAVIA, daughter of the late CHARLES FENWICK, H.M. Consul-General for Denmark, and has a son, LIONEL FAIRFAX SHAKESPEAR.

The fourth son, Lieut.-Colonel JOHN DAVENPORT SHAKESPEAR, of the Royal Horse Artillery (retired), served as Second Captain of "Maude's Troop" in that distinguished Corps during the Crimean War, and was present at Alma, Inkerman, Balaclava, and Sebastopol; and is now a Justice of the Peace for the County of Essex. He married, Sept. 27, 1855, LOUISA-CAROLINE, daughter of ROBERT SAYER, of Sibton Park, co. Suffolk, Esq., and has a son, ARTHUR FRANKLIN CHARLES SHAKESPEAR, born June 5, 1864, and a daughter, IDA NEA SHAKESPEAR.

John Shakespear, second son of the Alderman, left a memorandum in writing that his family was derived from the Poet's grandfather. In regard to this tradition the reader is requested to recollect that the Poet's first-cousin, John, son of Thomas, son of Richard Shakspeare, was baptized at Snitterfield in 1582; John Shakespear, who first settled at Shadwell, was born in 1619, leaving a generation in time between the birth of the two Johns. Mr Hunter finds a John Shakspeare in London, residing in St Martin's-in-the Fields in 1600. This John may be the one who was born at Snitterfield, thence migrating to London, after his great relation's example, settling and marrying there, and becoming the father of John Shakespear of Rope-Walk, at whose birth he would be thirty-seven years of age; and in the Stepney family the name John has been retained in six generations, and William in four.

The Compiler has searched the Register of baptisms at St Martin's-in-the-Fields, without being able to find a John Shakspeare, but he is disposed to believe that the above tradition may have some foundation, either by the descent of

John of Stepney from John of Snitterfield, or from another grandson of Richard Shakspeare. Referring to the Register of St Gregory by St Paul's, it will be seen that on July 18th, 1619, was baptized,—"John son of Thomas Shakespeare, Gent." This is the very year in which, according to his marriage certificate, John Shakespear of Stepney must have been born, and his father may be the "Thomas Shakespeare, gent.," shown to belong to Staple Inn during the years 1604 and 1607, and apparently the same "gent.," described in the Register of St Gregory's Parish, and who may have been a son of Thomas Shakspeare of Snitterfield, one of the three sons of Richard, the Poet's grandfather. Thus the long-cherished family tradition, strengthened by so many *recently* discovered certificates, remarkably fitting to time and place, may be regarded as all but proved.

The descendants of John Shakespear and Mary Davenport can reckon in their pedigree some of the best Houses in England and Scotland, culminating in the Sovereigns of the two Kingdoms. By the Talbot alliance through Mansel they ascend to the noble families of Mordaunt, Scroop of Upsal, D'Arcy, Greystock, Ferrers of Wemme to JOHN of *Gaunt;* and through Lady Elizabeth Butler, wife of John Talbot, second Earl of Shrewsbury, they can claim KING EDWARD the FIRST as an ancestor. The marriage of Alderman John Shakespear with Elizabeth Currie brings in an ancestry of Scottish families in the highest rank, counting some of the proudest names in the history of their country, and including the Royal Houses of BRUCE and STEWART, and beyond them the old Kings of Scots, of whom is the "gracious Duncan" of SHAKSPEARE'S *Macbeth.* The wife of Archibald Campbell, 8th Earl of Argyll, and also of his father Archibald, 7th Earl, was in each case a Douglas, a daughter of an Earl of Morton. Colin Campbell, 3rd Earl of Argyll, married Janet Gordon, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Huntley, whose wife was a Stewart, and his son, Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyll (grandfather of the 7th earl), married Margaret Graham, only daughter of William, 3rd Earl of Monteith, great grandson of Sir Patrick Graham and Euphemia Countess of Strathern in her own right, only daughter and sole heir of David Stewart, Earl of Strathern, eldest son of ROBERT II., King of Scots, by his second consort, Euphemia Ross,

daughter of Lord Ross. Robert II. was the son of Walter the Steward of Scotland and his wife Marjory, only daughter of the great King Robert Bruce. The marriage of Currie with Montgomery brings into the pedigree of the Stepney Shakespears the following noble families;—Leslie, Earl of Rothes; Livingstone, Earl of Linlithgow; Seton, Earl of Wintoun; Drummond; Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell; Seton, Lord Seton; Lindsay of the Byres; Douglas, Earl of Douglas, *Tine-man;* Stewart, Duke of Albany, Regent; Keith, Earl Marischal; Hay, Earl of Errol; Fleming, Lord Fleming; Sinclair, Earl of Orkney; Chrichton, Lord Chrichton, Chancellor; from all of whom the four last generations of the Shakespears are descended.

The Compiler has also the satisfaction of being able to connect this family with the old house of the Warwickshire Ardens. It will be seen, referring to Table XIII., that an ancestor of Martha Talbot (wife of Dr William Davenport), Sherrington Talbot married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Leighton, Knight, whose wife was Mary, second daughter and co-heir of Edward Zouche, the last Lord Zouche of Harringworth (from whose eldest daughter Elizabeth Zouche, married to Sir William Tate, are derived the present Baroness Zouche of Harringworth, and her son and heir, the Hon. Robert Curzon), who died 1625, s. p. m. and whose great great grandfather, John, 8th Lord Zouche (obt. 1526) married Joan, second daughter of Sir John Dinham, Knight, by his wife Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Richard Archer, Knight, who married Joan, the second daughter and co-heir of Giles de Arden, grandson of Sir Robert, or Lord de Arden, whose descent from Turchill de Arden is given in Table VII.

With this additional instance of the descent of a Shakspeare family from the ancient house of Arden, the Compiler brings his self-imposed task to a close. Setting out with the avowed object of connecting the two names, he had no idea of the extent to which his labours would lead; and though not successful in his endeavour to supply *every* link in the genealogical chain of the Poet's family, he trusts to have thrown out hints which may enable future workmen to supply the deficiency, more especially in obtaining the names of the mothers of John Shakspeare and Mary Arden, which would leave little else to be desired in relation to the ancestry of WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

POSTSCRIPT. Since the foregoing account was printed, Lieut. Col. J. D. Shakespear has furnished some additional particulars of his family. The wife of Colin Currie, Anne, was daughter of the Honourable John Campbell of the ancient family of Auchenbrach, Inverary, which settled in Jamaica *circa* 1700. Mr John Shakespear (son of the Alderman), who was of Brookwood Park, co. Hants., and of Singleton, Sussex, by his first wife, Mary Davenport, had a daughter, Marianne, who married the Rev. F. Shakerley. Their second son, William Oliver Shakespear, was Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal in the Madras Presidency, he died in 1838, and by his wife, Charlotte, daughter of — Maxton Esq., had five sons, and two daughters. The former were, 1. William, who died young; 2. Henry, a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, was shipwrecked in a frigate, in the Indian seas, 1833–4; 3. Charles Maxton Shakespear, Lieut. Colonel in the Madras Army; 4. Arthur Robert, died in 1844; 5. George Frederick Shakespear, Lieut. Colonel, Madras Staff Corps, who is married, and has a son, born in 1865.

The second son of Captain Arthur Shakespear, 10th Hussars, viz. William Powlett Shakespear, was a Lieutenant in the 2nd Bombay Fusileers, and lost his life in action before the Fort of Samanghur, whilst endeavouring to save a wounded Sepoy, 30 Sept., 1844.

APPENDIX.

A. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE'S *Marriage-Bond.*

As some explanation of this document seems to be necessary, it is here set forth, from Mr Halliwell's folio.

"Noverint universi per presentes nos Fulconem Sandells de Stretford in comitatu Warwici Agricolam, et Johannem Rychardson ibidem agricolam, teneri et firmiter obligari Ricardo Cosin generoso et Roberto Warmstry notario publico in quadraginta libras bonæ et legalis monetæ Angliæ solvend. eisdem Ricardo et Roberto hæred. execut. vel assignat. suis ad quam quidem solucionem bene et fideliter faciend. obligamus nos et utrumque nostrum se pro toto et in solid. hæred. executo. et administrator. nostros firmiter per præsentes sigillis nostris sigillat. Dat. 28 die Novem. anno regni domine nostræ Eliz. Dei gratia Angliæ Franc. et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei Defensor, &c. 25°.

The condicion of this obligacion ys suche, that if hereafter there shall not appere any lawfull lett or impediment by reason of any precontract, consangui(ni)tie, affinitie, or by any other lawfull meanes whatsoever but that William Shagspere one thone partie, and Anne Hathwey of Stratford in the dioces of Worcester, maiden, may lawfully solennize matrimony together, and in the same afterwards remaine and continew like man and wiffe, according unto the lawes in that behalf provided, and moreover if there be not at this present time any action, sute, quarrell or demaund moved or depending before any judge, ecclesiasticall or temporall for and concerning any

such lawfull lette or impediment, and moreover if the said William Shagspere do not proceed to solemnizacion of mariadg with the said Anne Hathwey without the consent of hir frindes, and also if the said William do upon his owne proper costes and expenses defend and save harmles the right reverend Father in God Lord John Bishop of Worcester and his officers for licensing them the said William and Anne to be maried together with once asking of the bannes of matrimony betwene them, and for all other causes which may ensue by reason or occasion therof, that then the said obligacion to be voyd and of none effect, or els to stand and abide in full force and vertue."

The following explanation of the law in respect of such a Bond, required in consequence of some irregularity in a projected marriage, has been given by the Compiler's esteemed friend, Henry Charles Coote Esq. F.S.A. of Doctors' Commons, well known to be a profound archæologist, as he is a sound Canon lawyer. "The practice concerning marriages, in times preceding Lord Hardwicke's Act of 1754, was this. The person applying for the license selected at hap-hazard the names of three parishes, in any of which the license was to authorize the solemnization of the marriage, and the license issued accordingly. This practice prevailed in the great offices of the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, the Faculty and Vicar-General's Offices; and this rule would be followed by the diocesan registries. This however was not all; the insertion of the names of the three parishes in the license was not considered as binding the persons to be married at any one of them. They more often were married at some totally different parish. This is a fact well known to us in Doctors' Commons, through genealogical researches. In most instances the three parishes named by the applicant in his affidavit, and afterwards inserted in the license, were not any of them the parishes of the future married people. I have tested this fact by looking through a volume of these affidavits, and it is always the same. The procedure necessary to be gone through in Shakspeare's days was this; the applicant made an affidavit to the same effect (with one single exception) as that which is made at the present day. He also executed a Bond with one surety to keep the Ordinary harmless. This latter

was a precaution rendered necessary by the actions constantly brought against the Ordinary, in case of any irregularity, during the middle ages, some of these bonds existing up to the time of the last alteration of Ecclesiastical practice. Where the applicant of the license was under age he could not legally execute a bond, and therefore some person duly qualified was substituted, and gave the security, being himself, as the other would have been, served with a bondsman. Shakspeare's register has never been found, but it does not follow therefore that it is not to be found; for Shakspeare, under the Ecclesiastical practice of his day, could be married at any church, or duly qualified chapel, within the diocese of Worcester; and all the churches and chapels of this order must be searched throughout the diocese before the negative can be proved."

The allegation of secrecy in the marriage, sometimes started, is disproved by the very names of the sureties; Fulke Sandells, taking the place of the youth Shakspeare, and John Richardson becoming the surety for the obligor. Had secrecy been the object these were the two last individuals to be chosen, for Sandells, as "a trustie frende and neighbour," was one of the overseers to Richard Hatheway's will, and would have to look to the payment of £6 : 13 : 4, to his daughter Anne, "at the daie of her marriage;" a fact of which Richardson would also be aware, as he was one of the witnesses to the will, with "Sir William Gilbard, clark and curate of Stretforde."

At Mr Coote's suggestion, the Compiler requested the Registrar of the Diocese of Worcester to be so kind as to have the original Marriage-Bond minutely examined as to the expression "hir frindes," and received a most courteous answer that a close inspection proved such to be the language. But Mr Coote is convinced that "hir frindes" must be a mistake of the scrivener, who drew up the bond, for "his frindes," meaning those of William Shakspeare, whose consent was necessary, as he was in his minority, whereas Anne Hathaway was of full age. The stipulation for "once asking of the banns of matrimony between them," is regarded by Mr Coote as a proof that John Shakspeare had not, up to that time, given consent to his son's marriage.

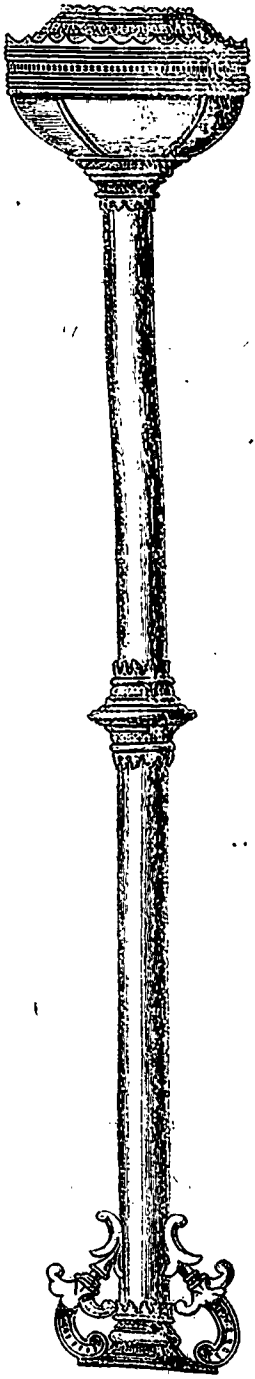
B. THE STRATFORD-UPON-AVON CORPORATION MACES.

In the Corporation Records is an entry, which is interesting in an archæological view, as well as in relation to families connected with the Poet. It thus appears in Mr Halliwell's *Records*, page 91 :—

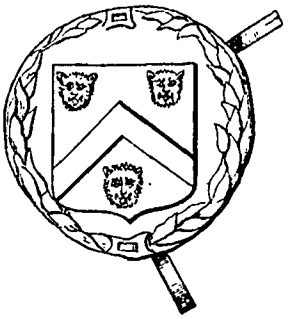
> "At this Hall the Company received two fayre gilte maces of the guift of Mr John Sadler and Mr Richard Quiny, cittizens and grocers of London, to be borne before the Bayliffe and chiefe alderman of this Borough for the time beinge for ever, which donors and benefactors were borne in this borough, and their fathers had been Bayliffes and Aldermen of this Borough, 22 August, 1632."

The father of John Sadler, of the same name, was high bailiff in 1570, and Richard Quiney's father, of the same name, was bailiff in 1601, whose third son Thomas Quiney married the Poet's youngest daughter Judith.

No account of these civic insignia having appeared, so far as the Compiler is aware, in any biography of the Poet, he requested his friend Mr William Gardner Colborne, Architect, of Stratford, to obtain from the Corporation permission to see and describe them, which was courteously granted. Mr Colborne however has not only described the maces, with two others of an earlier character, but has made highly finished drawings of all four, and has presented copies of them to this writer. The two smaller maces, called N° 1, and N° 2, are very light and elegant, but unfortunately are without date, inscription, or hall-mark, whereby their time can be ascertained. They are silver-gilt, one being 13$\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, and the other 16$\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with plain bowls of an ogee shape, surmounted by the Royal arms, France and England, quarterly, enamelled in their proper colours; a circlet of leaves surrounded the bowl of one mace, and a coronet of crosses patée the other, both being much mutilated. The stems are plain, and have projecting scrolls at the lower ends. The mace N° 2, which has a richly-moulded collar in the middle of the stem, is finished with a flat pommel whereon the Arms of the Corpo-



ration, a chevron between three leopards' faces, are engraved within a wreath.

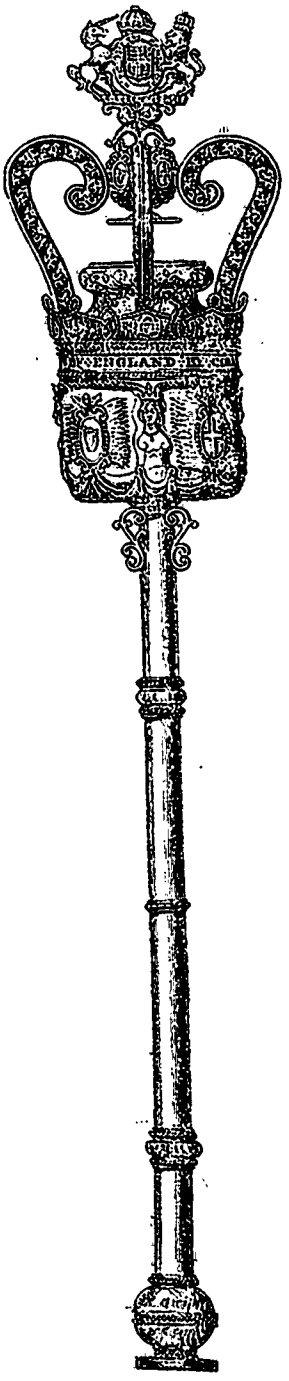


These elegant Maces have been placed in the Museum attached to the Poet's birth-place. The Illustrations represent the Mace, No. 2, half the size of the original, and the shield of arms on the pommel, full size, from Mr Colbourne's sketches, and are engraved on wood for the first time by Mr James Davis Cooper.

One of the larger Maces, which may be called No. 3, is that which was presented by John Sadler, and is in use. It is silver-gilt, 2 feet 6¾ inches long, and has a very large and richly ornamented bowl, whereon are four winged shields, charged with the harp and cross of St George, repeated, in four compartments, separated by crowned female therm figures with festoons of drapery. Round the bowl, between corded bands, is inscribed,—

THE ⁘ FREDOM ⁘ OF ⁘ ENGLAND ⁘ BY ⁘ GODS ⁘ BLESSING ⁘ RESTORED. 1660.

The cresting consists of gracefully twisted cords enclosing shields charged with the harp and cross of St George; and four large Vitruvian scrolls, chased with oak-leaves, support an Orb on which are four shields with the badges before described. The Royal Arms, Quarterly, England 1 and 4, Scotland 2, and Ireland 3, with the lion (crowned) and unicorn as supporters, rest upon the Orb, and must have been added to the original mace. The royal arms of Charles the First, in bold relief, are placed on the head of the bowl on a raised cushion, with the supporters, and motto, DIEU ET MON DROIT. The stem is formed in four unequal divisions by one



THE SADLER MACE.

plain and two moulded collars, the upper part having four small projecting scrolls. On the outside of the round boss or pommel is inscribed,—

THE GUIFE ⁘ OF IOHN ⁘ SADLER ⁘ 1632 ⁘ CITIZEN AND GROCER ⁘ OF LONDON.

The Arms of the Corporation are engraved on the flat underside of the pommel. The plate-marks are much defaced.

The illustration represents the Sadler Mace, one-fourth size of the original, from Mr Colbourne's sketch, engraved on wood for the first time by Mr J. D. Cooper.

Mr Colbourne found a tomb-stone in the churchyard to the memory of a Sergeant of the Mace, with a rudely sculptured imitation of the Sadler Mace, with this inscription:— "Here lieth ye body of Robert Bideel Shargent of ye Masse Who Departed this life Agust the 25th Anno 1686 Aged 74."

The remaining Mace, No. 4, is also in present use, but although in its general character it resembles the Sadler mace, there is no hint by way of inscription, or date, whereby to prove that it is the mace which was presented by Richard Quiney in 1632. It is silver-gilt, 2 feet 5¼ inches long, with four very slender arches, depressed, supporting a plain orb and cross. The royal badges separated by female therms, and crowned, appear on the bowl, which is not so rich in detail as in Mace No. 3, and is surmounted by an elegant cresting of fleurs-de-lys and crosses patée. On the top of the bowl are the Royal Arms, Quarterly, France and England. The stem is in three unequal divisions with two moulded collars, and has a round pommel divided by a corded band, with a date 1757; and on the flat underside of the mace is a coat of arms, which though rather defaced can be made out as follows: Quarterly, 1 and 4, *Azure* a chevron between three boars' heads couped *Or;* 2 and 3, Vaire *Argent* and *Sable* a fesse *Gules.*

The authorities at Stratford were unable to give any account of the history of this Mace, or to explain the addition to it of the arms. The first coat belongs to LUDFORD, and the second to BRACEBRIDGE, and the shield evidently is that of JOHN BRACEBRIDGE LUDFORD, of Ansley Hall, co. Warwick, descended from both families, as follows: Samuel Bracebridge of Atherstone, who died in 1692, had two sons,

of whom the elder, Abraham, continued the line at Atherstone, and the second son, the Rev. Thomas Bracebridge, married Jane, daughter and heir of John Ludford of Ansley Hall, co. Warwick, and their son, Samuel Bracebridge, assumed the name and arms of Ludford, and was father of John Bracebridge Ludford, who would quarter the arms as seen on the Mace No. 4, and the date thereon, 1757, fits his time, as his son and successor was born in 1756, who was the last of the male line, viz. the late John Newdigate Ludford, D.C.L., who died in 1825. By the discovery of an entry in Mr HALLIWELL'S *Records*, the Compiler is able to account for the Arms of Ludford on the Mace No. 4; for under the heading of "*Steward*" to the borough, we read,—"Sir Hugh Clopton resigns, and John Ludford Esq. is appointed in his place, 24 Sept. 1746. f. 170." Page 102. Eleven years after his appointment the old pommel is replaced by a new one, evidently at the cost of Mr Ludford, and his Arms take the place of what doubtless had been those of Quiney, or the Corporation, on the original boss.

The two earliest of the four maces were no doubt carried before John Shakspeare when he was bailiff and chief alderman. The following extract from the borough records is curiously illustrated by the Poet:—"96. A precept of John Shakspeyr, one of the justices of the peace and high bailiff of Stratford to the serjeants at mace, to take John Ball to answer to the suit of Richard Dicson on a plea of debbte. December, 11 Elizabeth." HALLIWELL'S *Records*, page 279.

In the *Comedy of Errors*, Act IV. Scene 1, Antipholus of *Ephesus*, mistaken for his twin-brother of *Syracuse*, is required to pay for a chain, which he did not have, by the goldsmith Angelo, or, he tells him, "I'll attach you by this officer," who, on the naturally indignant refusal, performs his duty,—"I do arrest you, sir, you hear the suit." In Scene 3, Dromio of *Syracuse*, who had been sent by the arrested person to obtain the money, tells his own master, mistaking his identity, of his having been taken by one "that sets up his rest to do more exploits with his mace than a morris-pike." His master says —"What! thou mean'st an officer?" Dromio answers,—"Ay, Sir, the sergeant of the band; he that brings any man to answer it, that breaks his band."

Since the foregoing account was written, some interesting information has been obtained respecting the families of John Sadler and Richard Quiney, by Mr B. B. Orridge, C. C. for the Ward of Cheap, in which the partners resided. From the Wills of Richard Quiney and his son Adrian we learn the names of Richard's daughters, and the Compiler is thus enabled to correct a mistake made by him (not by Mr Hunter) at page 394, where those ladies are called sisters of George Quiney, whereas they were his nieces. Richard Quiney, citizen and grocer of London, made his Will August 16th, 1655, proved by his son Richard Jan. 3rd, 1656. He mentions his sons, Richard, Adrian, Thomas, and William; his brother-in-law, William Smith; his cousins, John and Robert Smith, Dr Richard Bailey, William Wheate, Dr John Wilby, George Nash, John Sadler, Richard Chaundler, William and Charles Watts, William Baker; and his female cousins, Ellen Parker and Margaret Jones. His daughters were, 1. Ellen, born 1619, married to Edward Pilkington; 2. Elizabeth, born 1620, the wife first of — Cooper, secondly of Richard Pile; 3. Anne, born 1627, the wife of Thomas Booth; 4. Isabel, born 1628, the wife of John Lilburne; 5. Sarah, born 1634, who married — Cooper. Richard Quiney speaks of his grandchildren, Elizabeth Pilkington, William and Richard Cooper, and Richard Booth. We also learn that his sister Elizabeth Quiney was the wife of his partner, John Sadler, whose sister Eleanor had married Richard Quiney. He left to his son Thomas, with property in Virginia and elsewhere, his "part and share in the ship called The Seven Sisters, Abraham Reade, Commander;" this vessel was evidently so named in allusion to Richard Quiney's seven daughters, for beside the five already specified Mr T. Milbourn has furnished the Compiler with the names of two more from the Registers of St Stephen's, Walbrook, viz. Maria, baptized April 14th, 1622, and another Mary, baptized Feb. 9th, 1633, buried April 1st, 1640. He left to the poor of Stratford-upon-Avon £10, and also two small tenements near the Meer side in Stratford, in trust to that town for ever to pay to the poor Alms-people the profits after defraying certain outgoings. He also directs that he should be buried at Stratford, and he gives to Master Beane, or such orthodox divine who should be in his stead, forty shillings for preaching his funeral ser-

mon. He bequeathed to his brother, Thomas Quiney, £12 *per annum*, but does not mention his wife, Judith Shakspeare.

In the Will of Adrian Quiney, citizen and grocer (and Churchwarden of St Stephen's, Walbrook), dated Feb. 4th, 1692, proved August 14th, 1693, nearly all the names are mentioned which appear in his father's Will; thus he speaks of his sisters Sarah Cooper and Elizabeth Pile; of his brother-in-law Edward Pilkington, his nephew George Lilburne (who was a druggist); his nieces, Honora and Isabel Lilburn, and his nieces, Sarah and Eleanor Cooper. He also alludes to his nieces, Mrs Barbara Harvey, Eleanor Richardson, Eleanor Parker, and Margaret Wright; to his cousins, Robert Harvey, and Richard Cooper, who were his executors; to his kinsman William Baker, and to his loving friend Mr Charles Hills.

The Will of John Sadler, citizen and grocer of London, dated Dec. 11th, 1658, was proved Jan. 3rd, 1659. His wife Elizabeth, who died before him, was buried at Stratford-upon-Avon. He devised his lands in that town and elsewhere to his sons-in-law, Master John Wilby, Doctor in physic, and Master Antonie Walker, Minister of Fifield, in Essex, in trust for bringing up their sons, John Wilby and John Walker. Wilby married Isabel Sadler, and Walker married Elizabeth Sadler; their children, Elizabeth, Isabel, and Katherine Wilby, and Margaret and Elizabeth Walker, had legacies of £100 each from their grandfather, John Sadler, who left to his other daughters, Ellen and Anne Sadler, £400 each; to his cousins Margaret Jones and William Baker, £5 each. He bequeathed estates in Virginia to his son, John Sadler, born in 1632, who is called "grocer and druggist," in the Walbrook Registers, and who appears to have continued the business in Bucklersbury with Adrian Quiney; he married, and had, with other children who died infants, a son, John Sadler, baptized Sept. 29, 1664.

C. ASTON-CANTLOWE.

' In the time of the Confessor the lordship of Aston-Cantlowe was held by the Mercian Earl ALGAR, father-in-law of TURCHILL de ARDEN, and from the description in *Domesday Survey*, it must have been a place of some importance:—"Osbernus, son of Richard, holds of the king ESTON (*Aston-Cantlow*). There are 5 hides. The arable employs 10 ploughs. There are 9 foreigners, 16 villeins, with a priest, and 10 borders; they have 12 ploughs. A mill pays 8*s.* and 5 stickes of eels, and there are 40 acres of meadow. Wood 1 mile in length and in breadth. It was worth 100*s.* now 6 pounds. Earl Algar held it." W. READER'S *Translation.*

According to DUGDALE, a Guild was established at Aston-Cantlowe, but had no lawful settlement until 6 Ed. IV.; it was to consist of brothers and sisters, inhabitants of the parish, with a priest for daily service at the altar of the Blessed Virgin. The lands belonging to it were valued at vij. li. ix*s.* xi*d. per annum* in 37 Hen. VIII. One of the coats of arms in the chancel of the Church (with one for Beauchamp and one for Clinton) is described as—Argent three cross crosslets fitchée Sable, upon a chief Azure a mullet and a rose Or. *Warwickshire*, under *Aston-Cantlow*, page 616.

We can form some idea of the extent of the Forest of Arden from the description in *Domesday Survey* of several lordships. Thus of Caldecote it is said that the wood is 3 miles long, and 3 miles broad; of Hampton-in-Arden, the wood is 3 miles long, and 3 miles broad; in Stoneleigh-in-Arden it is 4 miles long, and 2 miles broad; at Coleshill 3 miles long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad; at Atherstone 2 miles long, and 2 miles broad.

It has been observed that wherever a MILL is described in *Domesday Survey* one will be found to exist in the same place, with hardly an exception, at the present day. In his excellent Translation of the *Survey* for *Warwickshire*, Mr Reader explains the value of money: "Payments were made *ad numerum*, or *ad pondus*, that is by tale or weight. The *ora* is generally used for the ounce, or 12th part of the nummulary pound, and its perpetual valuation is 20*d.* The *libra*, or pound

of silver, weighs 12 ounces, and was equal in weight to 72 *solidi*, or £3. 12*s.* of our present money. The same weight in gold is now worth £48. The *solidus* consisted of 12*d.* and was equal in weight to three of our present shillings."

D. WAS SHAKSPEARE LAME?

Although much of the meaning in SHAKSPEARE'S *Sonnets* is shrouded in mystery, some of the language clearly belongs to the personal history of the Poet, who expressly identifies himself in Sonnet CXXXVI :—

> "If thy soul check thee, that I come so near,
> Swear to thy blind soul that I was thy *Will*.
> . . . . . .
> *Will* will fulfil the treasure of thy love.
> . . . . . .
> Make but my name thy love, and love that still,
> And then thou lov'st me,—for my name is *Will*."

The following allusions can hardly be taken to imply other than a personal infirmity in the Poet, and which may have arisen from an accident. The first passage is in Sonnet XXXVII :—

> "As a decrepit father takes delight
> To see his active child do deeds of youth,
> So I, made lame by fortune's dearest spite
> Take all my comfort of thy worth and truth.
> For whether beauty, birth, or wealth, or wit,
> Or any of these all, or all, or more,
> Entitled in thy parts do crownèd sit,
> I make my love engrafted to this store:
> So then I am not lame, poor, nor despis'd
> Whilst that this shadow doth such substance give,
> That I in thy abundance am suffic'd."

The following passage occurs in Sonnet LXXXIX :—

> "Say that thou didst forsake me for some fault,
> And I will comment upon that offence:
> Speak of my lameness, and I straight will halt,
> Against thy reasons making no defence."

And a close inspection will show other indications of this lameness, as in Sonnet LXVI., where smarting under some dis-

appointed affection the Poet breaks out,—"for restful death I cry," enumerating among other reasons for this weariness of life,—

"And strength by limping sway disabled."

It may have been through this lameness that SHAKSPEARE never achieved any great success as an actor, a fortunate circumstance for posterity, as distinction on the stage might have prevented him from writing for the stage. In the only parts, in his own plays, which we are quite sure that he performed, his lameness would hardly be an obstacle; for the Ghost in *Hamlet* requires no violent action, but when he appears to the sentinels on the platform of Elsineur Castle:—

"In the dead waist and middle of the night,
. . . with solemn march,
Goes slow, and stately by them."

In a second character, that of Orlando's faithful servitor Adam, in *As you Like It*, then four-score, the defect would be strictly in keeping with the actor's part; and with the description of him by his young master:—

"There is an old poor man,
Who after me hath many a weary step
Limp'd in pure love."

Act II. Scene 6.

It is true that a contemporary, JOHN DAVIES, speaks of SHAKSPEARE, in a Poem, *Scourge of Folly*, as having—

"plaied some kingly parts in sport,"—

but we do not know what these were, and as the Poet was otherwise (than his lameness) "a handsome well-shapt man" (AUBREY), he may have performed some kingly characters, such as Henry IV., in Part II. without much difficulty.

The allusion by Davies to the Poet is of great interest; the lines are addressed—

"To our English Terence, Mr Will. Shake-speare.

"Some say, good Will, which I in sport do sing,
Had'st thou not plaied some kingly parts in sport,
Thou had'st bin a companion for a king,
And beene a king among the meaner sort.

Some others raile, but raile as they think fit,
Thou hast no rayling, but a raigning wit;
And honesty thou sow'st, which they do reape,
So to increase their stocke, which they do keepe."

Sir WALTER SCOTT is evidently of opinion that SHAKSPEARE, like himself, was lame. In *Kenilworth*, Vol. I. chap. XVII. the Earl of Sussex is made to say,—"I wish Will. Shakspeare no harm. He is a stout man at quarter-staff, and single falchion though, as I am told, a halting fellow." The introduction of the Poet in this romance is an anachronism, as he was only eleven years old at the time of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Kenilworth, in 1575.

E. SHAKSPEARE'S KNOWLEDGE OF FIELD SPORTS.

Much has been written in attempts to prove that SHAKSPEARE must have served an apprenticeship in an attorney's office to account for his great knowledge of legal terms, and that he must also have studied under a medical man to explain the remarkable accuracy of his allusions to ailments of the mind and body, to drugs, and especially to poisons. But not less profound is his acquaintance with many other callings, and the lifetime of a patriarch would not suffice for the Poet to have served a stated routine in each of them. Such attempts detract from his genius; and his intuitive grasp of all that he came in contact with is well explained by Mr John R. Wise,—"His mind readily apprenticed itself to whatever he saw."

For one who was so profound an admirer of Nature, it is not surprising to find him thoroughly versed in Field Sports; he describes in the "first heir of *his* invention," his *Venus and Adonis*, all the points of a horse with the precision of a breeder, and the keen enjoyment of a sportsman who could well bestride the noble animal.

"Round-hoof'd, short-jointed, fetlocks shag and long,
Broad breast, full eye, small head, and nostril wide,
High crest, short ears, strait legs, and passing strong,
Thin mane, thick tail, broad buttock, tender hide;

Look what a horse should have he did not lack,
Save a proud rider on so proud a back."

l. 295—300.

Equally true are his descriptions of dogs, as witness the language of Theseus (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act IV. Scene I), praising the music of his hounds, and also of the lord in the *Induction* to *The Taming of the Shrew;* and the Poet would appear to have actually witnessed a boar-hunt, judging from his vivid account of one in *Venus and Adonis.* And in this poem he alludes to the very sports which are in vogue at the present day, coursing, and fox and stag-hunting; for when Venus tries to dissuade Adonis from the perilous chase of the boar, she advises him to follow less dangerous pastimes:—

"But if thou needs wilt hunt, be rul'd by me;
Uncouple at the timorous flying hare,
Or at the fox, which lives by subtilty,
Or at the roe which no encounter dare:
Pursue these fearful creatures o'er the downs,
And on thy well-breath'd horse keep with thy hounds."

l. 673—678.

The next five stanzas have always been highly commended for the truthfulness with which the doublings and trouble of "poor Wat," the "purblind hare," are set forth, as full of pathos as is the account of the "poor sequester'd stag," in *As You Like It,* "Much marked of the melancholy Jaques." Act II. Scene I.

But SHAKSPEARE was quite as much at home in the sports afforded by birds of the air, as in the pursuit of beasts of chase; his knowledge of Falconry, or Hawking, so favourite a pastime with the noble and gentle of his day, is shown by numerous passages in his plays; and probably no writer on the Noble Science ever compressed so much technical information in a narrower compass than we find in eight lines in *The Taming of the Shrew,* where Petruchio rejoices over the result of his treatment of the newly-married Katharine:—

"My falcon now is sharp, and passing empty;
And, till she stoop, she must not be full gorg'd,
For then she never looks upon her lure.
Another way I have to man my haggard,
To make her come, and know her keeper's call;

That is,—to watch her as we watch these kites,
That bate, and beat, and will not be obedient.
She ate no meat to-day, nor none shall eat."

Act IV. Scene 1.

The training of a hawk or falcon, called "manning," was brought about chiefly by the falconer "working upon her stomach, and keeping her sharp set," employing "a lure," or stuffed imitation of a bird, with pieces of flesh attached to it, and which was kept at certain distances from the hawk, until it became obedient to the voice, hoop, or whistle of the falconer, before it was permitted to fly at a real quarry. "To bate" was to try to fly from the wrist before the hawk was sufficiently educated. A poet who has written well on Field Sports describes a falcon as—

"A docile slave,
Train'd to the lure, and careful to attend
Her master's voice."

SOMERVILLE, *The Chace.*

And hence the appropriateness of Juliet's language in *Romeo and Juliet*, when she wishes to recall her lover;—

"O, for a falconer's voice,
To lure this tassel-gentle back again."

Act II. Scene 2.

The passage is always thus printed, but it may be suggested that the true word should be "tercel-gentle," signifying a *male-hawk*, from the French, "tiercelet," as the male is generally one-third less in size than the female, the latter being chiefly employed in the pastime. The very word is used in *Troilus and Cressida*, Act III. Scene 2,—

"The falcon as the tercel, for all the ducks i' the river."

Pennant tells us,—"The falcon, the falcon-gentil, and the haggard, are made distinct species, whereas they form only one." *British Zoologist.*

The noblest prey, or "quarry," at which a well-trained falcon, or hawk, was "let fly," was the heron, and the artful manœuvring of the two enemies gave the zest to the sport. A great contemporary of SHAKSPEARE gives an animated description of such a combat of skill:—

"As when a cast of Faulcons make their flight
At an Herneshaw that lyes aloft on wing,
The whiles they strike at him with heedlesse might,
The wary fowle his bill doth backward wring,
On which the first whose force the first doth bring,
Her selfe quite through the body doth engore,
And falleth downe to ground like senselesse thing;
But th'other, not so swift as her before,
Failes of her souse, and passing by doth hurt no more."

SPENSER, *Faerie Queene*, B. VI. Canto 7, St. 9.

And here, backed by this quotation, the Compiler ventures to support the reading of a passage in *Hamlet*, as suggested by Sir Thomas Hanmer, which as it stands in most editions does not convey the meaning which we may imagine was in the Poet's mind, who makes the young lord Hamlet to be well versed in falconry; but when he says to one of his former comrades, Act II. Scene 2,—

"I am but mad north north-west, when the wind is southerly, I know a hawk from a handsaw;"

one is inclined to ask what that last word can have to do with a particular wind, or what connection can exist between a bird and a domestic implement; but change "handsaw" to "hernshaw," a young heron, and the passage becomes one of great significance in falconry, in proof of a sight so keen that when the quarry and its antagonist were soaring at a great height, the sportsman-prince could distinguish one from the other in their rapid gyrations.

Many instances might be quoted to prove how completely SHAKSPEARE understood the language of hawking, as when Othello expresses his suspicion of Desdemona;—Act III. Scene 3,—

"If I do prove her haggard,
Though that her jesses were my dear heart-strings,
I'd whistle her off, and let her down the wind,
To prey at fortune."

In this passage, as in the quotation from the *Taming of the Shrew*, every other word has a technical meaning, and a peculiar force.

F. SHAKSPEARE'S MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE.

Medical men have declared to the Compiler that only members of their profession can *thoroughly* appreciate SHAKSPEARE'S pictures of madness and insanity, so subtle and refined are his delineations. In six of his plays the Poet introduces medical men, under the style of physician, doctor, or apothecary, viz. in *Macbeth*, where are two "doctors," English and Scotch; in *Cymbeline*, where Cornelius, the physician, by his knowledge of drugs, baffles the Queen's murderous intentions; in *King Lear;* in *King Henry VIII.*, where is introduced the famous court physician, "Dr Butts;" in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, where we have an equally well known physician, Dr Caius; in *Romeo and Juliet*, is the starved "apothecary" with his "mortal drugs;" whilst in *Pericles* the good lord Cerimon, who had ever "studied physic," by his skill recovers Thaisa from her trance. A surgeon is alluded to in at least five other plays. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, the principal female character, Helena de Narbonne, is the daughter of a deceased physician, by whose prescriptions she cures the King of France of his painful malady. And the good old Friar Lawrence, in *Romeo and Juliet*, tells us how—

> "Mickle is the powerful grace, that lies
> In herbs, plants, stones, and their true qualities."
>
> Act II. Scene 3.

But SHAKSPEARE'S plays in general abound with allusions to medical science, to surgical operations, to potions and poisons, and their effects, whether seen in rapid action, or in slow but equally fatal results; and in every instance the Poet's language is marvellously compressed, as well as accurate. One line in *King Lear* is a GOLDEN PRECEPT, equal to a volume which could be written on the subject. When the devoted Cordelia enquires of the physician, in reference to her poor old father,—

> "What can man's wisdom do
> In the restoring his bereavèd sense?"

the admirable answer is given,—

"There is means, madam;
Our foster-nurse of nature is repose."

Act IV. Scene 4.

In *Pericles* the Poet has the beautiful expression;—

"The golden slumber of repose."

Act III. Scene 2.

Nor will the reader forget Macbeth's description of another aid, and "balm to hurt minds,"—SLEEP,—

"Great Nature's second course,
Chief nourisher in life's feast," &c.

How tersely the Poet describes a well-known result of a skilful bone-setting;—

"Our peace will, like a broken limb united,
Grow stronger for the breaking."

Second Part of King Henry VI. Act IV. Scene 1.

G. OF GUY, THE SAXON EARL OF WARWICK.

GUY of WARWICK was a great favourite with the romance-writers of the 13th and 14th centuries, and his adventures are set forth with all the extravagance of the period. In the *Regnorum Chronica et Mirabilia Mundi*, compiled *circa* Ed. 2, alluding to the reign of King Athelstan, the writer relates, at great length, Guy's most famous exploit, which no doubt did occur, with some allowance for hyperbole;—

"In his tyme, I understonde,
Was Guy of Warwyk in Inglonde,
And for Englonde dede batayle
With a myghti gyande without fayle,
His name was hote Colbrond,
Guy hym slough with his hond."

In a Manuscript Poem, ascribed by some critics to the date, A.D. 1200, but by Sir F. Madden to A.D. 1300, entitled *Lives of the Saints*, the writer complains that persons were

less inclined to hear tales of holy men of old, the "postoles and marteres," than of "hardi knyghtis," among whom—

"Of Rouland, and of Olyvere, and Guy of Warwyk."

Guy is also alluded to in the metrical romance of *Richard Cuer de Lyon*, as one of the famous worthies, being classed with "Hector the strong man," and King Arthur and his knights, with Hercules, Jason, Achilles, &c.

In the *Gesta Romanorum* is the story of Guy on his return from Palestine retiring to a hermit's cell near Warwick, and receiving alms from his lady, for three days, without her recognizing him.

His name is also introduced in the romance of *Syr Bevis of Hampton*, in connection with one of his fabulous adventures:—

"Guy of Warwick, I understand,
Slew a dragon in Northumberland."

No history of a doughty knight of the Middle Ages would be complete, unless he encountered a monster, variously called a dragon, or snake, or worm, of prodigious size, about to devour some beautiful lady; a legend evidently copied from the classical story of Perseus and Andromeda. Guy's exploit was recorded in a tapestry long preserved at Warwick Castle;—

"In Warwicke the truth ye shall see,
In arras wrought ful craftily."
Syr Guy.

And on a mazer-bowl, which still remains at Harbledown Hospital, near Canterbury, of the time of Edward the First, Guy is shown piercing the dragon through with his lance, and the following inscription is round the margin of the bowl:—

"Gy de Warwic Ad A Noun,
Qui Occis le Dragoun."

But the fullest account of this renowned knight and his family is derived from three early Metrical Romances, entirely devoted to their history: namely, *Syr Guy of Warwyk*, of which a *perfect* Manuscript exists in the Library of Caius College, Cambridge; *Syr Reynburn*, who was Guy's son; and *Syr Heraud de Ardenne*, who was one of Guy's chief knights,

and who went abroad to search for Reynburn when he was stolen. From these Poems, which are noticed by Mr Ellis in *Early English Metrical Romances*, 1809, we gather the history of Guy, and of his wife's father.

Rohand was one of the most powerful nobles in England, uniting in his own person the earldoms of Warwick, of Oxford, and of Rockingham. He was brave, wise, and liberal; he had an only daughter, named Felice, whose numerous perfections are thus described in the Poem, *Syr Guy*:—

> "Gentil she was, and as demure,
> As ger-fauk, or falcon to lure,
> That out of mew were y-drawe,
> So fair was none, in sooth sawe.
> She was thereto courteous, and free, and wise,
> And in the seven arts learned withouten miss."

Rohand lived in great splendour, and was surrounded by many martial knights, but his most trusty officer was Segard (or Siward) of Wallingford, his steward and counsellor, a man of great ability and integrity, who punished severely "every insulter" of his patron's authority, pursuing such an one to a great distance:—

> "And with strength him nim wolde,
> Though he to Scotland ace him sholde[1]."

Segard had a son named Guy, who having been educated amongst the pages of the earl of Warwick was raised to the honour of being his principal cup-bearer, and who soon increased, by his own merit, the favour and popularity for which he was originally indebted to his father's services. Segard had inspired him with the warmest zeal for the interests of his master; nature had given him a beautiful person, uncommon strength, activity, and undaunted courage; a foster-father

[1] In this couplet we see a very early use of "nim," as a verb implying "to take;" and no doubt afterwards employed as a canting expression for "to steal;" and hence, in all likelihood, SHAKSPEARE found a name for one of Falstaff's followers, Nym, who by his own confession was a thief—"the good humour is to steal at a minute's rest." *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I. Sc. 3. And in *King Henry V.* "the Boy," who is servant to Bardolph and Nym, shrewdly describes them:—"they will steal any thing, and call it—purchase... Nym and Bardolph are sworn brothers in filching," &c. Act III. Scene 2.

(preceptor) versed in all the exercises of chivalry, the celebrated Heraud of Ardenne had taught him the mysteries—

> " Of wood and river, and other game,
> . . . of hawks and hounde,
> Of estrich-falcon of great maunde:"

which added to grace and address at "bordes" (tables of chance), and tournaments, formed the necessary qualifications of a hero of romance. Guy falls in love with Felice, who at first scorns his passion, and the unhappy page is almost brought to death's door by her disdain, until Felice taking compassion upon his devotion holds out a promise that she may reward him with her hand, when he has obtained knighthood, and proved his valour in perilous adventures in foreign parts. Guy goes abroad with his faithful instructor Sir Heraud, and two valiant knights, Sir Thorold and Sir Urry, and they signalize themselves in many of the courts of Europe, and at length Guy and Sir Heraud, the other two knights having been slain, proceed to the assistance of the Greek emperor, then besieged in Constantinople by the Saracens, and after performing many great services and valiant deeds the champions return to England, and Guy marries the beautiful Felice, but soon afterwards he sets out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Their son, Reynburn, at the age of four years, is stolen from his home :— . .

> " So on a day, I understand,
> Merchants came into England,
> Into London out of Russie.
> . . . .
> So on a day, withouten lie,
> The Saracens gan this child espie,
> Guy's son, fair Raynburn,
> And stole him away with treson."

The faithful Sir Heraud sets out in pursuit of his ward, but is thrown into a dungeon, where he languishes for many years, during which time Reynburn, increasing in age and accomplishments, becomes almost as famous as his father for deeds of valour. The two friends at length meet :—

> " Then told Heraud to Raynborne
> How he loved his father Guyon."

On his return to England Reynburn succeeds to the earldom of Warwick, and marries the daughter of King Athelstan, "the beautiful Lady Leonetta," and from this union is descended, in the fifth generation, the Saxon Sheriff AILWYN, father of TURCHILL, titular Earl of Warwick, who first took the surname of DE ARDEN, and is the undoubted ancestor of the Warwickshire family of that name, of the branch in Staffordshire, and of WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

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